

Trotsky Writes on War and the Nazi-Soviet Pact

Above All Else Stalin Fears Internal Revolt

Leon Trotsky issued the following statement to the British press:

FOR twenty years the mainspring of German imperialism remained tightly wedged. When this spring began to expand, the diplomatic chancelleries were disconcerted. The prolonged and sterile negotiations between London-Paris and Moscow, following Munich, constituted the second stage of their discomposure. From 1933 on I declared continually in the world press that the fundamental aim of Stalin's foreign policy was the reaching of an agreement with Hitler. But my voice was too modest to convince the masters of fate. Stalin staged his low comedy, "the struggle for democracy," and this comedy was believed, at least in part. Almost until the last day, Augur, semi-official London correspondent of the *New York Times*, repeated his assurances that an agreement with Moscow would be reached. Painfully instructive is the fact that the Stalinist parliament ratified the German-Soviet pact on the very day that Germany invaded Poland!

The general cause of war lies in the irreconcilable contradictions of world imperialism. The particular percussion, however, which opened up military operations was the concluding of the Soviet-German pact. During the preceding months, Goebbels, Foerster, and the other German politicians persistently repeated that the "day" for decisive action would soon arrive. It is inescapably clear now that this day was the one on which Molotov affixed his signature to the German-Soviet pact. No power can erase this from the annals of history!

It is not at all that the Kremlin feels closer to the totalitarian states than to the democratic. This does not determine the choice of orientation in international affairs. Despite all his aversion for the Soviet regime, the conservative parliamentarian Chamberlain tried with all his might to gain an alliance with Stalin. The alliance was not realized because Stalin fears Hitler. And it is not by accident that he fears him. The Red Army is decapitated. This is not phraseology but a tragic fact. Voroshilov is a fabrication. His authority is created artificially through totalitarian propaganda. On his dizzy pinnacle he remains what he always was, a hide-bound backwoodsman, without vision, without culture, without military ability, and even without talent as an administrator. The whole country knows that. In the "purged" military staff not a single name remains in which the army could place confidence. The Kremlin

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Behind the Lines

By GEORGE STERN

So far the war has been fought more fiercely in the headlines than at the front. Batteries of four-inch type have been rolled out by the newspapers and they are keeping up a steady screech of lies. Denials come back at them in tiny paragraphs like the unheard clicks of a pop-gun.

Nevertheless, the reality is sufficiently there. Hitler's armies are approaching Warsaw. Franco-British troops are moving gingerly across the German frontier in the Saar where miles rather than yards separate the Siegfried and Maginot lines. British planes have carried out a number of tentative raids over German territory. The British fleet is in its blockade positions in the North Sea and eight merchant ships have been sunk by one side or the other. Only the pacifist liberals of yesterday—today the loudest of the warmongers—are beginning to screech hoarsely for more gore. Those who are conducting this war know it is going to be a long and bloody one and the Franco-British strategy is based entirely upon that perspective.

The present phase awaits the completion of the Nazi invasion of Poland. The French and British are quite fully aware that the defection of Russia from their side, with the consequent neutrality for the time being of Turkey and the Balkans, sealed the fate of Poland. Despite all the fanfare about "helping our ally" the French and British are content to hope that before expiring the Poles will at least make some dent in the German military machine. Their tactics will be determined in part by the speed with which the various neutrals are converted into belligerents and the principal attention centers now not on military efforts along the western front but upon diplomatic efforts in Italy and Southeastern Europe designed to win new allies for the Anglo-French coalition.

It is now generally expected that as soon as he regards Poland as subjugated, Hitler will

make a peace offer to the western powers on the basis of the status quo thus established. Anglo-French propaganda is already extending itself to discount in advance the prospective Anglo-French rejection of the expected proposals from Berlin. Hitler will utilize this refusal in justifying in his internal propaganda the continuation and extension of the war.

The conquest of Poland will create a brand new situation. Germany and Russia will be neighbors. Rumania and the Balkans will be at Hitler's mercy. Italy, which has always regarded the Balkans as its God-given sphere of influence, will be forced to take some kind of stand, either with Hitler or against him. The tremendous twin lines of fortifications along the western front would make an offensive there so costly that we may be sure the Western allies will look for another road to the Reich and the road through Italy and the Brenner Pass is the best of them all. That road we may be sure they mean to travel, either by breaking Mussolini from the axis or battering him down. That is why Mussolini will soon find his perch on the horns of a dilemma too uncomfortable to maintain. And the way he falls will determine how things go in the Balkans.

If Mussolini goes with Hitler, the Balkan states will have to choose between slow extinction as colonies of the axis or swift extinction as its enemies. If he completes the gory chain of diplomatic doublecrossing and moves into the Allied camp, southeastern Europe will become one of the principal battlefields of the war.

And while these decisions are in the making, artillery will roar with futile thunder on the western front and air fleets on both sides will take their ghastly toll in civilian lives. Russian goods and arms will be flowing in a thickening stream into Germany and American goods and arms will be filling the war chests of the Western powers.

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ROOSEVELT DECREES STRIKE AT LIBERTIES OF AMERICAN PEOPLE

Who Is Guilty of Starting The Second World War?

By LEON TROTSKY

Yesterday I talked on the immediate responsibility for war. Hitler started bloody military operations. Stalin helped Hitler to start. This time the immediate, so to say "juridical" responsibility for beginning military activities shapes itself more clearly than in the last war. The question of responsibility plays, as it is known, a great role in the international propaganda of both warring camps. Everyone of the states participating in the war attempt to shift the responsibility onto the enemy.

From the historical and political point of view, however, this juridical (or diplomatic) criterion is of completely second rate importance. There are progressive, just wars and there are reactionary, unjust wars, independently of who "started" first. From the scientific historical point of view, progressive, just wars are those which serve the liberation of oppressed classes or oppressed nations and thus push human culture forward. On the contrary, those wars are reactionary which serve for the preservation of an antiquated social order, which serve for the enslavement of working classes and backward or weak nations. Consequently, of decisive importance is the question, not of who "started" first, who appeared as an "aggressor," but which class is leading the war and in behalf of what historical ends. If the oppressed class or an oppressed nation appears in the role of "aggressor" on behalf of its liberation, we will always welcome such aggression.

England Rearmed Germany

The attempts to picture the next war as a war between democracies and fascism, were shattered against the real march of events. The present war, which its participants started before they signed the treaty of Versailles, grew out of imperialist contradictions. It was inevitable as is inevitable the crash of trains which are let loose one toward the other on the same track.

The chief antagonists on the European continent are Germany and France. In the struggle for hegemony in Europe and its colonial possessions, France attempted to keep Germany (not the fascist but the democratic one) in a condition of division and weakness. In this sense French imperialism was the midwife of German national socialism. On the contrary, England, which was interested in breaking the European hegemony of France and its international pretensions, began soon after Versailles to support Berlin against Paris. The re-arming of Nazi Germany would have been impossible without the direct help of England. Thus the masked but deep antagonisms

between the democracies was a spring-board for Hitler.

In Munich England supported Hitler in the hope that he would be satisfied with central Europe. But a couple of weeks later, England "finally discovered" that German imperialism strives toward world domination. In its role as the world colonial power, Great Britain couldn't fail to answer the unrestrained pretensions of Hitler with war.

The Real Nature of the War

Diplomatic machinations, juggling with the formula: democracy versus fascism, sophism concerning the responsibility, can not make us forget that the struggle is going on between the imperialist slave-holders of different camps for a new division of the world. According to its ends and methods the present war is a direct prolongation of the past great war, only with much greater rottenness of the capitalist economy, and with much more terrible methods of destruction and extermination.

Consequently, I don't see the slightest reason for changing those principles in relation to the war which were elaborated between 1914 and 1917 by the best representatives of the workers' movement under the leadership of Lenin. The present war has a reactionary character on both sides. Whichever camp is victorious, humanity will be thrown far behind.

The Task of the Workers

The task of the authentic representatives of the working class and oppressed nations does not consist in helping one imperialist camp against the other, but in teaching the laboring masses of all countries to understand the reactionary meaning of the present war, to raise their own program—the world socialist federation of nations—and to prepare themselves to replace the regime of robbery by the regime of general cooperation.

