

By Max Shachtman

Behind the Stalin-Hitler Pact

What It Is and What It Isn't

(Continued from Last Issue)

A New Munich under the Stalin Imprint

Publicly, the Stalinist patriots from Moscow to New York and back again have shouted for a united military front of England, France and the Soviet Union against Germany and the Axis. Not with Germany, we repeat, but against her. They insisted that it was more than ever urgent, following the tragic Czechoslovakian experience, in order to save Poland. Now, as the clock starts striking the twelfth hour for Poland, Stalin declares publicly in Article IV of his pact with Hitler:

"Neither of the contracting parties will participate in any grouping of Powers which is either directly or indirectly aimed against the other party to this agreement."

Suppose Hitler invades Poland, and Poland then engages in armed, military struggle, either offensive or defensive, against Germany, Stalin has declared publicly and in advance in Article II of his pact with Hitler:

"In the event that either of the contracting parties [Germany, for example—M.S.] should be subjected to military action on the part of a third power [Poland, for example—M.S.], the other contracting party [Russia, in that case—M.S.] will not lend that power [Poland] support in any form."

Read over again, in the light of this pact, Litvinov's quoted attack on the Chamberlain conception. "It recommends that conversations and negotiations be carried on with him" (that is, with the "aggressor"); "that he be assured that no collective action will be undertaken against him, and no groups or blocs formed against him—even though he himself enters into aggressive blocs with other aggressors . . . that the vital interests of one State be sacrificed to him; and that, if possible, no question of his activity be raised in the League of Nations."

Isn't that a perfect description of Stalin's Munich?

The Polish Masses Were Betrayed

Now we Trotskyists, like revolutionary socialists everywhere, never agreed with the chauvinistic campaign of the Stalinists for the "defense of Poor Little Poland." Their agitation meant, in reality, the commission of two crimes: the recruiting of cannon-fodder for one gang of imperialist bandits (the slave-holding "democracies" of England and France) as against another, and the meek submission of the Polish workers, peasants and national minorities to the rule of the reactionary Polish autocracy. The primary and principal task of the Polish masses was and remains the overturn of the clique of Generals and Colonels who rule the land, who club down the workers, squeeze the peasants to the bone, keep the Ukrainian and other national minorities in an inferno of persecution and discrimination, and practice a vicious anti-Semitism which is second only to Hitler's. Counterparts of the ruling crew of "independent democrats" in Czechoslovakia last year, they are always prepared to sell their people into Nazi slavery if they can save their own precious skins or, better yet, if they are allowed to retain a little of their power and pelf under a Hitlerite "protectorate."

Yet, while we did not join in the Stalinist cattle-herding for war, we were not and are not indifferent to the fate of the Polish people or even of the Polish nation—and we mean the Polish nation, not the Polish Empire in which the old and upstart Polish aristocracy rules by military force over millions of people of other nationalities.

The hope for aid which the Polish masses threatened by Nazi subjection could rightfully and not vainly place in a revolutionary workers' government, if that existed in Russia today, was betrayed by the perfidious Bonapartist gang in the Kremlin when it capitulated to Hitler.

Stalin capitulated to Hitler? Exactly! And that brings us to the question of why Stalin felt obliged to sign the shameful pact.

It Is Necessary to Dispel some Illusions

The confusion and bewilderment created among people by the twists and turns of Soviet policy can most easily be eliminated if they first rid themselves of some very popular illusions and misconceptions which the Stalinist press have been particularly zealous in sowing. The first one is that the Stalin régime is strong and popular among the masses, and getting stronger every day, both in its domestic and its international position. How great an illusion this is will be seen after a few moments reflection.

Once before, a government of the Soviet republic was forced to capitulate to German imperialism. That was in 1918, when Lenin urged the signing of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty with the Kaiser's government, and finally did sign it. Russia was compelled to swallow the humiliating "peace" treaty, to surrender vast territories to the enemy, because it was terribly weak and in no position to continue the war. The young republic was beset by numerous and powerful reactionary foes, at home and abroad. The masses were exhausted after four years of a devastating war.

Acted Differently in Lenin's Day

But Lenin, who was an honest and upright revolutionist, did not attempt to deceive anyone. He did not call the defeat a victory for Russia or for peace; he did not call the capitulation a sign of Russian strength and power; he did not call upon the workers to acclaim the treaty. He said, We have won a breathing spell at a heavy cost. We will use it to strengthen our forces and the revolutionary forces abroad and when we are strong enough, the infamous treaty imposed upon us will be abrogated. Less than a year later, the thunderbolt of revolution struck the Kaiser's dynasty, and Soviet Russia kicked the foul treaty into the sewer where it belonged.

The Soviet republic, it may however be said, is much stronger today than it was in 1918. That is unquestionably true, in more than one sense. But the Stalin régime is much weaker.

The Lenin-Trotsky régime of 1917-1918 was then at the bottom of a rising curve in its history. It had a broad basis of enthusiastic mass support, which grew by leaps and bounds every month. It had the support abroad of a rapidly-increasing and very militant revolutionary movement. A year after the Bolshevik revolution, this régime faced a capitalist world in the throes of revolution, paralyzed, demoralized, disintegrating.

Masses Hate the Stalin Regime

The Stalin régime enjoys only the bitter hatred of the Soviet masses. Its basis continues to narrow every day. It has the support of the upper-crust bureaucrats, the big-shot factory managers, the aristocrats of labor, the rich farmers, the police and army officialdom; all of them put together amount to a small percentage of the population, and even among them there is a mounting hostility to the supreme Kremlin oligarchy. Abroad, the official communist parties are dead or dying, undermined, disrupted or sent to their doom by the Stalin machine at the head of the Communist International. And the capitalist world, largely thanks to Stalinism's criminal policies, is far more sure of itself as it faces the working class in 1933 than it was in 1919.

In a word, scratch beneath the surface of the optimistic fairy tales told in the Stalinist press and you find that, under Stalin's rule, the Soviet Union is in an advanced state of degeneration. Stalin's clique is at once the product and the producer of this degeneration.

Stalin Has Piled up a Record of Defeats

Now we are in a position to deal with the question: Which of the two partners in the Stalinist pact was the stronger, which is in the better position to gain from the pact?

It is a bitter truth for us to observe, but we must not refuse to see that in the past six years Hitler has not only consolidated but has vastly expanded his power. This was not accomplished because he is a genius, and he cannot continue indefinitely; but the fact of his successes cannot be ignored. He took power in Germany without meeting with the slightest resistance by the Social Democrats or the Stalinists (1933 marked Stalin's first capitulation to Hitler!). He denounced the Versailles Treaty limitations on German armaments in 1935, and nobody stopped him. He reintroduced conscription without opposition. He remilitarized the Rhineland and nobody stopped him. He won the Saar territory in a plebiscite. He succeeded in smashing to bits the whole labor and revolutionary movement. In March 1938 he annexed Austria without firing a shot. Six months later, Czechoslovakia was raked in. Another six months passed, and he took Memel, without a fight. He won his fight in Spain. By the time this appears, he may have Danzig and the Corridor, if not all of Poland.

