

Enlist in the Fight Against War---Join the S.W.P.!

Party Reacts to War Crisis With Intensified Anti-War Campaign

Shachtman Pamphlet on Pact to Be Published this Week—Plan Mass Meetings to Explain Truth Behind the Headlines

By HAL DRAPER
The Party has reacted to the war crisis and the Stalin-Hitler deal with a fresh burst of energy and intensified plans for carrying our Anti-War Campaign over the top.
Moving quickly to take advantage of the desire by new strata of workers to hear what we have to say about the recent events, party branches all over the country have scheduled mass meetings at which the truth behind the headlines will be explained and the way pointed for the anti-war workers in America.
The campaign for a People's Referendum on War which we have been conducting is now being given even more solid basis by linking it with the threat-

ening situation on the world scene. As war in Europe approaches at a faster and faster pace, the fears of the people that America will be drawn into the coming world slaughter rises to a new high. It is our business to explain to them that the Washington and Wall Street war-makers are even now preparing to get into the war on the ground floor, instead of waiting three years as they did the last time, and that we must act now to take the war-making power out of their hands.

Special Steps
Special steps taken in furtherance of the Campaign include:
Two speaking tours, by Max Shachtman and B. J. Widick, on the war crisis.
A pamphlet by Max Shachtman (Continued from Page 1)

ANTI-WAR FUND SCOREBOARD

\$10,000 FUND DRIVE

Branch	Quota—50% by Sept. 15	Paid	Percent Paid
Calais	5.00	5.00	200.00
Hartford	5.00	3.20	128.00
Rochester	50.00	25.75	103.00
Toledo	40.00	20.00	100.00
Detroit	50.00	20.00	80.00
Lynn	100.00	33.00	66.00
St. Paul	200.00	64.00	64.00
Reading	10.00	3.00	60.00
Flint	20.00	5.50	55.00
Newark	350.00	86.00	49.14
Cleveland	200.00	30.00	30.00
Chicago	530.00	75.00	28.30
Boston	400.00	54.00	27.00
Gardner-Fitchburg	15.00	2.00	26.66
Minneapolis	1100.00	145.00	26.36
Philadelphia	100.00	11.75	23.50
Baltimore	10.00	1.00	20.00
Kansas	15.00	1.50	20.00
St. Louis	100.00	10.00	20.00
South Bend	10.00	1.00	20.00
New York	2500.00	100.00	8.00
National Office	3400.00	125.00	7.35
Akron	100.00	00.00	.00
Allentown	50.00	00.00	.00
Cambridge	5.00	00.00	.00
Columbus	15.00	00.00	.00
Conneaut	5.00	00.00	.00
Danbury	10.00	00.00	.00
Denver	20.00	00.00	.00
New Hampshire	5.00	00.00	.00
East Chicago	20.00	00.00	.00
Evansville	5.00	00.00	.00
Fargo	10.00	00.00	.00
Fresno	10.00	00.00	.00
Indianapolis	5.00	00.00	.00
Lexington	10.00	00.00	.00
Los Angeles	400.00	00.00	.00
Louisville	10.00	00.00	.00
Marston Mills	5.00	00.00	.00
New Haven	40.00	00.00	.00
Oakland	80.00	00.00	.00
Omaha	10.00	00.00	.00
Pittsburgh	10.00	00.00	.00
Plentywood	5.00	00.00	.00
Portland	5.00	00.00	.00
Quakertown	20.00	00.00	.00
Ridgefield	5.00	00.00	.00
Sacramento	20.00	00.00	.00
San Diego	10.00	00.00	.00
San Francisco	100.00	00.00	.00
Seattle	20.00	00.00	.00
Texas	20.00	00.00	.00
Washington	40.00	00.00	.00
Weonocket	5.00	00.00	.00
Worcester	20.00	00.00	.00
Yellow Springs	5.00	00.00	.00
Youngstown	50.00	00.00	.00

Stalinists in Teachers Union Feel Pact Effect

Defeat Jerome Davis, Stalinist Candidate, In Test of Strength—George S. Counts, Progressive, Elected President of Union

BUFFALO, August 26—The Stalinists received a crushing blow yesterday when their candidate, Jerome Davis, was defeated for the presidency of the American Federation of Teachers by George S. Counts, widely known progressive educator and outspoken fighter against the Stalinist machine in the New York College Teachers Union.

The election, at the annual teachers convention, was the first test of Stalinist strength in the trade unions since the Hitler-Stalin pact. The outcome was particularly significant since the Stalinists, prior to the convention, had been confident of taking over the union completely. Three years ago they had elected Davis as president, and had easily re-elected him each

succeeding convention by overwhelming majorities.

Pact's First Effect
But the day the convention opened—Monday—was the day the Hitler-Stalin trade agreement was announced, and the next day came the political

(Continued on Page 4)

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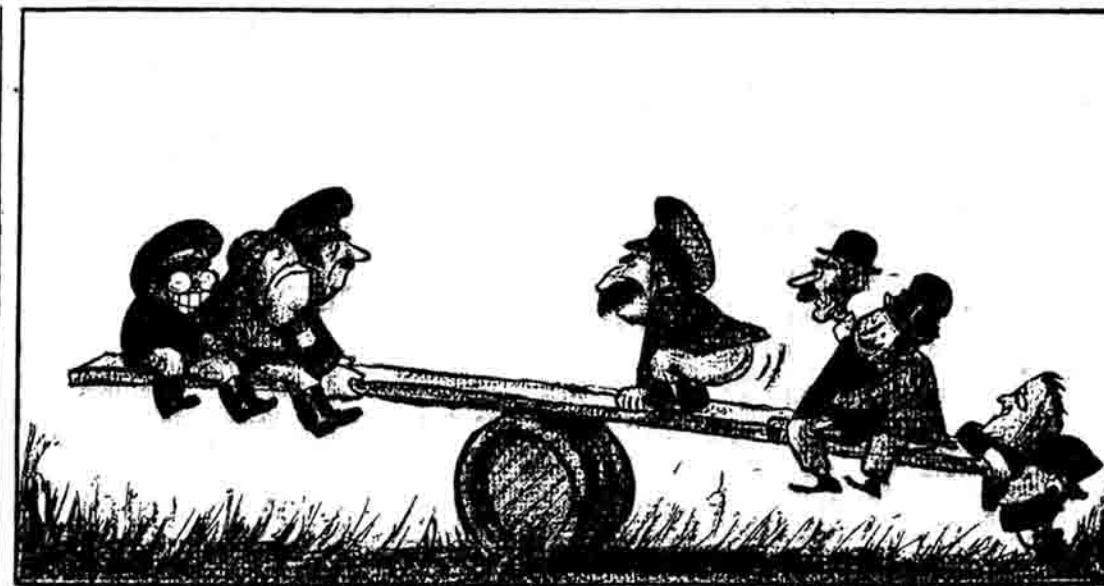
FRIDAY, SEPT. 1, 1939



3c a Copy

WORKERS! GUARD AGAINST F.D.R. PLOT TO DRAG U.S. INTO WAR

"Pact Splits Axis Powers" Daily Worker Headline



Communist Party Members: Break with Stalinist Bondage!

Hunger Strike Against British In Second Month

CALCUTTA, Bengal, India
—Over 100 Indian nationalists and revolutionaries who have been imprisoned in the British "Black Hole of Calcutta" jails for the past 6 years, are now in the second month of a hunger strike for their freedom.

These martyrs of the colonial people are guilty of one thing only. They fought to free their country from the grasping hands of the British exploiters.

From within their British dungeons they have issued a stirring call to India and the workers of the world, urging all people not to give one ounce of support to England in any war and to work unceasingly for the socialist revolution.

Your Choice Must be the Road of Revolutionary Action Against Capitalism, Not The Horrid Deception of Patriotism

Many outraged workers are breaking with the Communist Party. Unfortunately, however, a considerable number of them are leaving one charnel-house to enter another. That is to say, many of them are clinging to yesterday's Stalinist slogans as against today's Stalinist slogans; they will not obey Stalin's command to halt the Hitler-Stalin Pact, but they continue to obey Stalin's command of yesterday to halt the "democratic" imperialists.

Typical Reaction

Typical of these is the following letter received by us:

The Editor
Socialist Appeal
116 University Place
New York City

Dear Sir:

Will you please publish this letter in your column:

To the Communists of the United States

Now that the Soviet has sold out to the Nazis, don't you think it is about time that you returned, both in allegiance and sympathy to that Country which stands above all others for liberty and democracy?

A Disillusioned Communist

The writer of this letter did (Continued on Page 3)

Shachtman, Widick Begin Speaking Tours on the Stalin-Hitler Pact

New impetus was given to the Socialist Workers Party anti-war campaign with the announcement that two special speaking tours began this week on the Stalin-Hitler pact.

