

U.S. #44

# THE MARXIST

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## EDITORIALS

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«Democracy» in U.S., France

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AN ANSWER TO TROTSKY

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For immediate complete independence for the Colonies and protectorates of the U. S.!

For a New Communist (4th) International!

For a Workers Council Government!

For Production for Use Under Workers Control!

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### THE MARXIST

Theoretical organ of the Revolutionary Workers League of the U. S.

Formerly the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

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## The Submarine Disasters

The sinking of the Squalus, with its 26 dead, and the sinking of the British submarine, Thetis, with 99 dead, caused the bourgeois press to crow all over itself in deep sorrow. But 20 years ago these same papers weren't in the least shocked over the toll of the World War:

ten million known dead soldiers  
six million reported missing, at least half of whom are dead  
twenty million wounded  
twenty-eight million civilians dead from disease, hunger, etc.  
nine million war orphans  
five million war widows  
ten million homeless — refugees

One hundred and twenty five deaths — that is a tragedy for the bourgeois press (and indeed it is); but 88 MILLION deaths, wounded, and dislocated lives — that, if you please, is saving the world for democracy!

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**The MARXIST**

## «Democracy» in France and the United States

In "democratic" France reaction sweeps on. Fernand Vintriguer, managing director of La Libertaire has been sentenced to one year and Pierre LeMeilleur to 15 months for an article published in December. Along with that there is the arrest of Leon Reigaudias, Trotskyite, for anti-militarist work. This worker faces possible death sentence.

The full import of Bonapartism in France can be estimated by the new law of Daladier which makes it a crime to make known the arrest of this working class fighter, or any other such arrest on the ridiculous grounds that this would be betrayal of a military secret!

In our own "democratic" America anti-labor laws are being passed and a similar class collaborationist leadership is subjecting the working class to further defeats at the hands of the capitalist offensive.

In Pennsylvania a measure has been passed by the legislature that will force all foreign-born workers who are not yet citizens to take out "Cards of Identity" (for \$1) that must be exhibited to "any police officer, or agent of the Department of Labor" on demand.

In New York, Governor Lehman has approved a bill that all school teachers who believe in the overthrow of capitalism are to be fired.

Those rabid patriots who shout to high heavens about importing of "foreign ideas" such as Communism (!) have here an excellent example of the lengths to which the American capitalists are willing to go to "import" anti-labor methods from abroad.

# Coal Miners and John L. Lewis

The strike — or lockout, as John L. Lewis calls it — of 450,000 coal miners and the subsequent settlement is the outstanding event which indicates the present level of the class struggle in the United States.

Broadly speaking, the whole period since the beginning of the world wide depression and crisis in 1929 has been one of sharpening class relations based on a new objective situation sharply in contrast with the "golden Twenties" prosperity in the U. S. The development of the trade union movement has broken through the narrow craft lines of the past; and the elimination of hundreds of thousands of skilled workers due to increased rationalization of industry has shifted the weight of the labor movement to the mass production industries.

This period has witnessed such sharp class conflicts as Gastonia, Terra Haute, Pekin, Toledo Auto Lite and Chevrolet strikes, Minneapolis truckers strikes, textile strikes, general strike in San Francisco, the marine strikes, the giant unemployed demonstrations, hundreds of sit-down strikes following the Auto strikes, and Little Steel.

Side by side with this developing class conflict in the U. S. there has been, however, an increased corruption of the labor movement from within on the part of its labor bureaucracy, and a progressive degeneration of the so-called Marxist movement which has completely failed to understand the significance of the New Deal and its prize baby, the CIO.

## **BUROCRACY CONSOLIDATED**

Just as the heyday of American capitalism saw the development of Gompers' American Federation of Labor, which by separating the skilled from the unskilled workers was able to keep the whole working class in check; so in the present period of "Europeanization" of the American working class the CIO plays a similar role in diverting the action of the class into collaborationist molds.

The 1936-37 upsurge of the working class presented the CIO with the necessity of building a new class-collaboration union movement on a broader base, and in a very short period establishing bureaucratic control over the initiative of the masses. In this period the Amer-

ican workers broke through the fetters of the Lewis, Hillman, Dubinsky, Martin bureaucracy and engaged in a broad offensive. The recent coal miner's situation, however, is indicative of the fact that the reformists and labor fakery now reign supreme in their control of the American labor movement — they have consolidated at least for a time their reactionary bureaucracy.