Against this indubitable strengthening of the Nazi régime, Stalin has only defeats to record. He lost the German and Czechoslovakian Communist Parties—each with hundreds of thousands of members—in two Hitlerite blows. The Polish Communist Party he himself suppressed while he wooed the Polish Colonels. Ethiopia, despite Litvinov's tearful pleas to the League of Nations, fell to Mussolini, whose airplanes flew with Russian oil and whose soldiers fed on Russian wheat. His whole policy in Spain cracked up. Czechoslovakia, ditto. His policy in the Orient lost him the Chinese Eastern Railway and is ending with "ally" Chiang Kai-shek driven further and further into the interior. His big "Popular Front" in France breathed its last when it produced Daladier and Bonnet, voted into office by the Communist Party. The League of Nations, publicly blessed by Stalin himself as an obstacle to war, isn't even summoned to talk about the present crisis; and what would it say if it were summoned; and who would care what it did say? All of Stalin's foreign policies have proved bankrupt; all his foreign enterprises have suffered shipwreck.

Wages Civil War against the Masses

At home, his position is no better. The last six years in particular have seen Stalin's rule in a state of almost uninterrupted crisis, each convulsion more violent than the one before it. The overwhelming majority of the people—the simple people, the small people, the toiling people—hate Stalin as bitterly as Czar Nicholas the Bloody was hated, and with just as good reason. How else explain the continual purges, the imprisonments, the exilings, the executions, the endless mass terror? What truly popular government has ever had to resort to anything like it outside a period of civil war? And that's exactly what Stalin is engaged in: a civil war of the bureaucratic caste against the masses of the people.

Stalin has wiped out the whole Old Guard of the Russian Revolution, except Trotsky who has been sought by more than one G.P.U. assassin's bullet. The prisons, the God-forsaken corners of exile, the vast concentration camps are chock-full of Stalin's victims. There are more political prisoners in some provinces of the country today than there were in the whole empire under the Czar. All the liberties won by labor's blood and rifle in the revolution, have been abolished by the bureaucracy. The worker is tied to his job and cannot shift to another job or another city without being granted permission, duly recorded in the internal passport he is compelled to carry. The disparity between the wages of the low-paid worker and the salaries of

the upper crust is stupendous and on the rise. So is the disparity between the income and conditions of the poor peasants and the bosses of the "collective" farms. Science, art, and culture are prostituted to the power-interests of the narrowminded gang in power. Conditions in the non-Russian national republics—Ukrainian, Georgian, White Russian, Uzbekistan, etc.—are a replica of the relations that existed between the Czarist imperial Russians in Moscow and the national minorities at the periphery of the empire. The secret police (G.P.U.) and the army machine keep Stalin in power with the aid of jail-keys, pistols and bayonets.

Stalin rules and can rule only by means of terror. As the country moves closer to the monstrosity which he misnames "socialism" the purges and the terror increase in intensity. Everywhere about him, Stalin sees plots and conspiracies, real and alleged, against his domination. The reign of terror during which millions, literally millions, have either been deported, imprisoned or murdered, is Stalin's own confession to immense unpopularity. The rule by terror means that Stalin and the bureaucracy he personifies, are themselves terrified. What do they fear? War! The fear of war, in this case as in so many others, is the fear of mobilization. The fear of mobilization is the fear of arming the masses of people. The fear of arming the masses is the fear of revolution.

Deserted Cause of Internationalism

The reasons behind the Stalinist pact cannot be fully understood, however, unless the reader grasps the fundamental standpoint of the Kremlin régime, and grasps, further, the fact that it is in irreconcilable opposition to the fundamental standpoint of the original Lenin-Trotsky régime which Stalin and Co. finally succeeded in overthrowing in the course of a running fight that began as early as 1923.

Lenin, Trotsky and the real Bolshevik party led the masses to victory in 1917 on the basis of the proposition that the Russian Revolution was only one part of an international working-class revolution. The Bolshevik leaders repeated a thousand times to the Russian and world masses that Red Russia could not establish socialism by itself, with its own forces, and unaided by the triumphant workers of other, more advanced countries. This was not only in conformity with Marxian theory, but with modern world realities. Russia might hold out for a time, and even lay the foundations of socialism, but it could not keep going for a long period of time without help from revolutionary states in the other lands. As for achieving a classless socialist society, with security and plenty for all, that was out of the question entirely if revolutionary Russia remained isolated in a capitalist world.

In 1924, however, when the European revolutionary wave subsided for a while, Stalin coined the theory of "socialism in a single country." Russia, he argued, could establish socialism by itself provided only there was no armed intervention from abroad.

Consequences Have Been Disastrous

Now this theory, while totally unsuited to the interests of the Russian and international revolutions, was ideally suited to the interests of the growing Soviet bureaucracy. The officials—corrupted oldsters and upstart youngsters—had lost all faith in the power of the world working class to free itself from capitalist misrule—at least not for another hundred years! Meanwhile, they argued, let's hold on to what we have in Russia.

That sounded plausible to many people, especially those who had grown weary and discouraged and didn't see that new and stormier waves of revolution would break throughout the world in the years to come. Only, the officials really meant: Let's hold on to what WE have in Russia—and to what WE can get. As for the rest of the world, the task of the working class is confined primarily (later it became exclusively) to preventing foreign intervention. In other words, instead of concentrating on getting rid of their own capitalist despots at home, the workers in other countries were to be limited to acting as border patrols for the Soviet bureaucracy.

Leaving aside for the moment the theoretical aspects of the question, it suffices to point out that the practical results of this policy were disastrous both for the official Communist International and that section of the labor movement that followed it, and for the Soviet Union itself. All that a labor skate or capitalist political hyster had to do to get the unqualified support of the Communist movement for some shady enterprise or a downright sell-out, was to take a cheap oath in favor of "defending" the Soviet Union. As Stalinism went from bad to worse, and the Kremlin went in for super-clever diplomatic tie-ups with imperialist Powers, the official Communist International, from which every critical, honest revolutionist was expelled, was changed from a militant fighter against world capitalism into an anti-revolutionary instrument, a cheap pawn in the hands of Stalin's Foreign Office.