Max Shachtman, acting national secretary of the S.W.P., and B. J. Widick, national labor secretary, left New York City to fulfill demands for mass meetings which branches

throughout the country quickly arranged in response to an appeal of the national committee.

Shachtman is scheduled to speak in Chicago, Thursday, August 31; Minneapolis, Friday, September 1; Detroit, Tuesday, September 5; Toronto, Wednesday, September 6 and Boston, Friday, September 8.

Widick will cover Akron, Fri-

War Propaganda Machine Going Full Blast; Boss Press Raises Jingo Cry

While all Europe mobilizes, the war propaganda machine is already at work in this country—trying to beat us down to the point where we will submit to joining in the Second World War.

Two gangs of cut-throats are moving against each other, fighting over the booty they seized from each other or—more important—that they seized from the subject peoples of Asia and Africa.

And as they square off at each other, the war propaganda machine is trying to line us up on the side of one of these gangs of imperialist bandits.

The war propaganda machine in this country, with all the facilities of the radio, the movies and the press at its disposal, is deluging us with war-incitement stuff as crude as anything they fed us in the First World War.

Not only the "yellow" press, but the "respectable" papers are hot-footing it for war.

Read the columns of the most powerful and most "responsible" spokesman for capitalism in the United States—the New York Times. Every line of it bristles with the attempt to whip up a war spirit in this country.

A Lesson In

The Meaning

Of Democracy

While the press in England as well as in the United States howls about the coming war for "democracy" against the "dictatorships", the British Government has given a demonstration of what the next war means.

The Emergency Powers Bill, demanded by Chamberlain and overwhelmingly passed by Parliament on August 24, provides for the following:

1. The King (i.e., the Cabinet) can issue decrees having the force of law.
2. Any property or undertaking except land may be taken over by the government.
3. Any premises may be entered and searched.
4. The Home Secretary may order any arrest he deems expedient.
5. Judicial proceedings may be heard in secret "if the court deems it expedient".
6. "The government may put into operation immediately any measures considered necessary for the national safety."

Both the Labor Party M.P.'s and the Stalinist M.P. Gallagher, voted for this War Dictatorship bill.

Isolationists Join War-Mongers

Just as we predicted they would do, the papers which yesterday talked for "isolation" are today lining up with the war-mongers.

The New York Post is a typical example. Yesterday it said that "collective security" meant war and that America should keep out of Europe's troubles. Today it drops this isolationist talk and begins rooting for the British and French empires.

The Post is now (Monday) yelling for what only the other day it was opposed to: revision of the neutrality laws to enable shipment of armaments to those who will control the seas, namely, Britain and France. "It offers us a way to provide practical help for those with whom we sympathize," says the Post.

Where Arms Go, Soldiers Follow

The Post hypocritically makes a distinction between sending arms and sending soldiers. But everybody who has cut his eye-teeth knows, or ought to know, that where we send arms, we will soon enough send soldiers.

A dozen post-war Congressional investigations established the fact that the United States sent its troops to aid the Allies just as soon as American plutocracy's trade with the Allies was endangered by Allied losses, and to make sure that that trade would continue.

On March 5, 1917, the American ambassador to Great Britain, Walter Hines Page, wrote to the State Department at Washington:

"Perhaps our going to war is the only way in which our present preeminent trade position can be maintained and a panic averted..." (U. S. State Department, Foreign Relations, 1917, Supplement 2, Vol. 1, pp. 516-8)

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BULLETIN

Hereafter the Socialist Appeal will be issued at least three times a week, with special editions as necessary.

COP INCITES POGROM ATTACK ON BOSTON SWP

**Drunken Cop Called
By C.P. Urges Violence,
Arrests 3**

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
BOSTON, August 25, 1939—The victim of a murderous beating by a gang of patriotic hoodlums and veterans, Bernie Merritt, active anti-war fighter of the S.W.P., was sent to Boston City Hospital last night, in the aftermath of a sale of Appeals to a New England C. P. meeting which had been called to explain the Hitler-Soviet pact. Three others, George Matthews, Boston organizer of the S.W.P., William Winnick, and John Hamilton, were arrested.

Until the C.P. called the cops, there had been no trouble. When Sergeant Edward O'Neill of Station 16 arrived he began inciting the crowd to "smash the reds." "Who'll sock the dirty—? These yellow SOB's, why, I fought in the war, and these... were too yellow."

When Matthews protested O'Neill's taking the Appeals away from the Appeal squad, O'Neill ordered Officer Farrell to arrest him. As Winnick went along to find out what station Matthews was being taken to, O'Neill suddenly rushed up, and smashed Winnick across the face with the Appeals, breaking his glasses.

Arrests Assault Witness

Winnick protested and called upon the crowd for witnesses to this assault. Hamilton offered to be a witness and O'Neill immediately yelled, "grab him." O'Neill socked Hamilton, splitting his lip. While the three were waiting for the police wagon, O'Neill continued his patriotic and drunken incitation to violence.

When the wagon came, O'Neill was heard telling the group of hoodlums to meet the wagon on St. Botolph Street, a block away and that he would throw the prisoners to them there. Officer Farrell, however, realizing what a stink such an action would cause, disobeyed his Sergeant, and ordered the driver to turn back and go to the station, where the militants were soon released on bail supplied by the S.W.P. Defense Committee.

Answered C. P. Call

In the patrol wagon it was learned that "the people running the meeting had called," complaining of a "disturbance" in front of the hall, and demanding "protection." It was in response to this call that O'Neill came.

Meanwhile, the mob, crazed by O'Neill's sousing harangue, and knowing they had police protection, turned on Bernie Merritt, Appeal salesman, and beat him and kicked him. When other members of the S.W.P. went to his rescue, he was unconscious and bleeding.

Police Avoid Publicity

The next morning in court, the arrested trio were charged, surprisingly enough with only the minor charge of "sauntering and loitering." Officer Farrell told the defendants that the police didn't want to fight the case and were willing to have it thrown out. After a not guilty plea, the case was continued for 3 weeks.

Evidently the police do not want the search light of publicity on the drunkenness, profanity and incitement to riot of Sergeant O'Neill. The Defense Committee of the S.W.P. is working with the Boston Civil Liberties Union on the case.

In true boss-press lying fashion, the Boston papers tried to make the incident appear as a "pitched battle between Stalinists and Trotskyites," and that Merritt was beaten up by the C.P.ers, so covering up the vicious role of O'Neill and the mob he stirred up.

The C.P. meeting itself put Phil Frankfeld, C.P. leader on the spot. Although a New England open meeting, there were no more than 300 people present, despite C.P. claims to 1000 members in Boston alone. Frankfeld blabbed for two hours, and so little did he convince anyone that in the five minutes after he finished, 75 written questions were submitted, on which Phil spent just 40 minutes.

BROWDERETTE

"The press apologizers of the Munich treachery make the dirty insinuations that the Soviet Union is 'considering' rapprochement with the fascists."—Daily Worker, March 13, 1939.

Stop Fascism In America!

**Will Father Coughlin Become
Dictator of the United States?**

By JOSEPH HANSEN
(SEVENTH INSTALLMENT)

The Defense of the German Workers

The workers in Germany were much better prepared to defend themselves than had been the Italian workers. Many of the militant workers had studied what had happened in Italy and therefore it was much easier for them to recognize exactly what Hitler's promises and Hitler Storm Troopers meant.

Those who suffered broken heads and knife wounds from Hitler's followers, again and again attempted to fight back in the only place that counted, in the streets. There were even several organizations of workers under the control of the Social-Democratic Party of the Second International and the Communist Party of the Third International with thousands of militant members anxiously awaiting the word to defend the labor movement against the Nazi Brown Shirts.

Wherever they actually engaged in struggle, they sent the Nazis cowering for cover.

"Hitler confessed in retrospect: 'Only one thing could have broken our movement—if the adversary had understood its principle and from the first day had smashed with the most extreme brutality, the nucleus of our new movement.' And Goebbels: 'If the enemy had known how weak we were, it would probably have reduced us to jelly. . . It would have crushed in blood the very beginning of our work.'" (Fascism and Big Business, p. 107.)

But the leaders of the workers' organizations either through stupidity or "incredible cowardice" as Hitler puts it (*Mein Kampf*, p. 723.) forbade the workers to engage in any conflict with the followers of Hitler.

"Torgler (a leader of the Communist Party) confessed later: 'For a long time the Communists had ordered their members to renounce all terror. The formula, strike the fascists, was abandoned.'" (Fascism and Big Business, p. 108.)

The leaders of the working class ordered the members of their organization to send letters of protest to the Chief of Police demanding that he do his duty.

An aggressive campaign was launched of — postcard writing.

The Chief of Police responded by lauding the Nazis and wishing that there were more of them.