This is the program of the Fourth International. It appears utopian to the so-called realists who don't understand the logic of historical development. The Fourth International now comprises only a small minority. But the party of Lenin also represented only an insignificant minority at the beginning of the last war and received nothing but spite from the cheap heroes of the phrase. War is a severe school. In its fire the old prejudices and habits of slaves will be burned out! The nations will come out of this war different than they went into it, and will reconstruct our planet according to the laws of reason.

Coyoacan, D.F.
September 5, 1939

Leon Trotsky

SWP in Big Push on All Anti-War Drive Fronts

Branches Work Hard to Come in Under Wire in Fund Drive—Mass Meetings Held All Over Nation In Fight Against War

By HAL DRAPER
Secretary, Campaign Committee

The "state of emergency" into which the Party has entered in its fight against the war continues with mass rallies, outdoor and indoor, attended by the largest crowds the Party has ever spoken to.

Six more branches came through during the past week on the Anti-War Fund, going over the top on the September 15 quotas.

The New York local is transforming its councilmanic election campaign into a city-wide anti-war drive, in order to utilize the opportunity afforded by the elections to bring its message to new thousands of workers. Under the slogan of "Vote for the Anti-War Party!" all New York branches and comrades are giving this drive first place in their activities, to insure that Comrades Shachtman and Paine get on the ballot.

Record Street Sales
The record runs of the Socialist Appeal which have been coming off the press three times a week are being sold out on the streets in all the main centers of the Party.

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SEAMEN WANT WAR BONUSES; TIE-UP SHIPS

But Union Officials Find 'Escape Clause' For Companies

BOSTON, Sept. 7.—Twenty-seven of the thirty-six crew members of the government-owned freighter Challenge, cargoed for England, were paid off today because they refused to sail last night without a "guaranteed" \$250 bonus and \$25,000 war-risk insurance for each man.

The men were discharged by U. S. Shipping Agent Leo F. O'Brien of Boston on orders from the U. S. Maritime Commission. O'Brien said that he already had hired half the number of new men required to re-man the ship and that he expected to have a full crew ready for sailing by tonight or tomorrow morning.

The Maritime Commission informed O'Brien that it could not guarantee bonuses nor could it

War Deal Moves to End Democracy by Attack on "Subversive Activities"

WASHINGTON, Sept. 8: This morning President Roosevelt told his press conference that he had proclaimed a state of limited "national emergency" throughout the country. The main point about this proclamation, for labor groups, is its threat of action by the Department of Justice against "subversive activity."

The War Deal has finally come out in the open with its red-baiting, labor-muzzling campaign—an essential, if not the most essential, part of its program to lead the country into the war abroad. Using as a pretext a war in which the United States is not even a belligerent, the White House is moving to crush and silence all opposition from the ranks of labor. This is the first time in our history that such a move has been made before the United States entered a war.

Later in the day, Attorney General Murphy issued executive orders authorizing the following four steps under the proclamation:

Bucking the War Censors

"The plain people of Germany," reports a foreign correspondent of the N. Y. Post, "men and women one can see in the streets of Vienna, Berlin and in the lanes of villages, face the prospect of war as a man exhausted from a nightmare might look forward to a day of physical and emotional trial. It is really startling to observe the number of pale, drawn, peaked faces among the soldiers as well as the civilians. Weeping women are everywhere. In Berlin one feels dangerous explosive forces close to the surface."

And in Paris and London? Are the plain people there feeling any differently than those in Berlin? No—but ironically enough, foreign correspondents in Berlin are far freer to write so far than those in Paris and London, where no dispatch can be transmitted until first stamped by the censor. The *New York Times* is constrained to report that "In Rome and Berlin more favorable conditions exist at this writing, since there is as yet no prior censorship of outgoing news dispatches."

Where are the "democracies"?

The League of Nations, which the fat-headed liberals for twenty years told us was going to make a peaceful world, has just had the crowning indignity inflicted upon it. The Swiss Government has banned further League of Nations broadcasts.

How ducky! Lady Astor has a gas mask case which contains compartments for purse, lipstick and compact. As she walked into the House of Commons to vote for the war, she had this lovely accessory all ready with her.

Hitler has joined his soldiers "at the front." The official German news agency reports his walking through a hospital train talking with each wounded soldier. That certainly is sharing the dangers of war with the boys. They say Adolf just hates the sight of blood. His will be shed, you may be sure, not by the Allied soldiers but by German workers.

Britain's rival political parties have agreed upon a truce in which they will not contest pending by-elections, since such contests are considered undesirable in time of war. They all agreed wholeheartedly on the war, Conservatives and "Laborites" alike.

What Your Dollar Can Do

A dollar puts a Socialist Appeal salesman on an important street corner for one day.

Five dollars permits free distribution of two hundred Socialist Appeals.

Ten dollars puts a full-time field organizer to work for one week in the anti-war campaign.

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

Dear Friends:

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

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Address _____

(1) Increases in the strength of the Army and in the tempo of recruiting.

(2) Increases in the personnel of the Navy, National Guard, and Marine Corps.

(3) Authorization for the State Department to spend \$500,000 to help stranded Americans get back from Europe.

(4) "Increase the personnel of Federal investigating agencies to protect the United States against sabotage, propaganda and other subversive activities such as this nation experienced between 1914 and 1917."

The President has still many emergency powers up his sleeve which he can use when and as he sees fit. This is just the beginning.

SPECIAL SESSION OF RUBBER-STAMP CONGRESS DUE

The day before this emergency proclamation, it became known that the President had tentatively settled on September 18 as the date on which he will call a special session of Congress to repeal the Neutrality Act. He has already discussed the question on the phone with Senators Barkley and McNary, Democratic and Republican floor leaders respectively, and also with other Congressional whips.

A special session, the White House made clear, will be called only if repeal of the Act is certain.

"Underlying the President's conversations with Congressional leaders," reports the N. Y. Times of September 8, "is his desire that protracted debate on the neutrality issue shall be avoided at all costs, lest the impression get abroad among nations that do not understand the democratic process that the United States was divided on the foreign policy of the Administration."

In other words, in order to avoid any "misunderstanding" by the totalitarian Third Reich, our President proposes to make the American Congress into a totalitarian rubber-stamp itself.

"You are, I believe, the most enlightened and best-informed people in all the world at this moment," said the President in his "neutrality" radio speech last Sunday evening. "You are subjected to no censorship. . . . But this enlightened democracy need expect no public debate on the issue which now means life or death to millions of its citizens: the question of neutrality. The War Deal's plan is not

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In the Labor Unions

By B. J. WIDICK

Green Repeats

It isn't taking long for the conservative American labor leaders to show their true colors in the war crisis.

William Green, AFL president came out this week for the slogan "Let the People Vote on War." ONLY, he was talking about Germany!

The German people don't want war. Let Hitler let them vote and they'd all vote for peace, Green says. Correct!

But how about setting a fine example for them? How about Mr. Green shouting "Let the People Vote on War in the United States!" Green is as silent on this as Hitler is in Germany. If it's a democratic right of the people of Germany to vote on war, why isn't it for the American people? We say it is.

Green's actions show that he is going to pursue completely the exact course of betrayal he followed in 1917-18. Green is going to help enlist American workers in this present world slaughter.

Lewis Is Smarter

John L. Lewis, president of the CIO, is a trifle smarter in his approach.

Speaking on Labor Day, Lewis declared properly that the American workers want no war or any part of it. This is the sentiment of the huge majority of workers. They have nothing to get from war.

So what does Lewis propose the American workers do to keep out of war? Fight for a popular referendum? No! Fight against repeal of the neutrality bill? No! What program does Lewis have to offer? None!

Instead, Lewis very insidiously prepares the minds of the CIO workers to participate in another world war. "The CIO is the bulwark of democracy. The true defender of democracy!" Remember that one? President Wilson, aided by John L. Lewis, among others, used that in 1917-18 to recruit the American workers in the last money war to save the world for democracy.