(Continued in Next Issue)



SUBSCRIPTION DRIVE GATHERS SPEED

The drive for new and renewal subscriptions to the Socialist Appeal in conjunction with the War Referendum Campaign now being carried on by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young People's Socialist League (Fourth Internationalists), gathered speed in the past week. Thirty-seven new subscriptions and fourteen renewals reached the Business Office. The subscription record to date is as follows:

	New	Renew
Los Angeles	6	1
San Francisco	4	1
New Haven	2	2
Washington, D.C.	3	2
Chicago	7	
Kansas	3	
Detroit	4	
St. Paul	14	2
Minneapolis	13	4
St. Louis	4	
Newark	8	
New York City	27	7
Toledo	5	
Cleveland	2	
Akron	6	
San Diego	1	
Newcastle	1	
Lynn	1	
Boston	3	2
Texas	1	
Philadelphia	3	2
Miscellaneous	3	2
Total	119	29

A new order of ten copies regularly has been placed by John

Patrick of San Pedro, and Comrade Patrick expects to be able to increase this quota shortly.

In the past week Los Angeles, St. Paul and Minneapolis did the best work in obtaining new and renewal subscriptions, and at the same time are making effective distribution of their bundle quotas.

NEW ORDERS SHOW INTENSIFIED ACTIVITY

The new Literature Agent in Los Angeles, Harry Baker, appears to have gotten the Los Angeles comrades working in a more coordinated fashion than ever before.

Several cities ordered extra bundles of the war issues of the Socialist Appeal, as well as increasing in some instances their regular bundle orders. Reading, Penn., increased its bundle order from 5 to 15, Rochester from 25 to 50. St. Louis placed a special order for 200 copies for sale at Communist Party meetings. Flint placed an extra order of 30 copies for the Labor Day Picnic, and from far-off Denver, Colorado came a telegram asking for 100 extra copies of the war edition to be rushed.

As we go to press extra orders for the tri-weekly are coming in steadily. It is expected that New York, particularly, will endeavor to make a special drive for mass circulation of the tri-weekly.

WORKERS' FORUM

WHO WINS THE JUDAS CROWN?

Editor:

Stalin and Hitler sign a non-aggression pact and both are branded as betrayers. According to the I.N.S., "Japanese circles accused Germany of breaking faith with Japan. . . There is no denying that Germany has infringed the anti-Comintern pact and broken faith with Japan." Indignant charges of betrayal are hurled at Stalin from London and Paris. That arch-betrayer of the naive Czechoslovak Republic, Chamberlain, was "highly disturbed to learn that while these discussions (between Britain and Russia) were proceeding on a basis of mutual trust, the Soviets were secretly negotiating a pact with Germany."

Above this morass the British Prime Minister poses as a beacon of Christian virtue and morality. He promises the last drop of workers' blood for the preservation of "principles" and "British obligations to Poland." The British Government's case is so obviously honorable that the British Labor Party can unanimously vote it full dictatorial powers, including power to conduct secret trials. Yet, for fear Germany might misinterpret the honorable and principled intention of her potential enemy, the British embassy in Berlin finds it expedient to burn all its official documents, according to the London Daily Express.

Question of the hour: Who is the world's leading Judas? Chamberlain, Stalin or Hitler? We would give the prize to Stalin. It must be counted among the glories of his Peoples Front line that it enabled him to betray both the British Empire and the world proletariat in one fell swoop, to say nothing of the democracies and international Jewry, and the generals whom he shot for advocating collaboration with Germany. But Hitler may yet win the Judas crown by double-crossing Stalin to take the Ukraine.

In the meantime, we see the utter moral decay of the capitalist world. Within the realm of a dying property system, in face of the unemployment of human and material resources and the stagnation of the productive apparatus, the ruling class has no answer but war and fascism. Only the working class can build a new economy that will run and a new morality that will stand up. Only the working class can end secret diplomacy; only the working class can end war by seizing state power and building worldwide socialism.

Fraternally,
HAROLD CLENDENAN
Columbiaville, Mich.

FORCE LYNN PARTY TO MEET ON "DEAD" CORNER

Editor:

The regular weekly Thursday night street meetings of the Lynn branch of the Socialist Workers Party, formerly held throughout the summer in Lenuehan Square, on the corners of Willow St. and Central Ave., have been moved, per order of the police, to the dead and isolated corner of State and Market Sts.

It is perhaps a coincidence that the action of the police followed upon the indignation expressed in the local press at the holding of these meetings in a square named after one of the town's world war heroes. Thus do they honor the memory of those who gave their lives "that the world might be made safe for Democracy."

Comradely
JOHN TRAVIS

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.

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Stop Fascism In America!

Will Father Coughlin Become Dictator of the United States?

By JOSEPH HANSEN
(NINTH INSTALLMENT)

Who Is This Father Coughlin?

There are hundreds of organizations in the United States which have studied the rise of Fascism and Nazism with the greatest admiration.

So far as is known Big Business has not seen fit to call any of them into active struggle against the labor movement. Big Business still depends on its labor spies, its strikebreakers, its professional thugs who combine with the police in shooting down workers.

Yet there are significant indications that these organizations, students at the feet of Hitler and Mussolini, are receiving funds vastly out of proportion to the size of their membership.

Largest of these movements is that led by Father Charles E. Coughlin, who calls himself the *Radio Priest*.

In line with the tree-stump American political tradition, the *Radio Priest* comes to the worker and the small merchant and farmer, not seeking office or pelf, god forbid! But only to give free fatherly advice as a sincere exponent of the political and economic doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church.

He thinks the real cause of the ills afflicting America is—Big Business? Hardly. Father Coughlin has pondered long and deeply about certain experiences in Europe, and he has at last arrived at the real cause. . . . Nothing less than the "non-religious Jews," who won't join him in denouncing "Bolshevik" leaders in such trade unions as the C.I.O. and the A.F.L.

No one in the country—except perhaps Roosevelt whom he helped place in office—sympathizes with the poor, the oppressed, the unemployed, the young people out of school, the farmers, those facing bankruptcy, those who are hungry, with more eloquent, beautiful, poetic, and moving language than the *Radio Priest*.

In his fatherly interest in the trade unions, the *Radio Priest* asks the membership to throw out their "Bolshevik" leaders who "Make Troops Necessary" by striking, and who are "milking" the union members of their dues in cahoots with none other than the "international bankers" and "loan capital," which boils down to—the "non-religious Jews."

Father Coughlin, the *Radio Priest*, began originally as an obscure Roman Catholic priest from Canada speaking over one radio station in Detroit. When the depression hit America he blasted rights and lefts into a shadowy bogeyman he called the "reds." Overnight he boomed into national prominence via the reactionary capitalist press.