Editors of workers' newspapers printed headlines announcing the death of Nazism. They wrote editorials ridiculing the Nazis. They predicted that it was absolutely impossible for the preposterous Nazis ever to come to power.

They began an intensive election campaign to prove to the world that terror and violence don't pay at the ballot box.

Even after Hitler had been summoned into power by Hindenburg, the Social-Democrats called on their members to remain "calm" and "not be provoked." The Executive Committee of the Labor Federation sent a letter of protest to President Hindenburg, pointing out that they had always opposed terrorism and violence in all its forms.

The entire strategy of the heads of the labor movement could be summed up: "Help Hindenburg stop the Nazis!"

Torgler confessed that even after Hitler came into power in January, the German Communist Party aspired for only one thing: to last until the elections on March 5 when they hoped to win a huge victory counting noses at the ballot box.

To all persons in doubt as to which side to support, Hitler's decisive and bold actions made him look like a sure winner, no matter what his program said.

The leaders of the labor movement sat on their hands as if completely stupefied and paralyzed, capable only of repeating, "Have you mailed your daily post card to the Chief of Police?"

The harried and desperate, seeking in every direction for a way out, turned from these strategists in despair.

Der Fuehrer dangled colored glass and glittering spangles of tin promises before their eyes. Above all, he promised action.

They moved toward him as if hypnotized.

The labor movement threw away its destiny and went down in blood, bombarding Hitler's allies with postcards.

The Nazi Terror

In order to launch his campaign of terror as quickly as possible, Hitler had the Reichstag, the building housing the legislature, burned down. He blamed this act of arson on the "Jewish communists."

The legislature was dissolved. All democratic rights were suspended. Hitler won a smashing victory at the polls.

Now he had gathered a mass base strong enough to carry out the objective of his entire campaign. He put his program into effect.

He smashed every trade union in the country. Not one survived.

Not one.

Despite the fact that he was born in the Roman Catholic Church and admired its methods and institutions, he crushed even the Catholic trade unions. Like Mussolini, he understood that these unions were composed of workers, not priests, workers whether religious or non-religious.

He seized all the funds of the trade unions. Then he forced every man to join a Nazi union at the head of which sat an employer.

He melted down the statues of the great founders of Germany's labor movement into bullets, and erected in their place the Medieval chopping block. He showed absolutely no mercy. Blood flowed. Heads rolled in the gutter. Workers died under tortures that shocked the entire civilized world.

Overflow Meeting Hears Party Leaders Explain The Stalin-Hitler Pact

NEW YORK, August 27—A foul and ugly that couldn't stand the light of day?" "Stalin's infamous treason consists in this: Stalin has given Hitler the go-ahead signal, the green light, to invade Poland. "When Stalin gave Poland to the Nazis he gave Hitler an excellent strategic point of departure for an attack on the Soviet Union."

The gravity of the world situation, the increasingly perilous situation in which the Soviet Union finds itself after Stalin's capitulation to Hitler, were reflected in the serious demeanor of the workers as they filed into the hall.

Many C. P. Members

A large part of the audience consisted of Communist Party members and sympathizers, and the speeches were largely addressed to them.

James Burnham, editor of the *New Internationalist*, opened the meeting as chairman.

"Members of the Communist Party among us," he began, "the most terrible crisis that has faced mankind is upon us. Civilization will be destroyed or a new world will be made by the overthrow of the old."

"Long ago we predicted that Stalin was preparing to embrace Hitler. That's why he had to kill off the old Bolsheviks."

"Why did Stalin refuse to accept the German refugees? He was preparing to embrace Hitler."

"Stalin had to destroy the Russian Revolution, Stalin had to erect a wall of steel and bullets cemented by the congealed blood of the old Bolsheviks, because he could embrace Hitler."

Shachtman Refutes Browder
Max Shachtman, editor of the *Socialist Appeal*, was the next speaker. Answering Browder's claim that the Hitler-Stalin pact was in conformity with a long-established policy, Shachtman cited, in particular, Maxim Litvinov's book, until yesterday the main authority on Soviet foreign policy, in which Litvinov stated:

"There is no room for bargaining with aggressors. There is no room for pacts with aggressors. In other words, the aggressor must be met resolutely and aggressively. On the other hand there is another theory that the aggressors be treated gently, conversed with, that compromise agreements be made with them. Unfortunately this is a policy that has brought three wars with the fourth in the offing." ("Soviet Policy and World Peace.")

"Browder says the pact is a weapon for peace," Shachtman went on. "Why, then, didn't he openly advocate it? Why didn't he advise Stalin to make a pact with Hitler? Why was the pact made in secret, like something

"We of the Fourth International plead with the members of the Communist Party to fight for peace, security and freedom, but these can only be obtained by the World Socialist Revolution, and in no other way."

Some of the world's finest libraries were gutted and the books heaped in the streets, drenched with oil and burned like witches at the stake.

Der Fuehrer lynched science and crucified art.

All the workers' savings and insurance were confiscated by *Der Fuehrer's* government.

Strikes were outlawed.

Wages were slashed as much as fifty per cent. Hours were lengthened all over Germany. The unemployed were herded into great concentration camps and worked like the slave armies of the Pharaohs, slowly starving to death on the vilest kind of rations.

Before 1933, swinging a sledge hammer on a boulder in chain gang rhythm would have been called "serving a prison sentence at hard labor." *Der Fuehrer* called it "liquidating unemployment."

Der Fuehrer compelled all workers to carry labor passports which the employer may keep if he wishes, even though the employee risk breaking the law and quit. Without that passport, no man can get a job.

Except for a heavy profit for Big Business, *Der Fuehrer* began pouring the entire wealth of the nation into the war machine. Even children of four and five are marched with wooden rifles under military instruction in Nazi Germany.

Der Fuehrer enacted laws giving the employers the right to shift men wherever they please in the nation at any wage and at any kind of work no matter what objections a worker might dare humbly whisper.

Of all the gilt and tinsel promises made by Hitler, he broke every one except this: he preserved PRIVATE PROPERTY.

(To be continued in next issue)

Socialist Appeal
116 University Place
New York City.

I would like to get better acquainted with your paper, the *Socialist Appeal*. Please send me sample copies for the next few weeks.

Name

Address

City

The Anti-War Campaign

WAR CRISIS INTENSIFIES PARTY DRIVE

(Continued on Page 2)

man on the Stalin-Hitler alliance which will be out during the coming week.

The four-page printed leaflet previously planned for the campaign will be enlarged to cover both the international situation and the immediate fight against war. It will be out during the coming week likewise, in an issue of 100,000 copies.

Special activities and plans for reaching the membership of the Communist Party.

Some Quotas Reached

Meanwhile, three more branches have topped their quota marks for the Anti-War Fund of \$10,000, half of which is due by September 15. Three thousand more copies of the pamphlet, "Let the People Vote on War," have been ordered by branches in the last three days, making a total of over 11,000 sent out to date. The quota for the Party is 15,000 by the September 15 deadline. From reports received thus far, there seems to be no doubt that the quota of 25,000 signatures for the War Referendum petition will be surpassed.

The last third of the Party campaign is ahead. Full steam forward!

TOLEDO

The Toledo branch rings the bell on three quotas—fund drive, petition signatures and Appeal subscriptions, and plans are going forward for the public meeting which will wind up the campaign on scheduled time. In place of an outdoor meeting, the entire branch was mobilized 100% for a house-to-house canvass for petition signatures, netting 200 during the past week. Also as a result of campaign activity, good work has been done in youth organizations and a Toledo Y.P.S.L. unit is expected as the result of it, if present plans work out.

ROCHESTER

Rochester also goes over the top on the Fund Drive, plus a few cents for good measure. Turning from a successful anti-Coughlin drive during which over 1,000 of Comrade Hansen's pamphlet were sold, the branch has opened a program of two outdoor meetings a week on the anti-war campaign. Leaflets will be distributed in each neighborhood where the rallies are held. A mass meeting on September 15 will mark the culmination of the Rochester campaign.

FLINT

A fresh batch of filled petition sheets from Flint carries the branch over its quota mark; and an additional \$2.50 for the Anti-War Fund lends point to its promise to complete that quota also by next week. "The campaign was certainly timely," writes Comrade Geller. "Widespread interest in the party is evidenced here as a result of our resolute anti-war stand. We are planning the distribution of thousands of leaflets at the Labor Day picnic, Saturday, September 2 here. . . . Also we will distribute announcements of our open meeting on the war question at this picnic, at which many thousands will be in attendance."

CLEVELAND

The program of three outdoor meetings a week during the anti-war campaign is moving along without a break. The meetings in the Public Square being particularly successful in attendance, literature sales and petition signatures. The mass meeting planned for September 8 will also be turned into a house-warming: the branch is moving into practically palatial headquarters at 4618 Euclid Avenue, with an office, bookshop and reading room, and a hall seating 200 people. "We need more petition blanks pronto," writes Organizer Preis, "as you can see we are putting on all steam for the final stretch with three and four public meetings a week."