American industry is far more integrated than any other economy in the rest of the world. After only 5 weeks in which about two thirds of the mines were not working, complete shutdowns of power lines, subway systems, and dozens of other plants and even industries were threatened. With 95% of the miners in John L. Lewis' United Mine Workers of America and the key importance of this industry, a class struggle program could have gained large concessions and put the whole labor movement on the offensive. But not with John L. Lewis and his policies dominating the UMWA!

There are over 6,000 mines in the U. S. and no company produces more than 3% of the total production. The operators are banded together into associations and elect committees to negotiate with the UMWA. To these committees Lewis put forth 28 demands, including a demand for a 50 cents raise in pay per day. The operators countered with a demand for a 50 cent cut. This difference was soon ironed out; they agreed to the present wage rate. Then one by one all the other demands of the miners were given up — except the one demand that would strengthen Lewis' hold over the miners, the so-called union shop.

Lewis' structure is very simple — and effective. Agreements are signed with the coal operators to run for a certain period — usually one year. Agreements with the bituminous coal operators are made to end a month before agreements with anthracite operators. Both agreements end in the off season. In turn for bartering away all of the workers demands, Lewis is given the check-off concession, by which the company deducts from the miners' pay all dues and assessments. He always upholds the sanctity of the contract with the

operators and never sanctions a strike while the contract is in power.

### UNION DICTATORSHIP

Within the UMWA Lewis maintains his bureaucracy by numerous devices. Whenever someone votes "wrong" in the convention of the UMWA, or opposes the Lewis policy, Lewis decides that the district or local controlled by this person is "not functioning correctly" and immediately "appoints" an administrator over the district, without consulting the membership or anyone else. This administrator has full power to act — and he usually acts so that all militant workers are fired by the management of the mines. About half of all the UMWA districts are ruled by Lewis' special strong arm men. When anyone runs against Lewis, the great John L. simply steals the elections. That was true when John Brophy (his present CIO lieutenant) beat him in elections for the presidency of the UMWA; when Voyzey beat him, and others. In each case Lewis was able to show thousands of votes in Locals (and sometimes districts and cities) that didn't even exist.

So long as there was only one Federation of Labor, Lewis had things his own way with the miners — thanks to the help and collaboration of the mine-owners. But with the present CIO-AFL war, the AFL Progressive Miners of America are "muscling in" on some of Lewis' territory. Lewis wanted only a guarantee that the operators would not use the PMA to break his own hold on the miners. That was what the argument was about — and Lewis came out victorious, thanks to the aid of the New Deal and the solidarity of the union.

But to the men in the mines the problem of "union shop" is by no means the key. In fact, with the check-off system in operation, the "union shop" can be used against the militant elements, because it gives Lewis a weapon with which to get all militants fired. The problem of the miners is of far greater scope. New machinery — especially loading devices — have forced dozens of thousands out of the mines in the last ten years. In addition, electricity and oil fuel have replaced coal in many industries, thus reducing the demand. And, finally, the depression has cut coal production by a few hundred million tons. The 1938 production of coal was cut exactly 100 million tons — about 22% of the 1937 production.

### MINERS FACE BIGGER PROBLEMS

Those workers still left in the industry work an average of only 6 or 8 months a year (194

days in 1937), and their pay is from \$900 to \$1100 a year — with all sorts of deductions for dues, assessments and the high prices in company towns. The average miner is lucky to average \$15 to \$18 a week, for one of the most hazardous occupations in industry.

The problems of the miners can not be solved completely or even adequately under capitalism. But a stiff militant fight could have gained a shorter work week with at least present pay levels per day, a **guaranteed** minimum yearly wage, the right to establish democratic councils of the miners, and an end to the present vicious contract system which forces half the miners to work while others strike.

As it was the strike of 450,000 workers hardly caused the capitalist system even a tremor. In Kentucky Governor "Happy" Chandler had the National Guard ready for use and eventually called them out when this one group of 42 mines held out and refused to sign with Lewis. But nowhere else were troops called. Lewis had the situation well in hand. The strike spread to no other industries. All was peaceful, and eventually Lewis sold out the miners again, as he has on dozens of other occasions in return for the right jointly with the mine owners to swindle the coal miners.