In the few short years since then he has tried his hand at stock speculation, organization of company unions, stump speaking for Franklin Delano Roosevelt and especially the New Deal in silver in which he made a tidy little fortune speculating on silver futures. He built himself a million dollar Shrine of the Little Flower at Royal Oak, Mich., during the worst part of the depression (using scab labor for which he was denounced at the 1934 convention of the American Federation of Labor), began publishing a sleek magazine which is filled with expensive photographs but not a line of advertising except a few announcements of Catholic Church expeditions to his Shrine. He broadcasts over more than 48 radio stations, and pays, he claims, the regular commercial rates, which makes each broadcast costly enough to set up any one of his listeners in comfort for the rest of his life.

During the last six months his organization has spread the streets with literature on a scale so wide, sudden, and prosperous that it must have received a series of high-powered financial shots in the arm from some mysterious source, most probably certain Big Business men and Bankers whom Coughlin has lauded at times in a discreet way.

Followers of the *Radio Priest* have spread his magazine far and wide. Lately they have begun a series of small actions, beating up a worker when they catch him alone, stabbing a school teacher, attempting to break up an American Labor Party meeting, raiding a workers' school, stabbing a guard at a labor headquarters which they attempted to crash. And even a larger action—an attempt to break up a meeting of 18,000 people at Madison Square Garden in New York.

If the *Radio Priest* is following the principles laid down by *Il Duce* and *Der Fuehrer*, his movement is not yet large enough to blossom in colored shirts or arm bands; nevertheless, a movement as serious as this deserves to be studied more closely.*

Coughlin's Program

The *Radio Priest* is not an agent of either Hitler or Mussolini, despite the fact that he speaks well of them, especially Mussolini.

He does no more than admire their strategy, their propaganda, and their success.

The *Radio Priest* in fact says right out in public that he opposes both Fascism and Nazism.

He gives his movement a good American name, *Social Justice*.

In Italy it was necessary to give the Fascist propaganda a strongly anti-capitalist tinge. In Germany *Der Fuehrer* even came out in his program for socialism.

The *Radio Priest* slants his program to appeal to Amer-

*Elsewhere I have analyzed Father Charles E. Coughlin's program in greater detail. See "Father Coughlin—Fascist Demagogue," Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York City. 5 cents.

Roosevelt to Provide Britain, France with Credits for War

Jumps Over Legal Hurdles to Aid So-Called 'Democracies'

(Continued from Page 1)

cleared a path for the warring "democracies" straight to the massive bronze doors of the U. S. Treasury. Theoretically, Mr. Jones' institutions can finance exports to either side. Actually, the Export-Import Bank many months ago turned down several cotton and commodity deals with Germany on political grounds. Therefore, in the restrained phrase of the N.Y. Times, "the presumption is that Great Britain, France and countries allied with them would be the only beneficiaries of the bank's underwriting in case of war."

The machinery has been in motion for some time. Mr. Jones revealed, in passing, that President W. L. Pierson of the Export-Import Bank has been in Europe for the last three months "developing new outlets for American surpluses." At last reports, he was in Paris, about to enchain for Warsaw.

Spinning the Web This is merely one strand in the complex web which the War Deal has already begun to spin across the Atlantic, a web of economic interest which will eventually—and this time perhaps in a matter of months rather than years—draw this country irresistibly into the holocaust.

In 1914-1917, this dirty job was done by the bankers of Wall Street, headed by J. P. Morgan & Co. This time, however, it is the government itself which is taking the lead. The banks are playing second fiddle to the War Deal in this devil's symphony.

Shipping is of primary importance in the Administration's imperialistic plans. Not since 1918 have so many ships been under construction in American shipyards, almost all of them heavily subsidized with Federal funds.

1918 Shipbuilding Tempo Several days ago, as the armies of Europe took up their jumping-off positions, Mrs. Roosevelt smashed a bottle of champagne against the prow of the biggest liner ever built in this country—the \$17,000,000 America, built with government money for the government-controlled U.S. Lines.

Assisting in the ceremonies was Rear Admiral Land, chairman of the U.S. Maritime Commission, who declared the vessel "fulfills the highest requirements of our country's foreign trade and national defense." He read a letter from the President, which was equally explicit: "You and I know, from our work during the war, the disabilities of a navy which lacks an adequate merchant fleet. . . . The launching of the America gives me the greatest personal satisfaction."

The Bremen Episode Under the National Defense Act, passed in 1917, the President has wide powers over markets, shipping, banking, communications, and a dozen other fields of economic life. These powers—according to an amendment passed in the early days of the New Deal, to allow the President a free hand with the banking system—can be invoked whenever the President declares the nation to be in a "state of emergency." How soon President Roosevelt will issue such a declaration, no one

can ways of thinking, and here socialism has not yet become a popular idea. Indeed, there are innumerable misconceptions concerning socialism. Seizing advantage of this, the *Radio Priest* announces to his audience that capitalism and socialism are two varieties of the same thing, which is like saying that war and peace are two varieties of the same thing!

The well-known reluctance with which American workers approach political action provides the *Radio Priest* with yet another variation from the program of European fascism to fit American prejudices. Unlike Hitler and Mussolini he can come out quite frankly for Private Property.

In fact Father Coughlin, the *Radio Priest*, advocates the preservation of PRIVATE PROPERTY in his public program. (Point No. 4 of his Sixteen Principles of Social Justice.)

"Private ownership? Yes; the Catholic Church will stand by it and die for it if necessary." (Discourse entitled "Come, Follow Me," Father Coughlin's Radio Discourses, 1931-1932, p. 27.)

Father Coughlin, the *Radio Priest*, believes too, in a CORPORATE STATE.

"In plainer words, this nation must become United States, Incorporated." (Discourse entitled "Plenty for All," February 18, 1934.)

"Do you boys (the ex-service men) realize that with one more battle you can make this country safe for financial democracy? You can make this country the United States of America, Incorporated." February 25, 1934.)

(To be continued in next issue)

knows. But two things are already clear: he will issue it, and he will use his powers to enmesh the nation still more deeply into the Allied cause.

The Administration has shown it knows how to get along well enough, for the present, without emergency powers. Thus last week, as the war crisis reached its bursting point, the North German Lloyd liner, Bremen, which is worth \$20,000,000 and is one of the two biggest vessels in the German merchant marine, was prevented from sailing for two full days while U.S. customs officials, marine inspectors, and Treasury agents went over her from stern to stern. The purpose of this search was not clear. There was talk of contraband, of secret arms, and the President spoke darkly of "privatizing." Nothing whatever was found, except for one camera which had not been properly declared.

The result of the search was patent to all, however: when the Bremen was finally permitted to sail, the chances of the British Navy capturing her had been greatly increased, and, in fact, as this is written, there are rumors that she has been intercepted. To prove its impartiality as a "neutral," the government insisted on likewise searching, and delaying, the Normandie and the Aquitania, thus putting them in grave danger of being captured on the high seas by—the bottled-up German Navy.