READING

"The campaign in Reading is becoming consolidated," reports Campaign Director Adams; and to prove it, he displays filled quotas on pamphlets and petition signatures. The pamphlet quota, as a matter of fact, is filled over 200% with the comrades ordering another bundle. Like other sections which have thrown themselves into the campaign, he



NEW YORK TOPS WEEK'S SUBSCRIPTION LIST

In the past week New York City brought in the best results, even though they are meagre as yet, in the subscription campaign being conducted by the *Socialist Appeal* in conjunction with the War Referendum Campaign of the Socialist Workers Party. New York City turned in 11 new subscriptions and 5 renewals. A total of 23 new subscriptions and 11 renewals came in. In addition to New York City they were: New—Minneapolis 2, New Castle 1, Chicago 4, Washington, D.C. 1, St. Paul 3, Miscellaneous 1; Renewals—Minneapolis 3, Newark 1, San Francisco 1, Canada 1.

The number of new and renewal subscriptions turned in to date during the campaign is as follows:

	New	Renewal
Los Angeles	1	
San Francisco	2	1
New Haven	2	1
Washington, D.C.	2	1
Chicago	7	
Kansas	1	
Detroit	3	1
St. Paul	9	1
Minneapolis	7	3
St. Louis	2	
Newark	8	1
New York City	24	5
Toledo	5	
Cleveland	2	
Akron	4	
San Diego	1	
New Castle	1	
Canada	1	
Miscellaneous	1	
	82	15

Chester Johnson writes from Minneapolis that they are taking steps to increase the newsstand circulation of both the *Socialist Appeal* and *The New Internationalist*.

writes further: "We are reaching many people that were never touched by any radical party and our reception has been favorable."

MINNEAPOLIS . . . sends in \$80 on the Anti-War Fund and four hundred more petition signatures were gathered in the past week. A tag day for pamphlet and Appeal sales on the North Side was held on August 27.

SOUTH BEND . . . has been getting results in bringing the war referendum issue before progressive trade unionists, and into the local newspapers. The latter, incidentally, has been done by comparatively few branches; it's easy enough if tried. Without having been given any quota, the branch has gathered 50 signatures for the petition.

SAN FRANCISCO . . . sends us a copy of a printed Open Letter to the Members of the Communist Party and YCLC distributed in thousands of copies to the local Stalinists. "You have been told that the Trotskyites are 'Fascist,'" says the leaflet. "Browder's constitution forbids you to talk with Trotskyites. But now you see WHO makes deals with Fascists! We, the Trotskyites, invite you to an open meeting where these events will be discussed, where you may ask questions and discuss with us in comradely fashion." The meeting is scheduled for Sept. 1.

CHICAGO and YOUNGSTOWN have mass meetings scheduled for the coming week.

ST. PAUL . . . fills its Appeal bundle-increase quota, and the branch secretary comments on the reception of the campaign in St. Paul: "We have found a very favorable response to the requests for petition signatures. We find people who say, 'You don't have to say any more; it's against war I'm for it.' There is an almost unanimous sentiment for it."

ternational. Both publications have been placed on several new stands.

The Toledo comrades, writes B. Corman, have arranged that the literature committee should sponsor a subscription campaign and is offering a prize for the most subscriptions obtained. Also the Branch is subsidizing the mailing of 15 to 20 copies to leading trade unionists, as a result of which they hope to secure new subscriptions.

APPEAL AND N. I. SALES NUMBER 1 IN LOS ANGELES

Los Angeles is doing well with the distribution of the *Appeal*, according to a report of the Literature Director, Harry Fischer. 200 copies per issue are disposed of at the present time. Crews of *Appeal* salesmen have been organized to sell the paper regularly from house to house. The Executive Committee has passed a resolution to the effect that every working member must subscribe to the *Socialist Appeal* and *The New Internationalist* and every other comrade must purchase our press. Distribution of the *Socialist Appeal* and *The New Internationalist* was placed as the number one item on the agenda of the Anti-War Campaign in Los Angeles.

The San Francisco comrades are making special efforts to distribute the issues of the *Appeal* carrying analyses of the Stalin-Hitler Pact. An order for 300 extra copies of this issue was placed by Literature Agent, El Booth. She also reports that street sales are still being carried on with continued success.

The Canadian comrades, although they have the problem of maintaining their own publication, *Socialist Action*, nevertheless always are on the job trying to extend the circulation of the *Appeal* and *The New Internationalist*.

Obviously the major cities have yet to come through in adequate fashion in this campaign, but reports from the various cities would indicate that the quotas are capable of being achieved.

RESIGN FROM STALINIST-RUN ORGANIZATION

In protest against the Hitler-Stalin pact, leading officers and members of the International Jewish Cultural Verband, Stalinist organization, resigned.

Its honorary president, Dr. Chaim Zhitlovsky, B. Z. Goldberg, editor of the Jewish Day, P. P. Hirschfeld, Boruch Glazman, J. Opotashow, Dr. A. Mudolnir, were among those who resigned.

Moishe Nadir, poet and a leading contributor to the Yiddish Freiheit, Communist Party organ, resigned from its staff and published his letter of resignation in the Yiddish press last week.

The Jewish Daily Forward of August 29 states that Melach Epstein, former managing editor of the Freiheit, and Louis Hyman, prominent Stalinist leader in the needle trades, are also resigning.

Dr. Daniel Luttinger wishes to announce that he will continue to care for the patients of his brother, the late Dr. Paul Luttinger at his office, 1684 Grand Concourse, Bronx, New York.

Prominent Entertainers to Appear At N.Y. Anti-War Fighters Dance

The committee in charge of arrangements for the Dance to be held under the auspices of the N.Y. District Committee at Irving Plaza on September 16 have just completed arrangements to have several well-known Negro entertainers appear on the program. A complete announcement of the program will be made in the next week's issue of the *Appeal* at which time the names of the entertainers and the band will be announced.

The Committee refused to divulge the names of the enter-

tainers at this time, since they want to announce the full program next week. It was stated, however, that the most popular stars of the last Pioneer Party will appear again in some special numbers which are guaranteed to surpass last year's entertainment. The Committee repeats that this year's party will not only surpass anything that has been done at similar affairs, but will set a new high which they say won't easily be attained. Tickets for the Dance sell at 75 cents and may be obtained at the office of the S.W.P., 116 University Place.

What Road Will the C.P. Members Take?

The Road to Revolution Is the Road of the Fourth International

(Continued from Page 1)

not, we are sure, join the Communist Party because he wanted to worship Roosevelt and the capitalist regime of the United States. He joined the Communist Party because he wanted to fight for a better world.

Believe Yesterday's Teachings
But in the Communist Party, he was systematically taught that the "democracies" deserved the adherence of the world working class. He was systematically indoctrinated with the false doctrines of "collective security" and the "Popular Front," and Roosevelt, he was told day in and day out, was the embodiment of these doctrines.

When Stalin switched over to the Axis Powers, the worker who wrote this letter, and thousands like him, wouldn't go along. But, having been taught nothing of the fundamental revolutionary principles of Marx and Lenin—these things are not taught in the Communist Party—many of these workers are now simply holding on to what Stalin decreed yesterday.

Betrayal Began Long Ago!
Comrades of the Communist Party! Stalin's betrayal of the working class did not begin with the Hitler-Stalin pact. When he delivered the Communist Parties of the "democracies" to the Daladier, Chamberlain and Roosevelt—this began in 1934—Stalin thereby consummated as black a betrayal as this present one.

Nor did Stalin's role as betrayer begin in 1934. It began in 1923 when he seized the reins of power, turned his back on the World Revolution, abandoned the German revolution (1923), subordinated the Communist Party of Britain to a deal he made with the reactionary English trade union bureaucrats (1925), subordinated the Communist Party of China to a pact with the Chiang-Kai-Shek government (1925-1927), destroyed the Russian Communist Party, expelling, exiling and executing and torturing his opponents (beginning in 1927), ordered the German Communist Party—with 600,000 members and six million supporters—to capitulate to Hitler without a fight (1933).

Popular Front Deception
Stalin wooed Hitler in 1933 and thereafter—without success for the time being. To show Hit-

ler that he was a useful ally, Stalin gave him a demonstration of his power: he initiated the Popular Front movements in the various countries.

What were these movements? Nothing but what revolutionists had always denounced: coalitions between capitalist and workers' parties, coalitions which the yellow Social Democracy had always practiced, and which the Communist International, in the days of Lenin and Trotsky, had denounced for what they were: betrayal of the workers.