The attitude of the so-called Marxists to this betrayal was amazing in its crassness. The Lovestoneites bubbled over with "congratulations" to Lewis for the great "victory". The Trotskyites, a little more demure, hailed the result and had not one word of criticism of John L. The Stalinists were as effusive as usual in their support of Lewis.

Twelve short years ago Wm. Z. Foster, Stalinist leader, wrote a book "Misleaders of Labor", in which he said of Lewis that "Lewis' regime is a curse to the miners. His first great treason to them was his failure to organize the miners during the years 1918 to 1921... Lewis has betrayed the miners in every district... Under Lewis it (the UMWA) has degenerated into one of the most reactionary (unions)... Lewis, in cooperation with the employers, rules like a despot... Lewis' master betrayal was in the great strike of the 600,000 miners in 1922." etc. etc. etc. Almost every left wing workers organization in America condemned Lewis in similar terms. But today, under similar circumstances, with Lewis playing the most treacherous role of his career, the tune has changed — he has the adulation and support of all the so-called Marxists, including even the "left" Trotskyites.

## ROLE OF C I O

The support of class collaboration and the CIO leadership by the political labor movement is the major factor for the success of the present offensive of the bourgeoisie, the anti-labor laws in five or six states, the outlawing of sitdowns, the Dies Committee, and so forth. Those who do not understand the role of the CIO in relation to both the past and the future can only mislead the working class. In relation to the past the CIO represents a new FORM for canalizing the increasing class pressure and action of the working class. In relation to the future it is the outstanding instrument for consolidating "class peace" in the U. S. and preparing the working class for war.

In the near future the government probably

will step into the sick coal industry, exchange government bonds for bad operators stocks, thus guaranteeing a profit to the operators. The miners must prepare now to fight off this step which will only mean reduced wages and greater exploitation.

The coal workers can solve their problems only by a concerted campaign to establish miners councils that will fight the battles of employed and unemployed in the mine fields, miners defense squads to fight off "Happy Chandlerism" and its 47 state counterparts, a national left wing progressive group in the UMWA and the PMA, and other steps on the basis of propaganda for Workers Control of Production for Use under a Workers Council Government.

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# The Ukraine Problem

## An Answer to Leon Trotsky and Others

The Hitler propoganda for a "Greater Ukraine", which lays the basis for a Nazi attempt to carve a colonial empire out of this vast fertile territory and is an opening wedge to overthrow the Soviet Union, focuses attention upon one of the most complex questions of Eastern Europe. The Ukraine, like Poland, has constituted a historical jig-saw ever since the days of Czarism. The Versailles Treaty did not solve this problem; but only created new and sharper antagonisms. Today, with the decline of the Soviet Union under Stalinism, and with the rise of Fascism, the problem of the Ukraine becomes one of the important questions of world politics. Although Hitler has momentarily relegated to the background agitation on the Ukraine question, this by no means indicates a new policy. The Nazis have a healthy fear of the social forces which a movement for a "Greater Ukraine" would unleash—such a movement can too easily become a boomerang. But Hitler is only trying to go around the obstacles and difficulties he now confronts.

The victorious October Revolution opened up a new perspective for the oppressed minorities as well as for the workers and peasants, and began the construction of a society based upon production for use. The decisive part of the Ukraine was under the Red Flag and became a rallying center for those sections of the Ukraine still controlled by the imperialist exploiters and their lackeys.

### THE RIGHT OF SELF DETERMINATION

The slogan for the right of self determination was raised by the Bolsheviks as part of the workers struggle for power, as an auxiliary tactic to put backward sections of the population into action, and to undermine the imperialist domination of national minorities. It was not a trick slogan, a maneuver. It answered a genuine need of the oppressed minorities. The concept of the right of self determination was carried over and incorporated into the Constitution of the Soviet Union, the first country to legally recognize this right even to the point of separation of the federated nationality if it so desired. But one must understand that this slogan is an auxiliary slogan, that is it not raised under ALL conditions at ALL times. For example, the Soviets pointed out that the victorious Allies in the world war "advocated" self determination in Eastern Europe for the purpose of dismembering and rendering impotent Germany and her allies, and to place a wall between the Soviet Union and the rest of Europe. The Bolsheviks correctly exposed and fought this type of self determination." Hitler's agitation today is only the other side of the same coin.