Credits and Neutrality When England and France begin buying raw materials and—if the President has his way about the repeal of the Neutrality Act—munitions, the first step will be to cash in the billions of dollars worth of American securities held by Allied subjects. Some days ago, the British Government took steps to keep such selling safely in its own hands, and forbade all individual selling of foreign securities.

Its plans were drawn up only after full discussion with officials of the U.S. Treasury, and, furthermore—"It is understood that U.S. officials will cooperate in British plans for the mobilization and orderly liquidation of American securities held by British interests." It is, of course, necessary for any bourgeois government to take such steps to protect its own security markets, and it is no special sign of friendship for England that the New Deal thus cooperates. But the fact is that such cooperation is one more thread binding us to the Allied cause, a link which, this time as in 1917, doesn't exist with Germany since German holdings of American securities are comparatively negligible.

U.S. Entry into War Closer as President Talks "Peace"

tion of American securities held by British interests." It is, of course, necessary for any bourgeois government to take such steps to protect its own security markets, and it is no special sign of friendship for England that the New Deal thus cooperates. But the fact is that such cooperation is one more thread binding us to the Allied cause, a link which, this time as in 1917, doesn't exist with Germany since German holdings of American securities are comparatively negligible.

Roosevelt Outstrips Wilson

The total amount of British holdings of American securities is estimated at about \$2,000,000,000, which will finance purchase of American materials and munitions for many weeks. After that, it will be necessary to set up credits over here for the Allied nations, if they are to continue to buy American goods on a big scale.

In the last war, these vital credits were supplied by the American financial community under the leadership of J. P. Morgan & Co. The Nye Senate Committee revealed in detail how, as the golden chain that bound Wall Street to the Allies grew longer, the pressure from Wall Street on the Wilson Administration for intervention on the side of the Allies increased.

This time it is much simpler, more direct. The Federal government itself is laying plans to extend credits to the Allies, and hence will be in a position to bring pressure on itself to enter the war when the proper moment comes.

There are two main reasons for this change: (1) control over the nation's credit and banking system has been centralized in Washington; (2) the Roosevelt Administration is acting in this war crisis more openly as the agent of big business than the Wilson Administration ever dared.

Fund Drive Lags Behind Party Agitation Work

(Continued from Page 1)
the National Office!

Public Rallies

The public rallies against the war and on the Stalin-Hitler deal continue across the country. Reading from east to west, here is a partial summary. (Branches should send announcements of public meetings into the Appeal for notice in our columns.)

BOSTON . . . Max Shachtman on September 8.

GARDNER, MASS. . . . outdoor meeting on August 27, with a large attendance of Stalinist Finnish workers, who engaged in an earnest discussion with our comrades after the meeting.

NEW YORK CITY . . . the series of public meetings to cover the whole city is reported elsewhere in this issue. Some of the branches will be holding two outdoor meetings an evening in preparation for their indoor rally.

WASHINGTON, D.C. . . . a combination meeting and social on August 26 at which Comrade J. R. Johnson was the speaker. Several Negro contacts were gained. Two new members have been recruited by the Washington branch and more are expected soon.

READING, PA. . . . Outdoor meeting on August 28. "We sold out on Appeals," reports the branch, "and we could have sold more but did not have them." Another outdoor meeting on August 31.

YOUNGSTOWN . . . B. J. Widick, national labor secretary of the Party, at a public meeting on September 5.

AKRON . . . Widick on September 1.

CLEVELAND . . . Widick on September 8.

TORONTO . . . Shachtman on September 6.

TOLEDO . . . Widick on September 9.

FLINT, MICH. . . . Mass meetings on September 6 with Genora Johnson and George Clarke as speakers.

DETROIT . . . Shachtman on September 5.

CHICAGO . . . An attentive audience of 400, including many disillusioned members and sympathizers of the Communist Party, heard Comrade Shachtman on the Stalin-Hitler Pact on August 31. Comrade Shachtman returned to Chicago on September 3 for a second mass meeting.

MINNEAPOLIS . . . Shachtman on September 1.

Notice

A special membership meeting of Local New York, Socialist Workers Party, has been called for Wednesday, September 6 at 8 p.m., in Victoria Hall, at Irving Plaza, 15th Street and Irving Place. In view of the seriousness of the present situation, no comrade will be excused from attendance. Admission by red card only. CITY COMMITTEE

BRITAIN TAKES ANOTHER STEP IN DEMOCRACY

As a major step in their war plans, the British rulers on Friday pushed through Parliament the Government of India Amendments Act.

This is more familiarly known as the Indian Federation—a section of the new constitution for India.

Under the terms of this act, a virtual one-man dictator now rules the vast sub-continent of India with its 375,000,000 people.

The British-appointed Viceroy has life-and-death powers. He can decree any law he sees fit; void any law that has been passed by the Federal and provincial bodies; throw into prison anyone objecting to British rule, etc.

He will have powers that might well be envied by the German Fuehrer.

Were the Indian people consulted before this Act was adopted? Not once! Was this new constitution put to a democratic vote? No!

Only a handful of native Rajahs and Princes—all of them puppets of the British—were consulted and asked for their "vote."

The British and Native States' areas of India will be welded together by this Act. But British-appointed officials will dominate the newly Federated India. Reactionary Princes, British army officials, political dictators—these are the men who will attempt to keep India in line during the Second World War.

For every Englishman in India there are 1,300 Indians! The hatred of 1,300 people, result of 200 years of imperialist oppression, falls on the head of each British oppressor.

The Labor Party members of Parliament voted with Chamberlain for this iniquitous act, thereby demonstrating once more their role as agents of imperialism.

PACT SHAKES YCL MEMBERS

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) MINNEAPOLIS—The evening of August 30, the Minneapolis Young Communist League held an open meeting on the subject of the Stalin pact with Hitler. The speaker was Carl Ross who is . . . National Public Relations Secretary of the YCL! About fifty YCL members and sympathizers attended the meeting, held at 19 South 7th Street.

The atmosphere of the meeting was heavy, and the speaker's gloomy attempt to justify the pact did little to lighten the general tone.

Avoids Questions

At the close of the meeting, the chairman permitted the audience to write out questions on slips of paper, which were passed to the speaker. Only members and sympathizers of the YCL wrote out questions. They were natural questions, honest questions: How will the pact save Poland from Hitler? How will the pact save Czechoslovakia? Won't Japan turn to the United States or Great Britain for an agreement against Russia? etc.

Yet the speaker, Ross, went into a frenzy at most of the questions, describing them as "Trotskyist" questions. He evidently thought that the two Socialist Workers Party members present had turned in the questions, or explaining the Stalin-Hitler pact, and suggested—perhaps a debate—. At this point the chairman banged the gavel, announced the meeting ended, and herded the faithful out of the hall.

No Longer Faithful But it is certain that the "faithful" are faithful no more. Unquestionably, the rank-and-file Communist Party members and sympathizers are deeply shaken by the Stalin-Hitler pact.