With the aid of Stalin, the Popular Front government of France, first under Blum, then under Daladier, destroyed the French revolution which rose in the June 1936 strikes. With the aid of Stalin, the Popular Front government of Spain directed its energies at suppressing the social revolution and thereby immeasurably facilitated Franco's victory.

Voted Arms Budgets
The most precious tradition of the labor movement has always been to vote against all armament appropriations in capitalist countries. So established was this tradition, that as late as the Seventh Congress of the Comintern (1935) Dimitroff swore that the Stalin-Laval treaty would not end this tradition, that the French Communist Party would continue to vote against armament. Instead, even after the Stalin-Laval treaty had withered away, even after Daladier had smashed the general strike of November, 1938—even then, in the name of "collective security," the French Communist Party voted for Daladier's war bills, and is still swearing its loyalty to Daladier's war measures.

Comrades! Was Stalinism any better when Stalin's murderers were killing the revolutionists in Spain, killing them in the name of "democracy"?
Comrades! Was Stalinism any better when—just a few weeks ago—it helped Roosevelt break the WPA strike? When it deliberately lied about Roosevelt's responsibility for the Roosevelt-Woodrum Starvation Law, the figures for which Roosevelt himself dictated in his April 27, 1939 relief-budget message to Congress? When it deliberately lied about Roosevelt's responsibility for wiping

out the prevailing wage on WPA, and did not print his direct statement to that effect? Was Stalinism any better when it failed to print a single word about Roosevelt's Attorney General Murphy's attempt to frame the WPA strikers in Minneapolis, where 103 strikers are now standing trial for the "crime" of "striking against the government"?

How pitiful, to turn back to Roosevelt, precisely at the moment when he is driving this country as hard as he can toward entering the Second World War! To turn to Roosevelt, when it has become clear to more and more of his trade union supporters that Roosevelt will give no more crumbs to labor! "The president is now definitely aligned against labor"—these are not our words, but those of a conservative trade union organ, the St. Paul Union Advocate, formerly a Roosevelt supporter. Are you, who once called yourselves revolutionists, going to move to the right of conservative trade unionists?

Herald of Dictatorship
Just look at Roosevelt's recently-appointed War Resources Board—the board which will run this country in time of war. Stettinius, the highest official of J. P. Morgan's U.S. Steel Corporation, Pratt of DuPont's General Motors Corporation, General Wood, head of Sears, Roebuck & Co., Gifford, head of American Telephone & Telegraph—these generals of the Sixty Families, these are Roosevelt's appointed dictators for the coming war!

No wonder Hugh Johnson weeps in the New York World-Telegram that these appointments were a blunder, that "to lead a country into war, you have to do everything possible to carry full popular support," and that Roosevelt's appointments will lead people to call it "a Morgan-Du Pont war personally conducted by General Motors and U.S. Steel." Yes, the appointments were a blunder on Roosevelt's part—but whoever he appointed, the war would be a Morgan-Du Pont war.

Regime Built on Lies
Are Roosevelt's morals any better than Stalin's? His regime is built on lies, like Stalin's. The lies are more suave, more plausible, because the rich American plutocracy can still afford—for the time being—to pay the overhead costs of democratic forms. But the lies are getting thinner, as the war comes near. The Roosevelt smile is beginning to show its teeth.

Like the "New Democracy" of the "radical" Wilson, the "New Deal" of Roosevelt has deluded many. But at this late date, when the New Deal myth is cracking wide open, not a single militant should be taken in. Neither Stalin-Hitler nor Stalin-Roosevelt!

Enlist in Anti-War Fight!
There's only one war worth fighting for—the war for the liberation of humanity from the yoke of capitalism.

There's only one army worth marching in—neither Stalin's nor Roosevelt's, but the army of social revolution.

Enlist in the revolutionary fight against war!
Join the Socialist Workers Party!

Join the Socialist Workers Party

FOR A ROLLICKING GOOD TIME

Come to the Anti-War Fighters'

FALL FROLIC

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Irving Plaza Ballroom

Fifteenth Street at Irving Place

Swing Band—Professional Entertainment

Tickets Seventy-Five Cents—On Sale at Socialist Workers Party, New York District
116 UNIVERSITY PLACE

Events Clarify a Question: Why The C. P. Wouldn't Fight the Fascists, Feb. 20 and Aug. 19

"What would Stalin do in the event of an agreement with Hitler?"

"The noisy, hysterical and hollow campaign against Fascism which the Comintern has been conducting for the last few years will be silyly squelched. It is noteworthy that on February 20th when we mobilized considerable masses of workers to fight against the American Nazis, the Stalinists refused point-blank to participate in the counter-demonstration which had nationwide repercussions, and they did everything in their power to minimize its importance, thereby giving aid to the American followers of Hitler. What is there behind this truly treacherous policy? Is it only conservative stupidity and hatred of the Fourth International? Or is there also something new, for example, the latest instruction from Moscow, recommending to Messrs. 'Anti-Fascists' that they muzzle themselves so as not to interfere with the negotiations between Moscow and Berlin diplomats? This supposition is by no means far-fetched. The next few weeks will bring verification."—Socialist Appeal, March 28, 1939.

It was verified!
First, by the additional refusal of the Stalinists to participate in the August 19 anti-Fascist demonstration against the Coughlin-Bund parade.
Second, by the Hitler-Stalin pact!

ROOSEVELT PROSECUTION OF WPA STRIKERS HIT BY SAILORS UNION

In a stiff resolution adopted at its meeting of July 31, the Sailors Union of the Pacific condemned Attorney General Murphy and the entire national administration for the criminal proceedings against workers who struck against WPA wage cuts, hitting especially at the "You can't strike against the government" talk of Roosevelt and his subordinates.

Stating that "one of the most ugly aftermaths of the recent WPA strike is the threat by Attorney General Murphy and the Roosevelt administration to institute criminal proceedings" against the WPA strikers, the resolution continues:

"Whereas, President Roosevelt, in order to intimidate workers striking in defense of their rights, declared that: 'You can't strike against the government,' which he had no right to do as to our knowledge there is no law that gave him the authority to abrogate the right to strike on any job, whether public or private, and

"Whereas, if we, the members of the Sailors Union of the Pacific, permit these dictatorial acts to go by unchallenged and unprotected, we leave ourselves open to the same threats of criminal prosecution made against the WPA strikers and all pickets around flink ships, such as the Coldbrook and the Satarita and pickets around flink halls would have the same threats hanging over their heads, and

"Whereas, if this is what we can expect from the so-called 'New Deal,' then as far as workers are concerned there is no difference between the New Deal and the typical raw deal that organized labor has always gotten from labor-hating bosses and politicians, therefore be it

"Resolved, That we protest the usurpation of dictatorial power implicit in the threats to prosecute workers for striking to defend their livelihood and declare that we will resist to the utmost any attempt at fascist regimentation of American labor, and be it further

"Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the President of the United States, the Attorney General, etc."

Who's Against the War Referendum?

Fascists Agree with Roosevelt

By HAL DRAPER

When the Ludlow resolution of the ideology of . . . fascism.
Mussolini Sees a Convert
Mussolini's personal organ, *Popolo d'Italia*, in an editorial on December 27, 1937, seized the opportunity to demonstrate that, in really vital matters, the great "democracies" adopt the fascists' attitude toward democracy:

"Referendums are fine when it is a question of choosing a suitable spot for a town fountain, but when the supreme interests of a people [meaning the bosses and plutocrats—H. D.] are at stake, even the most democratic governments take care not to trust the people's judgment."

The Ludlow amendment, continued the *Popolo d'Italia*, committed the error of taking democracy seriously, and this explains the opposition of the government and the newspapers.

Nazis Pleased

A couple of weeks later, when the war referendum was pushed off the House agenda and again buried in a subcommittee, the *Berliner Tageblatt*, one of Goebbels' battery of loudspeakers, likewise added its approval.

The incident proved, said the *Tageblatt*, that the United States Government and Congress recognized that democracy does not work, at least when important decisions are to be made. (N. Y. Times, Jan. 12, 1938.)

A REQUEST

All available copies of Vol. 3 No. 9 of this year's *Appeal* are needed for purposes of binding.

We would appreciate it if Appeal readers would send in as many copies of this issue as they may have available.

'PEACE' PARADE FIZZLES UNDER PACT SHADOW

NEW YORK, August 27.—That the Hitler-Stalin pact just couldn't be rammed down the throats of the rank and file members and sympathizers of the Communist Party was amply demonstrated today by the annual parade of the Stalinist stooge organization, the American League for Peace and Democracy.

It was the first public affair run by the Stalinists since the Hitler-Stalin pact and provided a preliminary test of the effects of the pact on the Stalinist organizations.

The League had announced, prior to the Hitler-Stalin pact, that 50,000 would march, and had issued an imposing list of 120 union groups, as well as other organizations, that would march. Last year about 25,000 to 30,000 marched in the parade.