The right of self determination under capitalism, and the right of self determination under Soviet rule do not have the same axis. Thus, while the Bolsheviks affirmed this right, they sought to convince the masses to stay within the framework of the Federated Soviet

Republic. The question is one of STRATEGY, not principle. The party of the working class will not advance this slogan in situations where it becomes a lever for an imperialist power AGAINST THE MINORITIES and against the working class, as was the case in Eastern Europe yesterday under the Anglo-French imperialist bloc, and as is the case today under the Rome-Berlin axis.

#### FOR A UNITED SOVIET UKRAINE

One cannot consider the Ukraine problem isolated from the Soviet Union, not with standing Stalinist domination, because in that country is found the greater part of the Ukraine. But neither can one ignore the Ukrainian sections still under the rule of the exploiters in Poland, Hungary and Roumania. There is on the one hand the task of freeing these sections, and on the other hand the task of ousting Stalinism which has stifled all development in the Soviet Ukraine as it has in the rest of the Soviet Union. These tasks are two sides of one problem.

It is not too early to envisage the time when the yoke of exploitation will be smashed and the different sections of the Ukraine will be united into a Ukraine Soviet. The precondition for this is the revolution in one or more advanced capitalist countries in Europe and the establishment of a Soviet system. This will be a beginning toward the consolidation of the United Socialist Soviets of Europe. Under this structure the present relation to the Soviet Union will be supplanted by a new and higher stage in which the Ukraine as an entity in its own right will be affiliated to the European Soviet. Within this framework we can speak of a free, independent Soviet Ukraine.

#### TROTSKY AND THE UKRAINE QUESTION

An article by Trotsky, "The Problem of the Ukraine", provides a good springboard to differentiate between the Marxist and centrist positions on this question. Trotsky advocates the separation of the Ukraine from the Soviet Union and the establishment of a "Free, independent Soviet Ukraine." This position runs counter to the basic interests of the working class, and can only play into the hands of the imperialists and their Russian agents, Stalinists and others. Implied in it is an identification of the Soviet Union with the Stalinist bureaucracy, a loss of faith in the possibilities of the regeneration of the warped workers state.

As usual, the article abounds in ambiguous formulations intended to meet the objections of

the comrades who ask too many questions. Trotsky says: "The program of independence for the Ukraine in the epoch of imperialism is directly and indissolubly bound up with the program of the proletarian revolution. It would be criminal to entertain any illusions on this score." But this correct statement is immediately negated: "In the face of such an internal situation (degeneration under Stalinism) it is naturally impossible even to talk of western Ukraine voluntarily joining the USSR as it is at present constituted. Consequently the unification of the Ukraine PRESUPPOSES (our emphasis — Ed) freeing the so-called Soviet Ukraine from the Stalinist boot." **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! This position makes so many empty words of the talk of a proletarian revolution. It is no better in content than the stand of the Second International leaders who are for "socialism".

Trotsky resorts to faulty logic to make his point. He speaks of the impossibility of Western Ukraine VOLUNTARILY joining the Soviet Union as at present constituted. But western Ukraine could not voluntarily join the Soviet Union even if the S. U. were under a Marxian leadership. In any case, that is possible only AFTER the proletarian revolution in Western Ukraine, a factor which would change the whole relationship of forces both within and outside the U. S. S. R.

#### A REVOLUTION IN THE UKRAINE

If the workers carry through a successful revolution in Western Ukraine (and other countries of that area) should our strategy then be to demand that the Soviet Ukraine separate and join its western section? Just the opposite. The revolutionary Marxists would call for unification of the new workers' state with the Soviet Union on CONDITIONS necessary to insure the workers democratic control of the new Dictatorship of the Proletariat against the exploiters and as a wedge to revive workers democracy and genuine Soviets in Russia. On this basis the revolution in Western Ukraine would be a wedge for a political revolution against Stalinism. At the same time it would extend its force westward to other parts of Europe.

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. If the workers regain their

(Continued on page 8)

# The White Paper - Twilight of Zionism

Palestine since its inclusion into the British Empire, has been a constant source of irritation to the powers in London. British policy of double dealing with regards both the Jews and Arabs made conflict inevitable.

To still this conflict somewhat, the Chamberlain government, after months of indecision, on May 17 made known its plans with regards to Palestine, through the so-called "white paper."