Mr. Lewis also showed what he has in mind by another speech given that day by James B. Carey, secretary of the national CIO (who obviously spoke with John L.'s approval).

Carey said he didn't like the present War Resources Board. Did Carey object to the dictatorial powers given it by President Roosevelt? Of course not. Did he point out that the creation of this board was a major step in preparing for American participation in the world war? Hardly! That this board was going to run industry the way it saw fit and the hell with wages, hours and working conditions? Not one word of serious criticism.

Mr. Carey objects because labor doesn't have a representative on this union-busting, strike-breaking, dictatorial board. You see, it isn't fair, according to Mr. Carey, to allow the bosses to break the unions during war-time. They've got to be assisted by a labor faker.

Would anyone be surprised if Carey's candidate for this post of labor representative on the War Resources Board was Mr. Lewis?

Sugar-Coating

The American labor leaders have enough contact with their rank and file to know that no one, even the golden-voiced F.D.R., is going to sell them on the idea of giving up their lives in another war in which the whole show is exposed before hand.

The War Resources Board is a crude set-up at present. Too many J. P. Morgan men on it. Too many known opponents of Organized Labor. Hard to sell that kind of an outfit to workers. Hard to make anyone believe in the baloney of "war for democracy" when such flagrant rule of the bosses is revealed.

What the CIO leaders are trying to do is show Roosevelt and Wall Street the "correct" way to enlist the workers in another slaughter. Give them a post here and there. (What's one vote among ten, especially when it's sewed up too for the bosses.) Give the workers the illusion that they are having something to say about how the slaughter is being conducted. Then maybe they'll fight. Maybe.

The War and the Nazi-Soviet Pact

By Leon Trotsky

(Continued from Page 1)

fears the army and fears Hitler. Stalin requires peace—at any price.

Before Hohenzollern Germany toppled under the blows of the war coalition, it dealt a mortal blow to the Czarist regime; furthermore the Western Allies egged on the Russian liberal bourgeoisie and even supported the plans for a palace revolution. The present incumbents of the Kremlin asked themselves anxiously: may not this historical incident repeat itself in a new way? Had the Soviet oligarchy been capable of self-sacrifice or at least the slightest degree of self-denial in the military interests of the U.S.S.R., it would not have decapitated and demoralized the army.

The simpletons who are "pro-Soviet" deem it self-evident that the Kremlin hopes to overthrow Hitler. The case is otherwise. Without revolution the overthrow of Hitler is inconceivable. A victorious revolution in Germany would raise the class-consciousness of the broad masses in the U.S.S.R. to a very high level and render impossible the further existence of the Moscow tyranny. The Kremlin prefers the *status quo*, with Hitler as its ally.

Serves Imperialist Aims

Caught off guard by the pact, the Kremlin's professional apologists now attempt to argue that our former prognoses contemplated an aggressive military alliance between Moscow and Berlin, whereas in reality only a pacifist agreement of "non-aggression" was concluded. Miserable sophistry! We never spoke of an aggressive military alliance in the direct sense of the term. On the contrary, we always started from the fact that the international policy of the Kremlin was determined by the new aristocracy's interests in preserving itself, by its dread of the people, by its incapacity to conduct a war. Any international combination has some value for the Soviet bureaucracy insofar as it liberates it from the necessity of resorting to the force of armed workers and peasants. And yet the German-Russian Pact is a military alliance in the full sense of the word, for it serves the aims of aggressive imperialist war.

In the last war Germany was defeated primarily because of the lack of raw materials of the U.S.S.R. It is not accidental that the concluding of the political pact was preceded by the concluding of a trade agreement. Moscow is far from any thought of renouncing it. On the contrary, in his speech yesterday before the Supreme Council, Molotov stressed above all the exceptional economic advantages of the friendship with Hitler. The pact of non-aggression, that is, a passive attitude toward German aggression, is thus rounded out by a treaty of economic collaboration in the interest of the aggression. The pact assures Hitler the possibility of utilizing Soviet raw materials exactly as Italy in its attack on Ethiopia utilized Russian oil. While the military experts of England and France in Moscow studied the Baltic map from the point of view of military operations between the U.S.S.R. and Germany, the German and Soviet experts at the very same time were considering what measures to take in order to safe-guard maritime routes in the Baltic sea for continuous trade relations during war-time.

Occupation of Poland will assure contiguous boundaries with the Soviet Union and a further development of economic relations. Such is the essence of the pact. In *Mein Kampf* Hitler declares that an alliance between two states which does not have as its aim the prosecution of war "is absurd and sterile." The German-Soviet pact is neither absurd nor sterile—it is a military alliance with a division of roles: Hitler conducts the military operations, Stalin acts as his quartermaster. And still there are people who seriously assert that the objective of the present Kremlin is world revolution!

Lenin's Policy Was Different

With Chicherin as Minister of Foreign Affairs in Lenin's government, Soviet foreign policy considered its real task to be the international triumph of socialism, and sought, incidentally, to utilize the antagonisms among the great powers with the aim of defending the Soviet Republic. With Litvinov, the program of world revolution was supplanted by concern for the maintenance of the *status quo* through a system of "collective security." But when the idea of "collective security" neared partial realization, the Kremlin became alarmed at the military obligations which were entailed. Litvinov was replaced by Molotov who knows no obligation other than that of preserving unimpaired the interests of the ruling caste. Chicherin's policy, that is, Lenin's essentially, was long ago decreed a policy of romanticism. For a certain time Litvinov's policy was considered the policy of realism. The policy of Stalin-Molotov is a policy of unadulterated cynicism.

"In a united front of peace-loving nations which are really opposed to aggression the Soviet Union cannot fail to participate in the front ranks," Molotov declared at the Supreme Council three months ago. What appalling irony in those words now! The Soviet Union has taken its place in the rear ranks of those states which up to yesterday the Kremlin persistently denounced as the aggressors.

What the Kremlin Gains

The immediate advantages the Kremlin government receives from the alliance with Hitler are quite tangible. The U.S.S.R. remains out of war. Hitler removes from the immediate agenda his campaign for a "greater Ukraine." Japan remains isolated. With the postponement of the war danger on the western frontier, one can envisage at the same time, as a consequence, a weakening of the pressure on the eastern frontier, perhaps even the conclusion of an agreement with Japan. It is quite likely, moreover, that in exchange for Poland, Hitler will give Moscow freedom of action in regard to the Baltic states bordering the U.S.S.R. However, though the "advantages" may be great, they are at best of an episodic nature and their sole guarantee is Rib-

bentrop's signature to a "scrap of paper." Meanwhile the war places questions of life and death on the order of the day for peoples, states, regimes, ruling classes. Germany is carrying out in stages her program of domination by war. With the help of England, she re-armed despite the opposition of France. With the help of Poland she isolated Czechoslovakia. With the help of the Soviet Union she not only wishes to enslave Poland but to destroy the old colonial empires. If Germany succeeds with the Kremlin's help in emerging victorious from the present war, that will signify mortal danger for the Soviet Union. Let us recall that directly after the Munich agreement, Dimitroff, secretary of the Comintern, made public—undoubtedly on Stalin's order—an explicit calendar of Hitler's future conquests. The occupation of Poland is scheduled in that calendar for the fall of 1939. Next in order follow: Yugoslavia, Rumania, Bulgaria, France, Belgium. . . And then, at the bottom, in the fall of 1941, the offensive is to begin against the Soviet Union. These revelations must undoubtedly be based upon information obtained by the Soviet espionage service. It is impossible, of course, to take this blue-print literally—the march of events introduces modifications into all such calculations. Nevertheless, the first link of the plan—occupation of Poland in the fall of 1939 is now being consummated. It is very likely that the brief delay of two years between the destruction of Poland, according to the plan, and the offensive against the Soviet Union is approximately correct. In the Kremlin they cannot help understanding this. It is not for nothing that they have proclaimed many times: "peace is indivisible." If Stalin notwithstanding becomes Hitler's quartermaster, it signifies that the ruling caste is no longer capable of thinking about tomorrow. Its formula is that of all doomed regimes: "after us the deluge."