Workers Jeer
Yesterday, however, there were 4,000, according to the official police estimate, and even the League did not claim more than 8,000. There were only a score of trade union banners, with small groups marching behind them.

Mindful that the parade was winding through the Jewish East Side, not a single banner was carried defending the Hitler-Stalin pact. What reception such banners would have received was clear enough, all along the line of march. Cries came from the by-standers: "Stalin sold out Poland to Hitler", "Heil Stalin", "Where's your new pal Fritz Kuhn?", and "There go the Stalin-Bundists."

At Washington Square Park, where the parade wound up, speakers devoted much of their time to the one subject which had not been mentioned in the placards and slogans: the Hitler-Stalin pact.

Get This, If You Can!
Rev. Thomas L. Harris, executive secretary of the American League for Peace and Democracy, issued a League statement defending the Hitler-Stalin pact. In a ludicrous attempt to distinguish the League from the Stalinist position, the statement accepted "only" the pact, but "regrets" the trade agreement. They swallow the camel and strain at a gnat!

The paraders were listless, few slogans being shouted in the customary manner.

Socialist Appeals, carrying analyses of the Hitler-Stalin pact, sold well along the line of march.

THE NEGRO QUESTION

By J. R. JOHNSON

The Effects of Capitalist Propaganda

We have seen in the case of the Chicago race-riots how brazenly capitalist society can obscure a truth hostile to itself, and how persistently it propagates lies. Let us take another type of capitalist propaganda, widespread, generally accepted, and poisoning the roots of the radical movement. It is fashionable to say, with a sad shake of the head, "Yes, the Negro is badly treated in the South, but he 'accepts' it. After the revolution, of course, he will be different."

Skillfully the Southerners spread the doctrine that the economic exploitation, the vicious social discrimination, the lynching, all these crimes against humanity the Negro "accepts" because he is a Negro, and therefore docile. These Southern Fascists say that they know how to manage the Negro.

And yet these liars, among themselves, use a phrase that completely contradicts this theory of Negro "acceptance". It is this: "If you let a nigger get out from under control, there is nothing in the world you can do but kill him." In other words: keep the Negroes in chains or they will blow this society to pieces.

But the Negroes Do Not "Accept"

That is the real truth. The whole Southern system is based on the fact that the Negro does not "accept," and the Southerner knows it. After mankind domesticated the horse, the dog, the cat, and the cow, these "accepted". There is no need to worry about them any longer. They are tame. But lions and tigers, even performing lions and tigers, highly-trained and tamed, men keep in iron cages. Who in his senses would say that these animals "accept" their captivity? They are sometimes beaten into passivity. Terrorized, they eat from the keeper's hand. But he keeps them in the cage. For he knows that, given the slightest opportunity, they would throw off their docility and strike right and left like any wild beast in the jungle. That is the situation of the Negro in the South. For the last seventy-five years, he has been caged.

There is no need to deal here with the long history of the Negro revolts, the thousands who ran away, who killed their masters, mutilated themselves, committed suicide, set fire to plantations, to cities, and even to whole districts. These we shall treat elsewhere. But one monumental fact we must puncture at once, that the Negro slaves during the Civil War, even those who remained behind, were loyal to their masters.

This is the tale: The gallant Southerners went forth to war leaving behind their wives and daughters in the protection of their faithful and affectionate slaves. Lovely stuff. For fools and readers of "Gone With the Wind", film fans, and revolutionaries who do not realize how profoundly, persistently and maliciously the bourgeoisie imposes its ideas.

Facts Are Quite Different

When the Southerners passed their first conscription act in 1862, they left behind one white man for every twenty slaves. Later they made it one for every fifteen. Rigid patrol duties were enforced to keep in subjection those supposedly so loyal slaves. Owners sent overseers to manage these loyal slaves. In addition, for every twenty-five slaves, there was one Negro driver. For every fifty slaves, there was one white overseer. For every hundred slaves, there was one manager. For every eight hundred slaves, there was a superintendent. For every two thousand four hundred slaves, there was a director. An officer would place a body of cavalry around laboring slaves; another would put them under lock and key with a heavy guard on evenings. And yet these loyal Negroes deserted to the Northern Army. All the array of managers, directors, superintendents, locks and keys and guards could not keep them. So much for the loyalty and the "acceptance".

Today, does the Southerner have faith in the loyalty and docility of the Negro? It isn't only that the Negro is prevented from voting, is driven into economic servitude, is segregated, is lynched. The Southerners watch him as if they expected a revolution every day. A loaded pistol faces him at every turn. In certain Southern cities, if he attempts to come out of a bus by the front door, he faces the pistol barrel of a white policeman. And he knows that the policeman will fire, so he turns and goes out at the back. A Negro farmer who does well and begins to look prosperous, is warned, and if he continues with this crime, he is beaten and driven out of the district in fear of his life. A Negro policeman from Washington revisits the South and, going for a ride, wears riding breeches. He is forced to take them off.

Many Negroes were beaten and some were lynched for wearing their private uniforms after the war. In small things and in large it is the same story. What does it mean? What could it mean but that the whites have a desperate fear of these so-called loyal, so-called docile, so-called "accepting" Negroes. "If you let a nigger get out from under control, there is nothing in the world you can do but kill him." They at least have no illusions about Negro "acceptance".

They Await the Call to Action

Doubtless there are many Negroes in the South who are cowed and politically backward, who see no way out, and who think that to be trodden underfoot is the fate of the Negro. But the desire for action is very near the surface. That situation can change overnight. Many of the boldest emigrate. But many thousands, who feel the bitterness of their position, are still in the South. All around is bourgeois democracy and a certain political and social freedom for whites. Some read the Negro press and see how their friends and relations in the North day to day win a few more privileges. There are enough of them to give that lead which transforms the masses. And that is the reason for the rigid terror, the control by Southern whites. We only help them by talking about the Negro "acceptance". If when we say they accept we mean they submit to force, then we are saying what is true, but we are saying it very badly. For when the bourgeois says that the Negro accepts, he means the Negro is contented with his lot in the South, that he is contented because he is a Negro, and Negroes are happiest that way. And that is a brazen and abominable lie.

Quite recently the press was filled with accounts of how the Negroes in Miami defied the Ku Klux Klan and voted. But it was many weeks after before the leader of the Miami Negroes disclosed in an interview how, at the height of the agitation, the Negroes sat up waiting for the Klan with their Winchester rifles across their knees. But none of the capitalist papers printed that. The Southern Fascists suppress every example of Negro militancy. They want everyone to believe that Negroes "accept". We, however, are not going to allow ourselves to be duped by the passivity of the terrorized Negroes. "If you let a nigger get out from under control, there is nothing in the world you can do but kill him". Good. That we accept. We shall struggle side by side with the Negro to break that control. For the Negro out of "control" can kill as well as be killed.

Browderette

Earl Browder was asked by a member of his audience at the Institute of Public Affairs in Charlottesville, Va., July 5:

"Is there any possibility, as has been often suggested, of the Soviet Union entering into an agreement with Germany?"

Comrade Browder was quick with reassurance:

"The most active source of such rumors," he replied, "is Berlin, which has hopes of confusing the democracies with such stories. There is about as much chance of such an agree-

ment as of Earl Browder being elected president of the American Chamber of Commerce."

(From the New York World-Telegram, August 26, 1939)

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Did the Pact Surprise You? Then Get These Books and Pamphlets at The Special Labor Bookshop Prices

The Stalin-Hitler pact has hit the members and sympathizers of the Communist Party with the impact of a thunderbolt. Their party, their champion, an ally of the Berlin brigand!

But the logic of Stalinist politics which long ago deserted the cause of revolution led inevitably to just such pacts. The whole scheme of pacts, reliance on the boss nations instead of on proletarian might, merely expressed itself in its latest turn in the pact with Hitler. When Stalin left the road of internationalism for the reactionary chimera of "Socialism in One Country", Stalin-Hitler pacts became the normal course of development.

For many years, the press of the Fourth International has been explaining the meaning and nature of Stalinism. Notably in the works of Leon Trotsky, who at every turn of international events, analyzed, predicted and warned the working class of Stalin's perfidy.

For those who are not already familiar with the writings of Leon Trotsky, and especially for the Communist Party members and sympathizers, the Labor Bookshop and Pioneer Publishers, both located at 116 University Place in New York City are offering at special prices the following books and pamphlets. Of many of these, only a few copies are available and readers are urged to take quick advantage of their opportunity to buy them. Mail orders should be sent to Pioneer Publishers.