With characteristic British duplicity, the plan provides for the establishment of an "independent" Palestine within ten years, after a transition period during which the country will be governed by a British high commissioner. He will give "the Palestine people an increasing part in the government of the country." The Jews will be restricted from buying certain lands from the Arabs, and the Jewish population fixed at one third of the Arab population. Jewish immigration is to be drastically curtailed: only 75,000 for the next five years, including the refugees "illegally" entering the country. The Government of course will arbitrarily determine the number of illegal entries. What is to prevent the "discovery" that this number is above the quota? Any further immigration will be decided upon only with Arab acquiescence.

After this transition period Palestine will become an "independent state," linked to Great Britain by treaty relations, on a basis equal with the other countries in the Empire. The treaty is to be governed by considerations requiring the safeguarding of Britain's strategic positions, protection of property, and protection of the interests and property of various religious bodies.

Here, in brief, is the plan which is supposed to settle the 20 year old conflict in Palestine.

## BRITISH DUPLICITY

The plan is a model of imperialist trickery. While shattering the Zionist dreams, it satisfies none of the fundamental demands of the Arab or Jewish masses. One must be very naive indeed to believe that England would risk losing a prize plum like Palestine — or for that matter any of her important possessions.

Palestine due to its geographical and military position has become the nerve center of England's colonial possessions.

Note carefully the terms upon which Palestine is to be given her "independence": "Such requirements to meet the strategic situation as may be regarded as necessary by His Majesty's Government in the light of circumstances." There is all the room in the world here for England to find it impossible to give up her valuable base for the protection of the Empire's life-line to India and the Far East. The promise is worth no more than any number of previous promises made to both Jews and Arabs. In the "best" case, even if some sort of "independence" were granted to Palestine, it would be no more than the new application of the modern imperialist technique already put into practise by the Roosevelt Government with regard to the Philippines and Puerto Rico.

In point of fact, England **cannot**, for both political and economic reasons, bring herself to part with her key position in the Near East, a position dominating the Suez Canal, the Mediterranean Sea, and the land route to India. England would far sooner part with certain spheres of influence in Europe than in Asia. Her diplomacy in the past months in Europe has adequately demonstrated this fact.

Note too, ... "that the establishment of an independent State, and the relinquishment of complete mandatory control, would require such relations between Arabs and Jews as would make a good government possible." Since it is patently impossible to establish better relations between Arabs and Jews on a basis of a 1 to 3 ratio, the conclusion is obvious.

In any event, British imperialism may be trusted to see to it that relations do not improve. For this would be a flat contradiction to the key of her imperialist policy of divide and rule.

In a political sense this plan alters nothing fundamentally for Palestine. For British imperialism, however, it denotes a retreat, which is not without its advantages. Faced with the choice of placating a rebellious Arab movement or a craven Zionist leadership, Britain chooses the former. In this manner she hopes to put her back yard in order, to have her hands free for the coming war. Unsettled conditions in the Near East for the past few years contributed no little to England's vacillating position with regards to the "Axis" powers.



While this vicious British act met with a spontaneous indignant reaction on the part of the Jewish masses, the Zionist officialdom showed themselves to be completely bankrupt. Zionism's first act was to throw a restraining halter upon the enraged Jewish masses.

The official Zionist policy may be clearly obtained from reading the current issue of the "Yiddisher Kemfer", organ of the Poale Zionists (United Jewish Socialist Labor Party). Writing in this issue, Chaim Greenberg exhorts the Jews to remain calm, not to be provoked. "To cultivate a hate for England would perhaps have a pedagogic — or, let us permit ourselves to say it, a necessary demagogic — effect, were we to be ready today to sever all relationship with England..." After receiving a mortal blow, Zionism, cringing like a whipped cur, still clings to British imperialism. He goes on: "There still exists in England such an institution like the Privy Council... If not today then perhaps tomorrow... it does not absolutely exclude the possibility of approaching the Permanent Court of International Justice..."

Another "politician" in this same issue becomes actually "threatening": "In my opinion, we must decide upon a more drastic political step... We must summon England to the Hague Court..."

Her retreat lies precisely in that she is compelled to recognize the growing Arab sentiment for national autonomy.

### **A DEATH BLOW TO ZIONISM**

The plan reveals the utterly callous attitude of this "great democracy" to the Jewish question generally, and to the Jewish problem in Palestine in particular. Zionism laments the scrapping of the Balfour declaration, which in point of fact merely laid the basis for the present plan. The Declaration never intended creating Palestine as the Jewish national home. We have had occasion to point out numerous times the subtle distinction between establishing Palestine as **the Jewish national home**, and establishing **a Jewish home in Palestine** — no small distinction.