Seals Doom of the Comintern

It would be a vain task to attempt at this time to predict the course of the war and the fate of its various participants, including those who still cherish the illusory hope of remaining outside of the catastrophe. It is given to no man to survey in its entirety this vast arena and turmoil of infinitely complex material and moral forces. Only the war itself will decide the destiny of the war. One of the major differences between the present war and the last one is the radio. It is first now that I see this clearly as I listen here in Coyoacan, a suburb of the Mexican capital, to speeches in the Berlin Reichstag and to news dispatches from London, Paris, and New York City. Thanks to the radio, people will depend much less than in the last war on totalitarian news from their own government and they will be infected much more rapidly by the moods of people in other countries. In this sphere the Kremlin has already suffered a great defeat. The Comintern, most important instrument of the Kremlin for influencing public opinion in other countries, is in reality the first victim of the German-Soviet pact. The fate of Poland has not yet been decided. But the Comintern is already a corpse. It is being forsaken from one side by the patriots and from the other by the internationalists. Tomorrow by radio we will undoubtedly hear the voices of the Communist leaders of yesterday revealing, in the interest of their respective governments, in all the languages of the civilized world, including Russian, the treason of the Kremlin.

The disintegration of the Comintern will not fail to deal an irreparable blow to the authority of the ruling caste in the consciousness of the broad masses of the Soviet Union itself. Thus the policy of cynicism which was designed to reinforce the position of the Stalinist oligarchy, will in reality speed the hour of its downfall.

The war will topple many things and many individuals. Artifice, trickery, frame-ups, and treasors will prove of no avail in escaping its severe judgment. But my article would be greatly misunderstood if it led to the conclusion that everything new introduced by the October Revolution into the life of mankind will be cast aside. I am profoundly convinced of the opposite. The new form of economy, freed from the insufferable fetters of the bureaucracy, will not only withstand this test of fire, but also serve as a basis for a new culture which, let us hope, will put an end to war forever.

LEON TROTSKY

Coyoacan, D.F.
September 2, 1939

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SEAMEN WANT WAR BONUSES; TIE-UP SHIPS

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assure the men that war-risk insurance would be provided. Agent Thomas McGowan of CIO's National Maritime Union, who informed the crew of the discharge, said a new crew would be signed "if possible" by tonight through the NMU's agency.

NEW YORK, Sept. 8.—Demands of seamen for war bonuses and life insurance for sailing vessels into the war zone held up the United States Line's President Roosevelt here for six hours Wednesday and may tie up the S.S. Manhattan of the same company, scheduled to sail Saturday.

The vessels of the United States Line are under contract to the National Maritime Union. When the war broke out, rank and file pressure forced adoption by the union of a motion demanding 40 per cent increase in wages, life insurance for unlicensed personnel of \$25,000 per man, and a \$250 bonus. These demands are hardly a drop in the bucket compared to the super-profits which the shipowners are reaping from the war situation.

Crews aboard ships scheduled to sail into the war zone expected, therefore, that they would receive the full backing of the union if they refused to sign on until the demands formulated by the union had been met.

Stalinists Lay Down But then the Stalinist leaders of the union put their heads together with the officials of the United States Lines, and these worthies worked out an "escape clause." Upon a promise of the shipowners to "further negotiate," the union leaders advised the crew to sail the S.S. President Roosevelt. Members of the crew who refused to accept that advice and demanded an immediate settlement before the ship sailed were simply replaced by men sent from the N.M.U. offices.

"Negotiations" still continue. Nothing has been granted by the company. The refusal of the Stalinist leadership to force the operators to grant concessions now indicates the role they are prepared to play throughout the war.

When the S.S. Manhattan crew demanded that the company immediately settle the issue, the Stalinist leaders of the N.M.U. found a new "out." They wired Admiral Land, chairman of the U. S. Maritime Commission, that the union was receiving "absolutely no cooperation" from the commission in arranging protection for American seamen.

But for many months it has been settled policy for maritime unions not to cooperate with the commission, which is an open strikebreaking agency. The Sailors Union of the Pacific has so far thwarted the commission's attempt to replace union hiring halls by government halls, and all unions are boycotting the "training ships" of the commission, which are nothing but schools for flunks. In bringing the commission into the picture the Stalinist leaders are facilitating its attempts to restrict union activities in the strategic maritime industries.

On the West coast seamen received bonuses for sailing into waters adjacent to Orient war zones. During the civil war in Spain ships under jurisdiction of west coast unions paid crews bonuses for sailing into Loyalist ports. The Sailors Union of the Pacific refused to man vessels bound for Franco ports.

A flagrant example of the way in which the boss press will be smearing legitimate union demands was the "liberal" New York Post's story of Sept. 7 on the seamen. "Seamen's Nazi sympathies threaten American sailings; stand in way of government's effort to bring its nationals home," was the headline. All the rats are gnawing away at the foundations of union conditions.

WORKERS' FORUM

The Effect of the Pact in Scotland

August 28, 1939

Dear S . . . I am writing once more on the eve of a threatened upheaval of all of society—only this year the probability of war appears much greater than it was last year.

The latest betrayal of the workers of the world by Stalin—the Russo-German Pact, has left the workers of this country in a terrible state of confusion. The *Daily Worker* here disregarded the Pact for 3 days—didn't even mention anything about it. Then after the capitalist press had headlined it and ran it up and down its columns for 3 days straight, the *Daily Worker* came out with the official explanation right from the "holy father" himself, "that the pact was one of the greatest victories for socialism."

The C.P. line is still to oust Chamberlain and get a government which will sign a Pact with Russia—this despite the

fact that clause 4 of the German-Russian Pact directly contradicts such a policy.

Our comrades in Glasgow here have held open air meetings which were very well attended. They have some excellent speakers who defined and analysed the situation and then called for the workers to take the only way out—civil war against their rulers.

The Glasgow section is the best section of our British movement. All comrades are, with the exception of one, of working class origin, nearly all are working in heavy industries. They are well educated and versed in Marx, Engels and Lenin and are as sincere a group of revolutionaries as I have ever met.

With the new Emergency Powers Act here one hardly knows what they will be doing next. I believe they will establish a totalitarian regime, whether or not there is war.

Revolutionary Greetings,
H
Glasgow, Scotland

The Answer Is Up To You

SHALL THE NEW INTERNATIONAL CEASE PUBLICATION OR CONTINUE?

Several weeks ago it was announced in these columns that *The New International* magazine might cease publication, unless readers came immediately to its support. This was accomplished at the time, and *The New International* continued to appear regularly. It has not missed a single issue since its revival in January 1938, almost two years ago.

For such an important publication as *The New International* to cease publication would unquestionably be a blow to the revolutionary movement in the United States and internationally. Indeed, now is the time more than ever for the powerful voice of *The New International* to assert itself in the struggle against war and imperialism and for the social revolution as the answer to the imperialist conflagration.

But the outbreak of war in Europe, while creating new opportunities for the left-wing and revolutionary forces has also created certain difficulties for the *Socialist Appeal* and immediately for *The New International*.

The New International is so much a world magazine that approximately one-third of its circulation and income has been derived from organizations and agents circulating the magazine in England, Scotland, Ireland, Canada, India, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, France, Belgium and other countries. Now the war is changing all this.

Censorship has already been clamped down on virtually every one of the above-mentioned countries and will, no doubt, both spread and be intensified. Already mails are being stopped; letters and packages opened, etc. While, unquestionably, in some way *The New International* will find its way into all these countries, despite all bans and censorship by the war powers, nevertheless the fact remains that with the advent of the European war *The New International*, for at least the duration of the war, loses a paid circulation of approximately 1,000 copies, and that likewise one-third of the revenue of *The New International* is automatically cut off.

Under these conditions *The New International* will not be able to continue publication for very long unless American readers of *The New International* and the *Socialist Appeal*, members and sympathizers of the *Socialist Workers Party* and the Y.P.S.L., (Fourth International), rise immediately to its support.

It would be a calamity to the Fourth International if *The*

New International suspends publication now at a time when its role is more important and decisive than ever.