BOOKS and PAMPHLETS by LEON TROTSKY

The Revolution Betrayed (300 pp.) \$2.50
The Third International After Lenin (357 pp.)98
Stalin School of Falsification (325 pp.) 1.50
The History of the Russian Revolution (1400 pp.) 2.60
My Life (450 pp.) 4.00

Stalinism and Bolshevism10
Whither France35
Lessons of October (125 pp.)35
In Defense of the Soviet Union10
The Suppressed Testament of Lenin15

ON THE MOSCOW TRIALS

Case of Leon Trotsky—Verbatim Report of Dewey Commission (600 pp.)49
Not Guilty—Verdict of Commission of Inquiry (420 pp.) 1.00
Behind the Moscow Trials—Max Shachtman25
I Stake My Life—Leon Trotsky05
Why Did They "Confess"?10
World Voices on the Moscow Trials15

RUSSIA, SPAIN, PEOPLES FRONT, etc.

World Revolution—Rise and Fall of the Communist International—C.L.R. James (429 pp.) \$2.50
Russia Twenty Years After—Victor Serge (300 pp.)98
From Lenin to Stalin—Victor Serge (112 pp.)35
Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Spain—Pérez Morrow (200 pp.)50
The Peoples Front—James Burnham15
Fascism and Big Business—Daniel Guerin (340 pp.) 2.00
War and the Fourth International10

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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. Thirty dollar 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 vigilantes and Fascist attacks.
12. Full social, political and economic equality for the Negro people.

Workers! On Guard Against F.D.R. Plot To Drag U.S. into War

(Continued from Page 1)

Are we going to allow the lessons of 1917 to be so easily forgotten? Are we going to be taken in again by the 1917 bunk about "fighting for democracy" and a "war to end war"?

As a matter of fact, proof exists that the lessons of 1917 have NOT been forgotten. This proof sticks like a bone in the throat of every war-monger, forcing him to talk at this stage only about "practical help" to one of the warring groups in the form of war supplies, hoping that we will get in so deep that we will have to go the whole way.

This proof is there, for everyone to see, in the Gallup and Fortune polls.

The People Want No War

In the Fortune survey, in reply to the question whether, if France and England go to war, we should "send our army and navy abroad to help them," only 3 per cent of those asked thought we should do so immediately, 25 per cent thought we should do so "only if it is clear they are losing," 6 or 7 per cent were undecided, AND 66 PER CENT THOUGHT WE SHOULD NOT SEND OUR ARMY AND NAVY ACROSS AT ALL.

In the Gallup polls, up to 75 per cent declared their opposition to our sending troops to fight in Europe's battles.

And since, as everybody knows—even the Stalinists who pretend otherwise—there isn't a combination of powers in the world that can successfully invade the continental United States, the sentiment of the people expressed in the Fortune and Gallup polls is a sentiment against all conceivable wars that the United States might participate in.

It is this powerful anti-war sentiment, this mass opposition to American entry into any war, which the war propaganda machine is now desperately attempting to pervert, to stifle, to destroy.

All the war-mongers know that the American people will not willingly consent to be sent to the slaughter-houses across the sea.

They Are Afraid of the People

That's why all the war-mongers are against our demand to LET THE PEOPLE VOTE ON WAR! LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE!

That's why all the war-mongers are opposed to our proposal to take the war-making power away from Congress and put it in the hands of the people, by a direct, popular referendum.

That's why Roosevelt last year raised a lynch spirit against Congressional proponents of the Ludlow amendment for a popular referendum on war, even though the Ludlow amendment left all kinds of loopholes.

That's why no Congressman has introduced an amendment for a popular referendum on war free of the loopholes contained in the Ludlow amendment.

They are all AFRAID to permit the WILL OF THE PEOPLE to express itself!

They are too close to the war, they are too far along in their preparations for American

entry into the war, to permit such "luxuries" as the will of the people.

How far along they—the American government and the capitalist class it represents—are on the road to war, is evidenced by the brazen speech in Boston, August 28, of Louis Johnson, Assistant Secretary of War, denouncing the existing neutrality legislation as "very nearly equivalent to presenting Germany with an Atlantic fleet."

Johnson wants to present the British and French Empires with, not only the equivalent of an Atlantic fleet, but with the Atlantic and Pacific fleets of the United States and as many million troops as he can draft, equip and train.

Why They Want War

Why does Assistant Secretary of War Johnson—who of course speaks in such matters for President Roosevelt—want to put us into this war?

The war propaganda machine gives very idealistic reasons for going to war. "The real issue" is the title of a New York Times editorial, August 28, and the real issue, it says, is "whether or not Herr Hitler's personal system of rule in Germany and its methods are to be allowed to poison everybody's life."

And the day before, the Times described the coming war as 'a titanic struggle between democracy and totalitarianism.'

Lies, lies, lies.

The answer to Johnson, Roosevelt, the New York Times and the rest of the war mongers can be given in the words of one of the few big daily papers which hasn't gone over to the war—yet. Reflecting the overwhelming anti-war sentiment of the Middle West, the Minneapolis Morning Tribune, August 25, said editorially:

"It is nothing less than absurd to say that either England and France will go to war to prevent Hitler from doing a moral, economic or political wrong to Poland. If such be the present case, it is the first time in the long, and rather bloody history of both these nations, who have managed in one way or the other to grab off most of the good things of the earth.

"Pious platitudes, of course, are welling up in every European chancellery, and popular emotions are being whipped up to a white froth of bellicosity by them. But it behooves the American people never to lose sight of the fact that neither the democracies nor the totalitarian states of Europe go to war for a principle. They go to war for a profit, either to gain a greater profit or to maintain the profit they have already gained, in some previous war.

"The sublimation of the profit motive into self-sacrificing righteousness is one of the neatest tricks of war politics. . . .

"We should remember that not so very long ago we fervently elected a president because he kept us out of war, only to find ourselves enthusiastically in that war in a few months, and that we aren't out of it yet."

The 'New Democracy' in 1917

Not so enthusiastically did we enter that last war. They couldn't get more than a trickle of Americans to voluntarily enlist. The "New Democracy" of Wilson had to resort to the draft to drag enough soldiers for the slaughter. The "New Democracy" had to fill the jails of America with opponents of the war because it did not dare permit free speech—that's how little real enthusiasm there was for that war.

And there will be even less enthusiasm in America for the Second World War. For more and more people are coming to understand clearly that the war is not a war of "democracy" against "totalitarianism," that "ideologies" are not the cause of the conflict, but that the war is a war between two gangs of imperialist bandits.

The American people want no part in this war!

If the American war-mongers deny this, then let them submit the question to the decisive test:

Let the people vote on war! Let the people decide!

Take the war-making power away from Congress and put it in the hands of the people!

Democracy?

French papers of the left, including the anarchist, syndicalist, left socialist, and the press of the P.S.O.P. (Socialist Party of Workers and Peasants) have been suppressed by the French Government. All nationalist papers in the North African colonies have likewise been suppressed.

Le Populaire, organ of the pro-war Socialist Party, is the only paper untouched.

Champions of Peace and Democracy!



Stalinists Suffer Full Effect of Pact at Teachers Convention

(Continued from Page 1)

pact. The first effect was the collapse of the Stalinist character-assassination campaign against Counts.

Up to the eve of the convention, the Stalinists had denounced Counts as a "red-baiter", an enemy of the Soviet Union, etc. But they toned down at the convention.

The Stalinist delegates, when the pact news arrived, went about with glum faces and refused to talk about the news. In the committees, a word about the implications of the Hitler-Stalin pact was enough to make a tough Stalinist leader quiet down.

Although three times this year the Stalinists had defeated such a resolution in New York local meetings, the huge Stalinist delegation from New York did not dare to vote against a resolution condemning militarization of the schools.

The usual Stalinist resolution supporting the Roosevelt administration was so altered in committee and on the floor that its final passage was meaningless, for it merely recognized specific "progressive policies" of the New Deal, such as the Wagner Act and social security.

Defeat War Referendum

One of the few questions on which the Stalinists remained firm was the proposal to let the people vote on the war question. They voted it down without arguing for their position.

But many of them squirmed as a New York Independent, arguing for the referendum, referred to the Hitler-Stalin pact as an example of the shifting lineups and the resulting impossibility of knowing for what and whom America would fight.

The Stalinists remained firm, also, in their vengeful attitude toward Fred Beal, Gastonia strike-leader now serving a 20-year term in North Carolina as a result of a frameup. Because he broke with Stalinism, the Stalinists tabled a resolution asking a pardon for Beal.

Independents Lead Fight

The fight against the Stalinists was led by the Independent Group of Local 5, New York, and their allies in the New York College local and in Philadelphia. The Independents' accurate predictions, their ability to ferret out Stalinist maneuvers, and their insistence on standing on principles, made them for the first time, in spite of their small numbers, a powerful force.

The main problem of the Independents was, not the Stalinists whom they could fight head-on, but the Socialist Party big shots from outside New York who, led by those of their candidates who were most doubtful of re-election to the Executive Council, entered into negotiations with the Stalinists for a compromise slate.