In this respect, the significance of the present plan lies in the fact that Britain is resigned to losing Zionism as an important prop in her scheme of colonial strategy. Of more significance, however, is the plight of thousands of homeless Jews who have now lost a haven of refuge from Fascist persecution.

British "democracy" stands forth as fundamentally no different from Fascism, a fact which should serve to open the eyes of many people who have been swayed by the propaganda of democracy versus fascism.

Zionism has learned absolutely nothing. It still continues to play with the lives of the Jewish workers as with so many chess pieces in its game of imperialist politics. This same writer concludes that: "One of the most important factors which helped us to sustain our misfortune, was certainly, the American Government. But what have we done to convince the American Government that what she is doing is really in the interests of the 5 million Jews in the U. S.?" Here is a patent attempt to orient the Jewish masses upon U. S. imperialism.

From Warsaw comes news that V. Jabotinsky, leader of the revisionist Zionists, is organizing the Jewish workers for a struggle against Britain. A highly suspicious fact, coming from semi-fascist Poland, where all workers movements are practically illegal.

While Zionism has received its death blow, this does not mean that it will disappear organizationally. Its basic dream has been shattered by this "white paper." It may still continue in its ideological structure, dangling before the Jewish workers its hopeless utopian dream, but only with a long time perspective, and particularly with an orientation upon a new imperialist godfather. United States Imperialism appears to be the choice.

### **ROLE OF U. S. IMPERIALISM**

Up to now the U. S. has not favored the Zionist movement, largely a British dominated force, but has instead used the American-Jewish Committee and the American Zionist movement. American imperialism has pursued the consistent policy in the Near East of striking against Great Britain, weakening and undermining her wherever possible, trying to lay a base for her own imperialist penetration. Roosevelt would indeed be stupid not to take advantage of the situation, not to make use of such a tool, however cowardly international Zionism may be. Already Roosevelt's "liberal" statements on the Jews and refugees have won him sympathy, and he has been able to put himself into the position of the "friend" of the Jewish people.

Unfortunately, the progressive struggle of the Arab masses for national independence from British rule has become distorted into an Arab-Jewish struggle. On the one hand the Zionist leadership in its policy of expansion and exclusion of Arabs has contributed to this. On the other hand the Arab feudal lords and effendis, similarly having put themselves at the head of the Arab masses, have misdirected the potential struggle against British imperialist

rule into a struggle against the Jews. Britain of course, has aggravated this and used it for its own purposes.

The Arabian masses must learn that their struggle can achieve a positive solution only by directing it against the main enemy — British imperialism. This will necessitate a complete break with the native exploiting effendi. The Jewish workers, too, cannot hope to win freedom except by realizing the hopelessness of continuing on the historically reactionary attempt for a national homeland backed by imperialist bayonets.

### **JEWISH—ARAB UNITY**

The riots, demonstrations, and clashes of the past months have made it clear that the "localization" of the Palestinian conflict is not possible. It is indissolubly linked up with the whole Near Eastern colonial revolutionary movement. For the Jewish workers, as for the Arab masses, the solution lies in a joint struggle against their masters and England, for the United Soviet States of the Near East. For this a new revolutionary leadership is necessary, arising out of the struggle and giving guidance to it.

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## **Advice to the Homeless**

**With bundle, book, and babies in a  
shawl,**

**Evicted from each new Jerusalem.  
Seeking the refuge that was promised  
them**

**They trudge the highways with no  
port of call:**

**Jerusalem remains — a wailing wall.  
Then band with those of every human  
stem**

**To orchestrate the tyrants' requiem—  
Accept the omen — let the old world  
fall!**

**Your kin in counting-house and  
cabinet**

**Who buy your passage with their  
eyes tear-filled**

**Today — tomorrow if you starve out  
loud**

**Will call the Cossacks... Then, like  
them, forget**

**The kinship. Disinherited, be proud—  
Jerusalem is yet for you to build!**

**by Florence Becker**

**(One of the prize poems of the Hobby  
Olympics held at the New York World's Fair).**

## **The Ukraine Problem**

(Continued from page 5)

position in Soviet Ukraine before the proletarian revolution in Western Ukraine they should **DRIVE DEEPER INTO THE SOVIET UNION AGAINST STALINISM** and the other imperialist agents. Not turning our backs on the Soviet Union, but its regeneration and re-establishment as a mighty citadel of world revolution — that is the road of Marxism.