A special effort will be made to insure publication of the October issue with the hope and expectation that its readers will rally immediately to insure its future.

Concretely, the following is required:

1. All S.W.P. and Y.P.S.L. units must pay up their bundle bills immediately!
2. All Party units should arrange quickly for a renewed and intensified drive for subscriptions. There are several hundred outstanding subscriptions to the magazine which ought and can be renewed if an organized effort is made by the membership. This is important now, in order to help make up in a good measure our loss of circulation and revenue from foreign countries.
3. We call upon readers and supporters of *The New International* to help the magazine in the following way:

- a. Send in a subscription!
- b. Send in a donation!

WAR CASTS SHADOW OVER LOS ANGELES LABOR DAY PARADE

(Special to the *Socialist Appeal*)
LOS ANGELES, Sept. 5.—One of the largest—and one of the soberest—Labor Day parades in the history of Los Angeles was held here. Some 80,000 workers, representing 200 American Federation of Labor locals, marched through downtown Los Angeles, winding up at City Hall. In nearby San Pedro, 20,000 more workers, of both the AFL and the CIO demonstrated in the streets of that city.

The usual hilarity and exuberance of both the marchers and the onlookers, however, was absent. The imperialist war, whose opening guns had already thundered in Europe, spread a pall over the enthusiasm that has marked this significant demonstration in previous years.

Distribute Leaflets As one huge American flag, carried horizontally, passed along Broadway, one of Los Angeles' principal streets, there was no applause at all. A bystander expressed his surprise at this silence. His wife, more militant, less bewildered, answered his exclamation with the following words: "What can you expect? The war is not far off, and we all know who'll be doing the fighting!"

Members of the Socialist Workers Party, having correctly gauged in advance the mood that would be gripping the crowds, were on hand distributing many thousands of leaflets. "Let the People Vote on War!" demanded the leaflet. "Capitalism Breeds War! The Fight Against War is the Fight for Socialism! For a Workers and Farmers Government!"

The leaflets were well received. They were read, and they were preserved in pockets and in pocketbooks.

In addition, the Socialist Workers Party sold many copies of the latest issues of the *Socialist Appeal* and other party literature. A number of signatures were obtained on the petition "Let the People Vote on War."

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THE NEGRO QUESTION

"LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CAN NOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS BRANDED"—KARL MARX.

By J. R. JOHNSON

The Negro and the War

III

Let us take, one by one, the arguments put forward by the war-mongers. A Republican like Landon, a Democrat like Roosevelt, or a member of the Communist Party like Earl Browder and James Ford, tells everybody, (including the Negro of course,) that the war now being fought in Europe is a war against aggression, a war for "democracy," for the "preservation of human liberties," and the like. They say this because, although they are talking about peace, they are really preparing the minds of the workers for war.

The average Negro lives the life of an outcast in the North. He has little enough "democracy" there. But let Browder and Ford go to Memphis, Houston, Dallas, New Orleans, Jacksonville, Birmingham, Mobile, all the South, where some nine or ten million Negroes live, and tell those Negroes to fight for "democracy." Such is the "democracy" of the South that in many towns the Negroes wouldn't be able to sit in the same room with the whites to hear why they should die for "democracy." There are hundreds of places in the South where if James Ford dared to stand on a platform to talk about anything, he'd be torn limb from limb, Vice-Presidential candidate though he is. There are a thousand hotels in the South where if he showed his nose at the front entrance, three janitors would fall on him and throw him out into the gutter, after which the police would beat him up and take him to jail. In many cities, if he went near the polling booth he would risk being beaten up and perhaps shot. He must come out of the rear entrance of a bus in many Southern cities, or any white cop nearby would riddle him with bullets. If Ford got a job as a butler in the South, and a friend of his rang up the house and asked for Mr. Ford, his friend would be fined and imprisoned for disorderly conduct, as happened in this year of "democracy" 1939. In the South, Ford is plain Ford, no Mr. for Negroes. In Memphis you can go to the zoo only once a week, when whites are not there.

Roosevelt's Party Rules Us in the South

And it is the Democratic Party, Franklin Roosevelt's party which controls the state government in the South. Argue with these Democrats about the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments, which "guarantee" the political rights of the Negroes. If you insist you will get fourteen or fifteen bullets. That is the only kind of amendment the Southern Democrats have allowed the Negroes for many years. So that the vast majority of Negroes in the South will tell Roosevelt and James Ford, "What is this democracy I am to fight for? Where is it? Since when are Cotton Ed Smith and Senator Bilbo and the Democratic Party of Franklin Roosevelt my good friends? Why must I die for them? I am not afraid to fight. Negroes have been some of the greatest fighters in history. But the democracy that I want to fight for, Hitler is not depriving me of. I know the people who have kept me away from it for seventy-five years by rifles and revolvers, by state-law and lynch law! You, Franklin Roosevelt, James Ford and Earl Browder, tell us why we must go and shed our blood for something that we have never had."

"We Americans must fight against aggression," says James Ford and Franklin Roosevelt, seeking to drive American workers, white and black, into war. No wonder all of these politicians are so scared of raising the question of war directly to the Negroes. Every word they say turns to ashes in their mouths. Let us agree that Negroes must fight against aggression. But who are the aggressors against the Negroes? Hitler? Nonsense. The Southerners of the Democratic Party are the greatest aggressors against the Negroes in American history, and the North is not far behind them. "Oh! but we mean aggression in foreign countries, aggression by Mussolini, Hitler and Japan," say Roosevelt and Ford. The Negro will immediately reply, "And why if you so hate aggression, didn't you help Ethiopia?"

What these Democrats Did to Ethiopia

Ethiopia was the last little bit of Africa left free. Mussolini decided that he wanted it. The League of Nations had sworn to defend it. Every Negro with a spark of pride knows what happened, and remembers it with justified bitterness. Not only did they not protect Ethiopia as they had sworn to do, but instead they prevented arms from going to her while they bargained with Mussolini. They stabbed Ethiopia in the back—Britain, France, America, these great democracies. And Stalin, who is Ford's paymaster and boss, sold oil to Italy all through the Italian campaign. Now Roosevelt comes running, and Ford with him, to tell all good Americans (Negroes included of course), that they must fight against aggression.

And who is going to do the fighting against this aggression? The workers as always. Chamberlain, Daladier, and Roosevelt are getting ready to push the workers in America into the war. These are the very men who actively collaborated with Mussolini in destroying the last independent African state.

Why Should Negroes Trust These Rulers?

On again a Negro will ask, "Why should I trust you? You who have betrayed the last African state? Am I to go fighting for Poland to retain Danzig and prevent Hitler from getting it? Have I nothing else to fight for? I am not such a fool as not to know that international affairs are important. If Africans in Africa are fighting for freedom as Ethiopians fought, and are still fighting, I'll do all I can to help. The Indians are an oppressed people, and when they fight to drive Britain out, I am with them. Negroes went to fight in Spain against Franco. That was a good thing to do. As people who for centuries have suffered from oppression, Negroes must and will assist struggles against

War Deal Issues Decrees Striking At Liberties of American People

Restriction on Civil Liberty Through the "Emergency Decrees" Goes Hand in Hand With Increases in the Army and Navy

(Continued from Page 1)

only to get a definite commitment in advance from "opposition" leaders that the Neutrality Act will be killed, but also to choke off all discussion. The whole deal will be pulled off behind the scenes, in backstairs conferences between the President and a handful of Congressional leaders. The actual session of Congress, if Franklin D. Roosevelt has his way, will be as much a "coordinated" sham as Hitler's Reichstag. The issue of war-or-peace is too vital to the interests of American capitalism to be settled by the irresponsible representatives of the people. Only the highest Governmental circles can be entrusted with it.