These people do want socialism, they do want to defend the Soviet Union, and they are just beginning to awaken to the fact that they cannot obtain these things with Stalin but rather against him. Communist Party members and sympathizers have shown themselves very receptive to the teachings of our Party in the last week.

THE NEGRO QUESTION

By J. R. JOHNSON

Negroes and the War

In Europe the war has begun. Like Woodrow Wilson, Roosevelt says that he will try to keep America out but we know that he has been making every preparation to drag America in.

This is the situation that faces the American people and the great masses all over the world. The Negroes, here as elsewhere, know that great decisions are being made which will affect their whole future. What are they to do? What does this war mean to Negroes? What must they think about it?

Negroes, brothers and sisters, comrades and friends, it is no use merely whispering to one another that it is a white man's war. The stand you take today will help to decide the fate of the world and your own fate for many many years to come. Roosevelt's war propaganda has been screaming at you and the other workers and farmers of America for the last two years. Now, as the hour comes nearer when your parsons, your Elk leaders, your Republican and Democratic Negro bosses, the university professors, Communist Party leaders like Earl Browder and James Ford, all are going to turn on their loud speakers, wave their flags, and beat their big drums, to bewilder you and drive you into support of this war. But in your hearts, you, the masses of the Negro people feel that this war is not your war. You feel that once more you, your relatives and your friends all over the world, in America, in Africa and the West Indies, are going to be used and then flung aside. You are right, but only half-right. For this time you will not only be used, but by the support of this war you will be tying a thousand times tighter, the chains which now bind you as the pack-horse, the servant and the slave of capitalist civilization.

Why They Don't Appeal to the Negro

In America, in Africa, in the West Indies, over 150 millions of Negroes bear on their bent backs and sweating limbs, a burden greater than that of any people anywhere in the world. If this war is a great war for freedom and a better life, the Negroes should have been addressed before anybody else. They need a better life and freedom more than any other people. But just note how careful everybody has been not to address the Negroes directly on the war question. In all the preparation for the great slaughter, in all the propaganda that pours over us like a flood, there has been a great conspiracy of silence in regard to what part the Negro must play in the coming war.

Republican Party, Democratic Party, Communist Party, all carefully avoid making direct references to the Negroes and the war. They will talk and write about Negroes and relief, about Negroes and the WPA, about Negroes and the New Deal, about why the Negroes used to vote for the Republican Party and why they now vote for the Democratic Party. The Republican Party appoints a commission to find ways and means to win back the Negro vote. The Communist Party points out why Negroes must hate Japan and Hitler, why the Negroes must vote for the New Deal, why the Negroes must be anti-fascist, why the Negroes must oppose those who attack Jews. But about Negroes and the war, what Negroes must do when the drums begin to beat and the bugles begin to blow, not a direct word all these months. They have been trying to smuggle the Negroes into the war as a section of the American people. They have not dared openly to explain to you, why you, as Negroes, should take part in the war. They do not dare to start the discussion. They know their arguments would stick in their throats. Today, and still more tomorrow, they will seek to sweep you into the war under cover of the general slogan: Our democracy is in danger. One party, however, the Socialist Workers Party, has no tricks to play on the Negroes or anybody else on this life or death question of imperialist war. Clearly, simply, and without possibility of being misunderstood, we say that this coming war, like the last one, is a war that will be fought by the muscles and blood and lives of the poor for the pockets and bellies of the rich. The poor have nothing to gain and everything to lose by supporting the rich in a war that will be fought exclusively for the benefit of the rich. And above all, the Negroes, the poorest and most oppressed people in every country where they live, would be the greatest fools to allow themselves to be deceived this time, as they were the last time. We are confident that the great majority of the Negroes who consider this question with the seriousness that it deserves, will come inevitably to the conclusion that they must fight against the war to the bitter end.

That is our position. The Socialist Workers Party has nothing to hide from the Negro. It says to him, as it says to the poor everywhere—whites, Negroes in Africa, Indians in India, "Brothers and sisters of whatever color, this war is not our war. We will not support it. We, the workers, the poor farmers in every country, white, black, and brown, are not going to kill one another at the command of Chamberlain, or Hitler at the orders of Roosevelt or of the Japanese Mikado. We shall fight for a fraternal unity between all the poor in every country against all the rich. That is the war we shall fight. Down with the imperialist war!"

(Continued in Next Issue)

In Oslo, the work of peace done by the two presidents Roosevelt was praised at the opening of the interparliamentary union congress. Theodore Roosevelt was cited for his mediation of the Russo-Japanese war in 1904; Franklin D. Roosevelt for his peace appeal April 15 to Hitler and Mussolini.

MILLSTONE IN THE PATH OF PROGRESS: Aram Saroyan, Fresno agriculturalist, advanced a proposal to cut down the anticipated heavy surplus of grapes in 1939 by stripping the fruit from every second or third row of vines before it ripens.

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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—36-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.

"I Hate War"

Lying phrases, an essential stock in trade of the liberal politician, have an unfortunate way of getting themselves remembered long after their utility has ceased. The "He Kept Us Out of War" slogan on which Woodrow Wilson was re-elected in 1916 had become a bitter joke within a year. And we suspect that President Roosevelt in his radio speech of last Sunday coined not a few phrases which will later on come back to plague him. Notable among these was his fervent "I hate war!"—a gag he has used on previous occasions and one that by now is beginning to spread at the seams.

There was little except phrases of one sort or another in the President's speech. The truth is that he was in a damnably uncomfortable spot, and he squirmed and twisted accordingly. The customary ring of conviction, the usual thrilling dramatic effects were absent from his voice. For this politician who for months has been whipping up the war hysteria, who has been organizing down to the last tent-peg and draft card the war mobilization of the nation, this ardent lover of democracy (across the Atlantic, that is) and doughty fighter against tyranny (also strictly trans-Atlantic)—had to advise his people to remain neutral, had to pull a long face and talk piously about the New Testament and brotherly love and "true neutrality" and "spiritual values." When all the time he longed to be leading the world crusade of fire and sword.

But the President was unable to deny himself the pleasure of a few hints, and some of them none too subtle, as to the future direction of his Administration's policies. "When the peace has been broken anywhere," he said, "the peace of all countries everywhere is in danger." He also revealed that the American frontier, as defined by the War Deal, takes in by now a considerable stretch of territory, namely, "the Western hemisphere and the seas adjacent thereto." (The economic frontier, by the way, in the matter of jobs and opportunity, is a much less expansive affair: here the New Deal can suggest nothing more promising than Alaska.)