Trotsky says: "The question of first order is the revolutionary guarantee of the unity and independence of a workers' and peasants' Ukraine in the struggle against imperialism, on the one hand, and against Moscow Bonapartism, on the other." This is begging the question. This "first order" of Trotsky is about the tenth order. To have a united and independent Ukraine, the workers and peasants must succeed with a proletarian revolution in three capitalist countries, and must carry through a political revolution in Soviet Ukraine.

Trotsky's concept turns inside out the position of the extension of the October Revolution and a political revolution in the Soviet Union, and completely negates the position of the defense of the Soviet Union. It has nothing in common with the concept of the permanent revolution.

Enmeshed in capitalist contradictions in Western Ukraine, confronted with Stalinist degeneration within Soviet Ukraine, with both sections beaten down under the hammer blows of the imperialist struggle for the redivision of the world, the problem of the Ukraine calls for special attention. The policy the revolutionary Marxists present, is first and foremost the independent action of the working class. This is possible only on the basis of the political and organizational independence of the revolutionary Marxian organization. In Western Ukraine this independent class action calls for those steps that prepare the class in action for the social revolution. In the time element it makes no difference where the workers are successful first, in the social revolution of Western Ukraine or in the political revolution of Soviet Ukraine. In the Soviet Ukraine this independent class action calls for such a political revolution and the **EXTENSION** of this workers' victory to the rest of the Soviet Union and for the social revolution internationally. Only on this basis can the working class **EXTEND THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION.**

# Book Review

## WORLD REVOLUTIONARY PROPAGANDA

by Lasswell and Blumenstock

Alfred A. Knopf \$4.50

Every so often the bourgeoisie attempt an "objective" evaluation of the revolutionary movement. Needless to state, there is no objectivity to such an approach; there is only the mask of objectivity, behind which all the reactionary concepts of bourgeois ideology lurk.

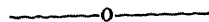
**World Revolutionary Propaganda** is a study of the activity of the Communist Party in Chicago in the depression years of 1932-1935, with special reference to Unemployed Council actions. Allegedly, the authors are attempting to study the propaganda output with reference to its effectiveness. Hence, they give a catalogue of C. P. propaganda techniques (literature, demonstrations, etc.) and a very curious estimate of how ineffective they were. There is a rather thorough psychological analysis of slogans, illustrating the authors' thesis that the propagandist selects phrases that call for positive action, that such phrases are couched in terms of the "bad" opponent and the "good" ally, etc. Why a book is needed to prove that one subjectively endorses what one objectively accepts is a problem to the reviewer.

Of interest is the technique used by the authors to estimate effectiveness of propaganda. They have created a propagandist index—an estimate of the number of propagandists in proportion to the whole population. Then they have a response index—which estimates number of people present at demonstrations in proportion to the population. The ratio between these two indices is very small; hence, conclude Lasswell and Blumenstock, communism is not a real menace. A few words need to be said about the objectivity of this phase in the research conducted by contemporary bourgeois psychologists.

Lasswell has long been an exponent of "social psychopathology", the idea that the masses are ruled by laws of mass psychology rather than by their material conditions. Thus, Hitler, for example, is merely exploiting the psychological peculiarities of the German masses. This is a rehash of the old myths

about the Hun circulated during the world war. With this view Marxists will not be much concerned. We all know that it is important to exploit the best possible psychological approach in mass work. But the principles we present to the masses are not a study in psychopathology. They flow from the objective social, economic and political needs of the masses.

From the material collected for their book, the authors draw the conclusion that the C. P. line of 1932-1935 exposed the capitalist system to small danger of overthrow. The height of the ridiculous is reached in a catalogue of some ten case studies — descriptions of Unemployed Council leaders, their social lack of adjustment, and their psychiatric problems. All of this is intended to prove that individuals who become active in the revolutionary movement are psychopathic cases. Our only answer to this thesis of **World Revolutionary Propaganda** is that we've heard all this before, and done up much prettier, too. Of course there are psychopathic cases in the movement. Capitalism creates psychopaths. Only when we have eliminated the greed of capitalism, only when the workers have taken over the control of society, will this social psychopathology be scientifically investigated and eliminated.



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