WANTED: ONE FIRST-CLASS ATROCITY

The real question which will go before the special session of Congress, or rather will be privately settled beforehand, is "the degree of participation in war which the American people will tolerate," to quote the frank formulation of the N. Y. Times. The Administration is biding its time until public opinion "crystallizes" a little more in favor of sending aid to the Allies. Roosevelt has told friends that he considers the whole business of repealing the Neutrality Act "an extremely delicate subject." Like the skillful political surgeon he is, he wants to wait until the patient is well-prepared for the shock before proceeding to operate. A few good atrocity episodes will help enormously. The Athenia was a good beginning. HIS MAJESTY'S

LOYAL OPPOSITION

The Republicans are opposing the Administration's War Deal with all the fervor of the

ATTENTION! NEW YORK READERS

The APPEAL now appears on New York City newsstands on Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday. If you want the APPEAL placed on any newsstand notify the Business Manager of the APPEAL by mail.

British Labor Party's present opposition to the Chamberlain government. Senator McNary coyly refused to reveal his stand on repeal of the Neutrality Act. He did admit, however, that he was doing all he could to bring the matter to an early vote, which was tantamount to saying he was for repeal.

Kenneth Simpson, New York Republican leader and head of the "liberal" group in the Party, came out strongly for repeal in a speech to the New York Young Republican clubs. He was backed by Congressman James J. Wadsworth and Bruce Barton, both from New York and both well-known spokesmen for Wall Street.

There is still an Old Guard section of the Party, led by Hoover and Vandenberg, which is formally opposed to repeal. But it is by now fairly certain that, when it comes to a vote, the only real opposition will come from the liberal, bitter-ent isolationists in the Party, led by Senators Nye, Borah, Hiram Johnson, LaFollette, and Norris. And even this group may well keep silent at the crucial moment, judging from past performances.

PREPAREDNESS—FOR NEUTRALITY

Meanwhile, Neutrality Act or no Neutrality Act, the War Deal grinds on. Recruiting campaigns have been speeded up in the Army and Navy, "to keep pace with demands for neutrality enforcement." Coast Guard and naval patrols now extend several hundred miles out to sea. . . . A new batch of "dollar-a-year" business men

have been taken into the Treasury and the War Resources Board. . . . The N. Y. Daily News, which until war actually came had an isolationist policy, has restored to its masthead, Stephen Decatur's "MY COUNTRY RIGHT OR WRONG!" . . . Quite possibly not without some hint from the White House, the newsreel companies have picked out for reproduction on the screen the most pro-war and anti-isolationist passages of the President's "neutrality" radio address. . . . The Stock Exchange continued its wild boom.

ler and Poland are quarrelling over Danzig and East Prussia? When Czechoslovakia was cut up into pieces, it was fascist Germany, Hungary, and this same Poland that divided it. Now Germany and Poland begin fighting over one bone. Britain and France know that this is only the beginning of a struggle for world wide power. So they come in at once. But tell me, Franklin Roosevelt, and James Ford, why must I, a Negro, follow you into that?"

The Biggest Lie of All

Then will come the last argument. "It is not a question of Germany and Poland and Danzig. But freedom, civilization and liberty are in danger against fascist aggression, and the people of Britain, France, America, Belgium and the Soviet Union must unite to fight against aggression." But of all the big lies that are being told to push the people into war, this one about the war for civilization is the biggest.

There are today over 150 million Negroes in the world. There are fifteen million in America. They are the lowest paid, most humiliated, most despised people in the country, and in the South where four-fifths of them live they are treated like the Jews in Germany. We know how this great democracy terrorizes Negroes in the South and how it discriminates against them in the North.

When Roosevelt and other so-called lovers of democracy protested to Hitler against his treatment of the Jews, Hitler laughed scornfully and replied, "Look at how you treat the Negroes. I learned how to persecute Jews by studying the manner in which you Americans persecute Negroes." Roosevelt has no answer to that. Yet he will call upon Negroes to go to war against Hitler.

The "Democratic" Rule in Africa

War in defense of democracy and civilization? But it is when we look at Africa that we see how shameless is the lie that Belgium, France and America will fight any war for liberty and civilization. For it is in Africa that Negroes have for years suffered and still suffer today the vilest fascist tortures. And at the hands of whom? Not Hitler and German imperialism. Germany hasn't an inch of land in Africa. That is one of the things this war is about. Who is to have Africa? Hitler wants some of Africa, but up to now at any rate he has none. Japan has not an inch in Africa and today is much too busy trying to steal half of China. Mussolini controls a certain number of Africans. Who is it, then, that has taken Africa from the Africans? Who else but Great Britain with sixty million African slaves, and France with another forty millions, and "democratic" little Belgium, little in Europe, but with a large piece of Africa and twelve million Negroes under her control.

(Continued in Next Issue)

War Is Heaven -- For Some People

The current issue of the *Importer's Guide*, an authoritative trade magazine published by Sitterley & Sons in New York City, prints an article under the streaming headline:

A SHARP UPWARD TREND IN AMERICAN EXPORT TRADE CAN BE EXPECTED AS A RESULT OF THE PRESENT EUROPEAN SITUATION BECAUSE OF THE FOLLOWING FACTS:

A few of the "following facts" are well worth quoting. "3. Germany and Poland are the only markets entirely eliminated. . . . The entire Far East, Africa, Australia, South and Central America, neutral European nations as well as England and France must now look to the United States as their main source of supply."

"5. The Neutrality Act will, undoubtedly, be changed to provide the sale of war materials to all belligerents on a basis of cash purchase here and transport in the consignee's own bottoms. There is no embargo on the shipment of materials not of a military nature and none will be imposed."

"6. Insurance and freight rates will be adjusted on a stable basis as soon as convoy methods have been definitely established, and shipments to all parts of the world will be possible in view of Britain's sea power."

"9. In view of the above, and in light of our export experiences in 1914, it is obvious that increased demands will be placed on the export departments of American industry and that we are entering a period where export volume in practically all lines of trade will rise sharply."

And how will the world, and particularly the Allies, pay for all these goods? The answer is given in a current U. S. Government survey of French and British resources over here. The potential war credits of these two nations in the United States come to some \$4,000,000,000. This sum is made up of French and British private holdings of American securities, deposits in American banks, short and long-term credits, and direct investments in American industrial plants. Add \$5,000,000,000 gold reserves now owned by the French and British central banks, and you have a war chest of \$9,000,000,000 to finance Allied purchases of American goods. This is over ten per cent of our national income in 1938. No wonder the *Importers' Guide* is bullish about war trade.

ST. LOUIS SWP BLASTS LEGION PLAN TO BREAK UP CP MEETING

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

ST. LOUIS, Sept. 3.—The St. Louis Local Executive Committee of the Socialist Workers Party today issued the following statement, copies of which were sent to the daily press, the St. Louis Civil Liberties Committee, and the Communist Party:

"The Socialist Workers Party has received information from a reliable source that the American Legion, at post meetings last week, laid plans to mobilize its membership for the purpose of breaking up the Communist Party meeting scheduled for next Thursday night at the Municipal Auditorium, at which Wm. Z. Foster will speak. The Legion spokesmen urged the members to 'make the San Antonio affair look like a Sunday School picnic'."

"The Socialist Workers Party has no connection with the Communist Party; we are political opponents of the Communist Party, and consider that the Hitler-Stalin Pact, which we predicted last year, is final proof of the Stalinist betrayal of the cause of the international working class. The Stalinists have for years carried on a continuous campaign of slander and abuse directed at us, the 'Trotskyists', and have in many parts of the country broken up our meetings with hooligan tactics. 'Nevertheless, we stand un-

reservedly for the right of every workers' organization, including the Communist Party, to hold meetings unmolested and to exercise all its constitutional rights. The rising tide of war hysteria will, in the near future, produce many examples of gangster attacks on elementary democratic rights by fascist forces masquerading under the guise of 'patriotism'. Every sincere supporter of these democratic rights must resist to the last ditch these attacks whether coming from the American Legion or any other source. We believe that such resistance can best be organized in the form of Workers' Defense Guards, built up by the trade unions. But pressure must be brought to bear on all the organs of public opinion to force them to speak out against such fascist gangsterism; and every trade unionist and every liberal, every believer in free speech and free assembly, must make it his duty to combat the tendency to resort to Hitlerite tactics, wherever and whenever the tendency shows itself, and under whatever name."