The most notable of the President's side-remarks, however, was the at-first-glance innocuous statement: "This nation will remain a neutral nation, but I cannot ask that every American remain neutral in thought as well." One remembers that in 1914 President Wilson, in a neutrality address in similar circumstances, urged Americans to be "impartial in thought as well as in action." The difference between Wilson and Roosevelt's formulations is the difference in the tempo of imperialism today and then. Roosevelt has no intention of waiting three years before he enters the war.

Cannon Fodder--at Union Rates

In the last war, Gompers and the AFL bureaucrats led the workers of America into the slaughter like so many Judas-goats leading sheep into the killing pens. This time, the mantle of Gompers is divided between William Green and John L. Lewis.

The Steel Workers Organizing Committee recently made contracts providing that employees absent "because of war service" retain their seniority ratings. When General Motors last spring

purged many of its alien employees in order to get war orders, the United Auto Workers made no protest.

But the most open indication of the war-mongering position of the CIO bureaucracy was the keynote speech John L. Lewis made at the Pittsburgh convention last fall.

"The United States of America," he boomed, "is under increasing pressure in the realm of foreign affairs. . . . It is possible that we will have to meet the German dictator as he tries to extend his domain into the realm of the Western hemisphere. If that day comes, who is going to sustain the United States of America? Who is going to man its industries? Who is going to send its young men to military ranks to engage in war? Labor—Labor! Who is going to protect the institutions of this country, those that are meritorious? Labor! Who is going to protect the titles to property and great wealth down through the generations in America? Labor—Labor! . . . The workers of this country will never make anything out of war. They merely work and sweat and fight and die. Some one else takes the profits."

It was a grim black picture Lewis painted. But then, master of oratory that he is, he triumphantly concluded with *The Way Out*: "In consideration of all these things, in consideration of the fact that we are Americans, and that we believe in the principles of our government, and that we are willing to fight at any time to maintain that flag, we are going to ask from those who are the beneficiaries of that service and that attitude and that loyalty, we are going to ask proper treatment for ourselves—proper treatment for ourselves!" (*Proceedings, First Constitutional Convention*, p. 9)

What an inspiring prospect for the American workingclass! Messers the bourgeoisie! cries this mighty chieftain of labor, if you expect us to make your war for you and die for your institutions ("those that are meritorious," that is) we demand—proper treatment! Don't expect our heart's blood unless we get time and a half for overtime! Union shop in the trenches! Lewis only forgot to insist that the union label be placed on all ammunition, and that CIO gunners refuse to handle "scab" shells.

If this was the keynote of last year's CIO convention, what may we expect from this fall's gathering? Only strong rank-and-file pressure on all delegates will prevent it from turning out to be an orgy of social-chauvinism unparalleled since the last war.

STYLE NOTE: Says Sylvia Dawes, just returned from an extensive tour of Europe: "Out of the grim preparations for war have come one bright spot—the influence of military uniforms on styles and fashions. Some of the smartest clothes and hats have been designed along military lines, particularly the hats."

Social-Patriotism

What name shall we give to those repulsive creatures—the Leon Blums in France, the British Labor Party leaders, the Abraham Cahans and Algernon Lees of the Jewish Daily Forward and the Social-Democratic Federation, and the Stalinists—who peddle this imperialist war among the workers as a war for which the workers should gladly die?

During the First World War, Lenin popularized the term "social-chauvinists" or "social-patriots" to describe those who gave lip-service to socialism but were actually lackeys of their "own" imperialist governments. Socialism in words, chauvinism in deeds—that was the Judas role of the Second International in 1914-1918.

That is still the role of the Second International. In all the "democracies" these lackeys are once more serving as recruiting-sergeants.

Stalin's latest betrayal of the working class, the Hitler-Stalin pact, has been exhaustively exposed in these pages. But only those can honestly indict Stalin who come to court with clean hands, namely the revolutionary internationalists who denounced Stalin's betrayal of the working class to the "democracies" as decisively as they now denounce his alliance with Hitler.

The social-chauvinists of the Second International are now loudly denouncing Stalin for his latest crime. But his previous crime of subordinating the workers of France to Daladier, of America to Roosevelt, etc., that crime they hailed and joined in, and paid Stalin for.

When Leon Blum was premier of France with Stalin's support, his paper, *Le Populaire*, developed extreme discretion concerning the first Moscow Trials. Stalin's G.P.U. executioners and spies ran amuck in France, with immunity. In Spain, Caballero and Prieto were hand in glove with Stalin—and the Socialist press said not a word about the Moscow Trials or G.P.U. assassinations of revolutionists. And these people and their like have the effrontery to express pious indignation at Stalin!

They and Stalin are cut from one pattern—playthings, tools, of the imperialist powers. As we refuse to recognize that one of the imperialist camps is less foul than the other, so we fail to find an iota of moral superiority as between a social-chauvinist or a Stalino-chauvinist. Both are traitors to the working class. Against both we shall wage irreconcilably the revolutionary struggle.

The Last Turn



Some Timely Words

In the Struggle Against War

As both warring camps justify themselves in the name of "national independence," it is well to remember the slogans and promises under which the First World War was fought. "Poland" merely replaces "Belgium," the "Beast of Berlin" is heard once again, as is "British world-domination." And now, as then, the "socialists" support "their" governments, with the so-called "Communist" parties joining the chauvinistic chorus.

After the war is over, many of the chauvinists will repent, as they did after the last war. Almost everybody admitted that the war of 1914-1918 was waged under lying slogans—that is, almost everybody until this new war began!

Timely Words

But in 1914 few saw the truth, fewer still had the courage to proclaim it to the world. The leader of the anti-war forces was Lenin. In 1915, in the midst of the war, he wrote the draft resolution of the left wing delegates to the Zimmerwald anti-war conference of Socialists. His words are as timely today as then:

"The World War, which has been devastating Europe for the last year, is an imperialist war waged for the political and economic exploitation of the world, export markets, sources of raw materials, spheres of capital investment, etc. It is a product of capitalist development which connects the entire world in a world economy but at the same time permits the existence of national state capitalist groups with opposing interests.

"If the bourgeoisie and the governments seek to conceal this character of the World War by asserting that it is a question of a forced struggle for national independence, it is only to mislead the proletariat. . . . Equally untruthful are legends concerning the defense of democracy in this war, since imperialism signifies the most unscrupulous domination of big capital and political reaction.

"Imperialism can only be overcome by overcoming the contradictions which produce it, that is, by the Socialist organization of the advanced capitalist countries for which the objective conditions are already ripe.

They Betrayed Workers

"At the outbreak of the war, the majority of the labor leaders had not raised this only possible in opposition to imperialism. Prejudiced by nationalism, rotten with opportunism, at the beginning of the World War they betrayed the proletarian to imperialism, and gave up the principles of Socialism and thereby the real struggle for the everyday interests of the proletariat.