So set for compromise were these Stalinists that they joined the Independents in denying credentials and refusing seats to three independent alternates—two of them Socialists—on the bland lie that there were no alternates and never had been.

When the case came up to the Executive Council, the Social-

ists and their allies had an accidental majority because of the absence of one vice-president. But the Council, after a long hearing, voted unanimously not to seat the alternates, and gave the votes of the missing delegates to the Stalinists!

Get Double-Cross

This display of cringing did the Thomas Socialists no good. The Stalinists promptly double-crossed them on the convention floor by making factional speeches for the Stalinist candidates, and the deal was broken off.

Even so, only one of the important Socialists spoke for Counts on the convention floor. Had they had the sense to identify themselves enthusiastically with Counts and his program some of the Socialists might have been carried along. As it was, they ran behind him from 24 to 55 votes.

Progressive Majority Likely

How Counts will be able to

work with the new Executive Council is not clear in advance.

Five of the Council are definitely anti-Stalinist, six clearly pro-Stalinist, and five undetermined, though these five were elected with Stalinist votes. This is a very different picture from the 8-8 deadlock of last year, which paralyzed the union.

It is entirely possible that, with defections among intellectuals from the Stalinists due to the Hitler-Stalin pact, the doubtful members of the Council may turn toward Counts.

The Independents of New York have shown the way and, by not compromising with the Stalinists, have gained immensely in prestige. If teachers elsewhere can follow the same course, with world events shaking the Stalinist machine to its base, a period of unparalleled growth and militancy can be expected for the American Federation of Teachers.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATS IN WAR RALLY UNDER GUISE OF PACT MEETING

NEW YORK—A meeting to whom it up for the war was held in Town Hall Friday evening by the Social-Democratic Federation.

The ostensible purpose of the meeting was to discuss the Hitler-Stalin treaty, but that was only incidental to a series of recruiting speeches for the "war for democracy."

Fortunately, of the five hundred people in the hall (admission was free) there were not more than two dozen young people. Addressing this small audience of docile oldsters, the leaders of the Social-Democratic Federation—all past fighting age—showed their determination to fight, to the last drop of the younger generation's blood, for the British, French and American empires.

He's Tough—Now

A particularly repulsive spectacle was Dr. Bruno Kammitzer, German Social-Democratic leader. One of those who were too yellow to fight against Hitler's rise to power, he now proposes to return to his fat salaries in Germany behind the bayonets of imperialist invaders. And in exchange, he assured the audience that the coming war "will be between democracy on the one side, and communism and fascism on the other."

War for re-division of the world, for markets, for bigger profits, for more colonial slaves? Perish the thought!

"We must offer all our resources to the democracies!" screamed Judge Jacob Panken of the Domestic Relations Court. "We never fought a war," he swore, "except for idealism!"

Brave—Against Revolution Louis Waldman justified the coming war by—condemning Lenin and Trotsky! This coward, who cringed before his reactionary judges when, in the

post-war hysteria, they threw anybody labelled Socialist out of the New York State legislature, who tried to crawl back by calling the reactionary American regime of those years a "peoples government"—he dared to denounce the October Revolution!

His venom against the October Revolution was only equalled by his tender regard for the rulers of Britain and France.

In being "invited to sit down with the democracies and sign an agreement to defend peoples and territories from wanton, lawless, criminal invasion," said he, "Russia had been invited to protect civilization!" If Stalin had only joined Waldman's gang, it was clear, Stalin would have been thereby purified. As indeed, Stalin was purified by Waldman's European colleagues, Blum, Caballero, etc., just so long as they worked together.

These assembled hypocrites freely offered up, not their own aged hides, but the lives of American youth "living under the protection of the Stars and Stripes," as Waldman put it with a tremor in his voice. And the backwash of the ex-socialist movement applauded with as much vigor as it could muster.

DEFINITION

From the middle West comes the story, said to be true, of the union organizer who, when asked what his political connections were, replied that he was a Trotskyist. When the questioning worker demanded a fuller explanation, the Trotskyist started to expound the program of his group, whereupon the worker cut him short by remarking: "Oh sure, I know now; you're one of them fellows the Communists call 'red'."

(From the New Republic, August 26, 1939)

Their Government

By James Burnham

It took just about forty-eight hours for the belly-crawlings of the Stalinist hangers-on to begin. For the first day following the announcement of the Pact, they were too stunned to be heard from; the first day following the announcement of the Wednesday the procession had started, led by the cringing whine of Heywood Brown and Freda Kirchwey, followed promptly on Thursday by the editorial whimpers of the Nation and the New Republic. Soon they will be trampling each other, choking the road back to the comforting shelter of the good old Red, White and Blue; and the air will be deafened with their yowls.

Picture the anguish in Hollywood! What a lamentable disaster for the brave champions (at \$5,000 a week) of the Anti-Nazi League and the thousand-and-one committees, for the James Cagneys and Dorothy Parkers and Miriam Hopkins and Donald Ogden Stevens and Joan Crawford and Franchot Tones!

And think, with a tear or two, of the pained distress of bold writers and artists and professors and bishops whose names adorned the stationery of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy and the Friends of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and the American League for Peace and Democracy and the Writers' Congress and all the other play-committees of the G.P.U.!

But, most embarrassing of all, most needing our sympathy, is the predicament of those who signed the "Statement of 400". This statement, for which signatures have been gathered during the past four months, was designed to defend the Soviet Union (that is, Stalin) with its democracy and its "peace policy" from the slanders of the League for Cultural Freedom. By a charming stroke of irony, large excerpts from the statement, together with an approving editorial comment, appeared in the issue of the New Republic which is pre-dated August 23rd—the day the pact was signed.

Of those four hundred, are there today half a dozen who would not give their right eye to be able to prove their signatures a forgery?

These people, mind you, are the Moralists, these the ones who use their most ringing abstractions to denounce—the "immorality" and "a-morality" of the revolutionists.

Who Is Betrayed?

They have been, you see, "betrayed". Stalin has betrayed them. Therefore . . . therefore, they plead, take pity on us, for we are the innocent victims.

There are, it is true, millions and hundreds of millions who have been betrayed, most terribly betrayed, by Stalin's pact with Hitler: the world proletariat, the peasants and poor farmers, the colonial peoples, the Jews of the whole world, yes and the simple, honest intellectuals and professionals and sincere liberals. But, search as hard as I can, I do not find the names of our fine-feathered friends among the long list of the betrayed.

I find their names, rather, on the roster of the active agents of the betrayer.

Yes, for tens and hundreds of thousands of sincere persons, including many many workers, who read their magazines, listened at their meetings, bought their books, believed and trusted them, they are exactly the ones who made Stalin's betrayal possible. It was they who, openly or by lies or by silence, defended the Moscow Trials and fought the effort to let the world know the truth about the trials. It was they who hid the truth about what was happening within the Soviet Union, and spread the hideous falsehoods about its democracy and plenty. It was they who helped put across the infamies of the Popular Front, and aided the G.P.U., in their own way, in its destruction of the Spanish workers. It was they who covered the blood and guns of Stalinism, covered the step, to the pact, with a mantle of respectability and ideals and morality.

What else have they been doing for the past five years?

No, they have not been betrayed. Their readers and audiences have been betrayed; but they are the agents and tools and stooges of the arch-betrayer.

All dishonor to them! All contempt, all the revulsion which we are capable of feeling!

The New Popular Stooze Front

Do you think these people feel shame for their past, that they have learned even a little from what has happened? Do not be deceived: they are immune to shame, sterilized from learning. If the editors of the Nation and the New Republic were sensitive to even the shadow of shame, do you think they could publish even a single issue more of their magazines after what has now been made clear?

No, they lie and grovel to order, these people. They are not happy unless they have their full quota of lies and grovelling, and they are hungry without sufficiently dirty boots to lick.

They never loved, but always hated the workers' revolution. They loved only Stalin—the established power, the status quo—the hangman of the revolution; and they licked his boots only while they were alongside those of the masters at home: the rulers of imperialist America.

Now the boots are on opposite sides of the street. And they know, never fear, which pair can kick them hardest. They will now—with what lightning speed!—wrap themselves seven-fold in the red, white and blue, and prostrate themselves at the feet of the master at home.

They will be the spokesmen, the most eager and the loudest spokesmen, for a wave of chauvinism such as this country has never known. Soon they will tell us that they knew all along that "communism and fascism are at bottom one and the same", and that "naturally" Stalin and Hitler got together. You must, they will shout from the house-tops, shed your lifeblood for DEMOCRACY and FREEDOM and the AMERICAN WAY. Yes, and for MORALITY—the morality, of course, of the Sixty Families, which, since they are American patriots, is so diametrically an opposite of the morality of TOTALITARIANISM.