"It is to be hoped that St. Louis will not be disgraced by a repetition of the display of mob insanity which recently put San Antonio on the front pages of the newspapers. We make public the information we have received with this in mind."

SWP in Big Push on All Anti-War Drive Fronts

(Continued from Page 1)

in are: Toledo, Hartford, Calais, Me., and Rochester. In addition, San Francisco, Youngstown, Washington, D. C., and Akron have pulled themselves out of the \$500 class and have shipped in their first installments on their quotas.

The New York series of neighborhood mass meetings covering the whole city were held on Thursday and Friday, September 7-8, with uniform success. As scheduled, rallies were held by the Needle Trades branch, in the Bronx, Astoria, Brownsville, Downtown Manhattan and the Lower East Side. The audiences included a large number of young men of draft age and many Stalinists; the questions and lively discussion which followed the main speeches were sufficiently indicative of the anti-war temper of the workers, many of whom had never before come to listen to us.

The preceding day, on Wednesday, a New York Party membership meeting was held at Irving Plaza with an almost capacity attendance of the membership. Comrade Cannon,

National Secretary of the Party, reported on some of the problems raised in the present war crisis and on the tasks of the Party.

Some of the Party rallies which have been held, according to our latest reports, are as follows.

Other Cities

Los Angeles . . . mass meeting in Embassy Hall on the Stalin-Hitler deal and the war crisis, August 30. As was true of the other meetings, numbers of workers in the hall asked to be informed of other activities of the Socialist Workers Party.

St. Louis . . . Indoor meetings on August 29, with a larger rally planned for September 8.

St. Paul . . . The Socialist Workers Party branch in this city has introduced the innovation of holding street meetings, such meetings not having been organized by any party in St. Paul for years.

Philadelphia . . . Felix Morrow on September 8.

Rochester . . . public meeting on the war with Hal Draper as speaker, September 3.

Worcester . . . highly successful meeting on the war and the

Stop Fascism In America!

Will Father Coughlin Become Dictator of the United States?

By JOSEPH HANSEN

(ELEVENTH INSTALLMENT)

Norman Thomas, an American adherent of the Second International, even went so far as to send an appealing letter directly to the *Radio Priest*—Norman rested elbows devoutly on a pulpit himself—asking if the *Radio Priest* wouldn't please remind his followers to desist immediately from further violence and disturbance.

The entire strategy of these self-anointed representatives of the working class can be summarized: "Help democratic capitalism stop Fascism!"

The situation which existed in Germany and Italy is being repeated and is reaching a dangerous stage in the United States—and that leads sharply to the question: *How stop Fascism in America?*

There is only one real answer: *Socialism*. A planned socialist economy. The working people must take the national industries and resources away from the Morgans, the Rockefellers, the Fords, DuPonts, Mellons, Girdlers—the *Sixty Families*—who now operate the mines and factories and railroads only if and when it pays them a profit.

The working people must end PRIVATE PROPERTY in the means of production and operate America's huge industries for the benefit of the toiling masses. This would mean, contrary to the lies of the *Radio Priest*, an unprecedented flow of consumers' goods for the *private enjoyment* of every individual in the nation.

America's capacity to produce is unlimited.

Even today, without increasing efficiency one iota or even bringing the present factories up to full producing capacity, it is possible to guarantee every man a job at not less than \$2,500 a year.

What could be done with all the unemployed holding down jobs and all the workers exercising their ingenuity and enthusiasm to produce the greatest possible quantity of the good things of life for themselves—not even the boldest minds have foreshadowed the coming possibilities!

Socialism is feasible right today in the United States!

But Big Business in America is not different from Big Business in Italy or Germany.

It too will fight like a blinded python.

Already the fascist gangsters are forming nuclei over the entire country.

It is necessary to take energetic steps and to take them immediately. It is not only a question of establishing socialism. *It is an immediate question of life or death.*

There is only one way to meet the menace of fascism in America, and that is by organizing TRADE UNION DEFENSE GUARDS *right now*.

Every trade union local in the country must begin organizing its Defense Guard *right now*.

No more time can be wasted.

Study the program of Mussolini and the program of Hitler and then study the program of their American disciple.

Remember the terror and violence that desolated Italy and Germany.

And then take action FIRST.

Don't wait for the concentration camps.

BUILD TRADE UNION DEFENSE GUARDS.

The fact that Father Coughlin spent his entire discourse on July 9, 1939, attacking the very idea of organizing Trade Union Defense Guards sounds a most grim and ominous warning as to his program and his intentions and his knowledge of the *only force* which can stop him.

On Sunday, July 30, 1939, in a discourse entitled "The Call to Action," the *Radio Priest* hurled down the gauntlet to the labor movement in the United States:

"It is a death struggle. . . . You are either with me or against me. . . . You will see such a defense mechanism as the world has never seen. (A defense mechanism like that in Italy and Germany.) Do you know that units of the 'Christian Front' are forming in New York and elsewhere in the country? . . . The 'Christian Front' is not a debating society, it is an ACTION society. . . . We will fight you in Franco's way!"

The Socialist Workers Party, affiliated with the Fourth International, has dedicated itself to stopping fascism from ever gaining power in America.

But let there be no illusions—the fascist beast cannot be stopped with postcards!

IT IS A DEATH STRUGGLE.

It is a death struggle that will require the whole heart and mind of labor, all its devotion, all its self-sacrifice, every last ounce of its fighting strength.

The Socialist Workers Party appeals to every militant worker to throw himself into this titanic struggle.

Every working man who is seriously concerned about protecting himself, his family and his union from fascism in the United States must become a CRUSADER for TRADE UNION DEFENSE GUARDS.

Every person who has the courage and the daring to dedicate his life to the greatest of all ideals—the emancipation of mankind—must come forward and take his place in the ranks of the Socialist Workers Party.

(THE END)

Stalinazi pact, September 2.

Minneapolis . . . Several hundred people heard Max Shachtman in the spacious hall of the S.W.P. headquarters on Marquette Street, on September 1. . . . We are also informed that radio station KSTP, which had scheduled a forum on "Let the People Vote on War" with an S.W.P. representative and State Commander Briggs of the American Legion as opposing speaker, has called it off. The

reason is: on account of the war crisis!

Youngstown . . . Another successful stop in the speaking tour of B. J. Widick, national labor secretary of the Party, was made here on September 5, with a capacity audience and many contacts made.

All branches are urged to send in announcements of all meetings and rallies which are scheduled, and reports of all outdoor and indoor meetings.

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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 vigilante and Fascist attacks.
12. Full social, political and economic equality for the Negro people.

Food Profiteering

The war has been going on barely a week, but the nation is already in the grip of a major price rise, the inevitable accompaniment of modern war.

In New York City, prices of meat, sugar, lard, flour and other staple foodstuffs have gone up from 10% to 25%. Housewives, remembering the last war, are beginning to stock up on sugar. (This, by the way, is an interesting index of just how much faith the masses are putting in the New Deal's promises to keep the country out of war.)

The current rise in food prices reflects the soaring prices on the commodity exchanges. Commodity prices have reached their official maximum limits in the first few hours of daily trading. On a single day in the Chicago exchange more than 100,000,000 bushels of wheat, corn, oats, rye, and barley futures changed hands—a two year record which resulted in the most violent price changes since the middle of 1933. The big chain stores and independent retailers are taking advantage of this large scale speculation to soak the consumers.

Mayor LaGuardia, after receiving over 500 complaints from housewives, is going through the usual motions of appealing and warning against high prices and hoarding. Secretary of Agriculture Wallace, making a pious gesture, has turned complaints about food profiteering over to the Department of Justice for "investigation." At the same time, however, he indicated "that for the time being the Administration was not displeased by price increases" (New York Times, Sept. 6).

But, the workers, the consumers are displeased at the increased cost of living. More fear continued increases in food prices and an extension of price raising to all the necessities of life. What can be done?

In the first place, it must be recognized that neither the federal nor local governments will voluntarily take any serious steps to curb the speculators, the big chain stores and the independent retailers.