PARTY ASKS AID IN GETTING ON N. Y. BALLOT

(Continued from Page 1)
"We want to confront the candidates of the capitalist parties, of the wildly patriotic social democrats, of the treacherous 'Communist Party,' with our revolutionary socialist program on the real issue of the day—the issue of barbarous capitalist war or a free workers society."

"To enable us to do this job effectively, we urge every party member, every sympathizer, every friend, every reader of the Socialist Appeal to chip in and help us get the necessary 5,000 signatures to place Shachtman and Paine on the official ballot in their respective boroughs.

"Branches of the party in the Bronx, in the Downtown, Upper West Side, Lower East Side and Needle Trades sections of Manhattan are holding open air meetings regularly to obtain the necessary signatures. Give them a hand! Party sympathizers and readers of the Appeal can avail themselves of petitions at the City Office, 116 University Place.

"Do your bit! Help put over the Socialist Workers Party's election campaign! Join hands with the only anti-war party, the only party fighting Fascism in action!"

HIGHLY INTERESTING ISSUE OF NEW INTERNATIONAL APPEARS

The September number of *The New International* is off the press and on sale. Featured in this issue is editorial comment on the Stalin-Hitler Pact, reviewed only briefly in this issue, since the pact was signed as the magazine went to press. The forthcoming number will have an exhaustive review of the outbreak of the European war, the significance of the Stalin-Hitler Pact and the future role of American imperialism.

Other important articles contained in the September number are, "The Future of Roosevelt," by James Burnham; "An Open Letter to the Workers of India," by Leon Trotsky, and "The Story Behind Tea," by Sherman Stanley.

The subscription rate of *The New International* is \$2.00 per year. Single copies also can be obtained by addressing:

The New International
116 University Place
New York City

Had There Been A Liebknecht In Parliament

Karl Liebknecht stood up in the German Reichstag in December 1914. Around him the social-patriots vied with each other in their eagerness to vote the government war credits. Liebknecht, however, shouted his "NO" and that "NO" was heard by the working class of the whole world.

Last week the British Parliament in an orgy of patriotism voted the government full dictatorial powers for the prosecution of war against Germany. Laborites, conservatives, and the "Communist" Gallacher stamped over each other to vote the government war powers. Four members of the Independent Labor Party feebly cast "nay" votes; Maxton, in doing so, bade His Majesty's imperialist government to go out and work for peace among the boss nations. Had there been a Liebknecht in the British Parliament this is the kind of speech he would have made:

Who Will Fight against Fascism?

"The government is preparing for war. It asks powers so that it may conduct this war. And all the gentlemen of His Majesty's loyal opposition scamper to nod assent.

"These loyal flunkies of imperialism are quite ready to accept the official deception that this will be a war against fascism, to defend 'poor little Poland.' And since it is not their blood that will be shed on the battlefield, they are ready, nay eager, to spread this deception among the working people.

"Yes, war against fascism is indeed honorable. It is necessary. If the government were capable of waging war against fascism, I, too, would vote 'Yes!' But the war against fascism cannot be fought by this government. It can only be fought by the working masses, striking at the root of the fascist disease. And above all, it can only be fought with, and not against, the workers of other lands, especially of Germany.

"This government presumes to fight against fascism; it is anxious to save Poland. Miserable fraud. It cares little for 'poor little Poland.' It will sell Poland to Hitler if a satisfactory price can be arranged.

Is There Democracy?

"What the government does care about, and that a great deal, is the vast colonial empire—India with its 375,000,000 people; Ceylon with its great tea, rice and coconut plantations; South Africa with its gold and diamond mines; the harbor of Hongkong; Australia with its wool, meat and grain, Malay with its rubber and tin, and so forth. To defend these, conquered through the years by the mailed fist of imperialism, it will go to any length.

"The government pleads, tearfully for the defense of democracy. Democracy! There are 550,000,000 people in the British Empire. At least 500,000,000 would willingly give their right arms to be free of our 'democracy' in which they have no freedom, rights or security, but must work at bayonet point. If the government were interested in fighting fascism it would start with its colonial administrations, the colonial 'fuehrers' who yield nothing to Hitler in terror and brutality.

"Democracy indeed! When the very powers asked for today wipe out democracy; put the powers of dictation in the hands of a board that speaks not for the people, but for the land-owners, industrialists and financiers. And you, Messrs. Laborites, you Mr. Greenwood and Co.; you too, Mr. Gallacher, yours is the slavishness of servants who for a small bribe, a little extra favor, spy upon, and betray their fellow workers. Yes, betray.

"The honorable Mr. Greenwood, Laborite, piously deplores the war clouds. He abhors war. And he has certain criticisms of the government. But Mr. Greenwood, who presumes to speak for millions of Labor supporters, hastens to add that the foe will not find us a disunited people. Precisely. That is Mr. Greenwood's function in society. Oh no, he is not a supporter of the government. He is its loyal opposition. It is his job to oppose that government on all issues except where it really matters. It is his job to see that the government gets the proper window dressing in order that labor may be deceived into purchasing its wares. It is his job to see that the people are not disunited as between worker and boss, that they are deluded into believing themselves members of one happy family of good democratic Englishmen.

"The honorable Mr. Greenwood adds that no democratic country will make war. Mr. Greenwood conveniently ignores the 'democracy' of the Empire. And he speaks a deliberate lie. Mr. Greenwood knows that wars are not made by one or the other country. That they stem inevitably from the system of capitalist exploitation that Mr. Greenwood supports, of course in his own 'oppositional' way. Hasn't it long been exposed to every thinking being that the last war was not provoked by Germany alone, but by every one of the ruler nations? Twenty-five years after the First World War Mr. Greenwood, who would 'dispel' the war clouds, resurrects a fraud.

"We heard another honorable Laborite speak. This one, an Independent Laborite no less. Mr. Maxton says: 'I record my opposition to the Prime Minister's mandate to go to war. But I give the Prime Minister a complete mandate and complete support for him to go into the world and make a new call to the nation to build a new civilization that will abolish poverty and inequality.' Mr. Maxton asks His Majesty's government of exploiters to lead a revolution to abolish poverty and inequality.

"The fight against fascism is also a fight against such powers as the government seeks. I will defend democracy by opposing powers of dictatorship for a war that the people do not want—that is not their doing, from which they can gain nothing. I will defend Poland by offering the Polish workers my comradeship and support in their struggle against their oppressors, inside or outside of Poland. I will fight German fascism by joining hands with German workers against their exploiters. And I will show them I mean business by fighting the exploiters whom our government represents.

"That is the way to fight fascism. That is the way to defend democracy. The main enemy is at home!"

ON THE WAY TO THE TRENCHES: Five youthful pickets for peace were ordered off the Iowa state fairgrounds shortly after opening an anti-war campaign before a preparedness exhibit.