Second, the trade union organizations, C.I.O. and A.F.L., the farmers' organizations and genuine consumers' cooperatives of the country must set up a joint committee for curbing the speculators, and controlling prices.

Third, local committees which include the neighborhood housewives must be set up to work for the control of prices.

Fourth, the trade unions must immediately consider ways and means of including in all their contracts a provision for an automatic increase of wages proportionate to the increased cost of living.

In other words, consumers must be united in the fight against increased prices. It is up to the trade unions to take the lead in this struggle. Above all, the trade unions must guarantee the real wage standards of their members by insisting on a rising scale of wages which would keep pace with rising prices.

In the Streets

"A yearning to keep out of the European war was probably the most common reaction among New Yorkers, second only to their realization that we might not," according to New York Times reporters who circulated among crowds

at Times Square as war news first started to flash from the Times Building Monday.

"My boy—what is going to happen to him now?" they quoted "a father, apparently Italian or French" as musing. "And a block away," the reporters noted, "Mike, Italian-American boot-black was saying, 'For what? I went over before. For what I went over? Man can't get a job, have to shine shoes in a street. . . .'"

Franklin (I Hate War) Roosevelt opposes a popular referendum on war because he dreads just such sentiment, expressed on a national scale. The people of this country do not want war!

Internal Passports

United States Senator W. Warren Barbour of New Jersey, addressing the American Legion state convention there, spoke for requiring all citizens to carry identification cards. He is going to introduce a bill for that purpose in the Senate.

No barbaric repression waged by Czarist Russia excited more horror in the civilized world than the Czarist system of internal passports. It was the subject of many a homily in the parliaments of the Western nations. Yet a United States senator is now proposing to introduce that system here. We cite this as but one of the many steps—and many of them will be enacted into law here, as many of them have already become law in the European "democracies"—which demonstrates that this war is not a war for democracy but a war to end democracy.

He Ought to Know

"Lying War Rumors" is the title of an interesting piece by General Hugh S. Johnson, ex-NRA chief and—even more to the point, Bernard Baruch's right-hand man in running the War Industries Board in the last war. He ought to know what he's talking about when it comes to war lies! He says, in part (N. Y. World-Telegram, September 6):

"Truth is the first casualty of any war. We should keep that axiom pasted on our hatbands. Of one thing we may be certain. . . . Unless a fact is so big and conspicuous that it could no more be hidden or camouflaged than a bull in a china shop, we will get it only in such form as the various nations think will fool us in their favor. . . ."

"We don't know exactly what happened to the Athenia, but remembering the Lusitania, it seems incredible that the German Admiralty would sink such a ship unless it has gone stark, raving mad. . . ."

"Why would German bombers fly around Warsaw and seek out and devote their attention, a valuable bomb cargo and risk of their lives, to blow up the country castle of Tony Biddle? Does Hitler want to force us to enter the war? Not unless he is crazy. Is he gunning for Tony? Absurd. I have no doubt that bombs were dropped on Biddle's villa, but I want to hear. . . ."

Then and Now

International Youth Day, founded in the midst of the war on September 6, 1914 as a day of struggle against imperialist war and its "socialist" apologists, was celebrated by the Komso-mol (Young Communist League) in Moscow this year with slogans which when compared with those issued last year show how the Y.C.L., like all the Comintern organizations the world over, is a mere tool of Stalin's foreign policy.

A summary of the differences in the slogans was wirelessly to the New York Times, Sept. 5, by its Moscow office:

"For instance, the word 'fascism' is absolutely eliminated from today's battle cries as a denunciation of the universal enemy. Last year a call for resistance to fascism was the characteristic note of seven of the slogans.

"Today's first slogan runs: 'Long live the twenty-fifth International Youth Day—the day of struggle of the toiling youth of the world against the incendiaries and provocators of war'; and Premier V. M. Molotov's phrase of last week, 'For peace, for socialism.' Last year the struggle was defined as 'Against imperialist war and fascism.'

"Where a year ago the fourth slogan was, 'For the united front against fascism—deadly enemy of our youth,' the corresponding one this year merely sends 'Greetings to the revolutionary youth of capitalist countries.'

"Slogan No. 7, which last year conveyed 'Bolshevik greetings to the revolutionary proletariat of Germany, to the heroic Communist party of Germany. Long live Comrade Thaelmann!' runs this year, 'Long live the wise foreign policy of the Soviet Union, guided by Comrade Stalin's instructions. 'Do not let the country be drawn into a conflict by war provocators who want us to pull their chestnuts out of the fire.'

"The final international slogan of last year, 'Long live the glorious pilot of the Comintern, the fearless fighter against fascism, Comrade Dimitroff,' is gone and left no trace behind."

What Life in U. S. Will Be Like When It Enters War--a Preview

More Light on the Life in Store for the American Worker When M-Day, Now a Plan Carefully Designed by the Generals, Becomes a Horrid Reality for all the Youth of the Nation

By HAL DRAPER

If America goes to war . . . what will America be like?

More light on the war dictatorship which is planned for this country on M-Day has been shed by two authoritative sources in recent weeks—the American Legion and General Hugh Johnson.

"There is a group of men in Washington today that spends all its time thinking in terms of M-Day," says an article in the American Legion Monthly for August 1939. "If the United States were to go to war tomorrow they would be ready. Tucked away in the files of the War Department they have an already written law with which they could conscript ten million men. They have files of posters to help sell the war they constantly think of, and thoroughly detailed information on the radio-listening habits of people in all sections of the country. Their files contain sample news and feature stories to be pumped into newspapers. . . ."

"They have sample registration cards for the draft in every state capitol—ready to go to the printer on a moment's notice and be ground out in million lots. They have maps of locations of the 6400 boards required to draft men into the service, and lists of personnel to man them. . . . Plans are complete even to the number of square feet of floor space required by various agencies. . . ."

While Roosevelt says he "believes" this country can keep out of war, the draft cards are already on file in his executive offices!

WAR PREPARATIONS BEHIND OUR BACKS

"Perhaps it would be annoying to Henry Putty (the cynical Legionnaire authors' name for the average man—Ed.) if he knew how completely his life has been planned for him. But of course he doesn't know."

No, Roosevelt's war preparations are taking place behind the backs of the people. Only the "proper" people are permitted to know what the American workers are in for. Hugh Johnson, for instance.

"I have seen the latest mobilization plan," writes General Johnson in his syndicated column in the New York World-Telegram for August 31. "Its details are naturally confidential, but it betrays no confidence to say that in both form and detail it is one of the best

and most compact and complete documents of its kind that I have ever read. . . ."

"If a new world war should come to us our industrial mobilization could become the most important influence on our daily living. It could be just about as important as the Constitution and laws of the United States. We can't avoid an economic dictatorship if we get mixed up in modern war."

So Johnson has seen the latest version of the blue-print for dictatorship. Why doesn't the government publish it for the benefit of the people with whose lives it deals? Isn't it clear that Roosevelt is afraid that if the workers knew what they were in for when America goes to war, they wouldn't fall so readily for the propaganda which is and will be shoveled into them?

WAR PROPAGANDA MACHINE IS READY

The fact that a propaganda machinery rivaling that of Goebbels in Germany is part of the war-mobilization set-up is verified by the August 1939 American Legion Monthly.

"The 300-odd men in the permanent and ever-enlarging selective service organization are not blind to the fact that there is a more widespread and articulate anti-war philosophy abroad in the land today than there was in 1917. They are aware that many people have read and heard a great deal of pacifist propaganda; that war has been depicted as a nefarious enterprise; that there is such a thing as the Oxford Oath and other solemn commitments against bearing arms. Moreover, there are thousands and thousands of others who . . . don't want to live in tents, wear uncomfortable uniforms or be shot at by total strangers."

"It is needless," they continue, "to catalog the multiple devices by which a reluctant citizen can be 'educated' to the point of making him acquiescent to the demands of military service. . . . Take away Goebbels and you wouldn't have Hitler. Proscribe the radio and Father Coughlin would be just another parish priest. . . . A man will have to be a stern and rugged individualist, indeed, to resist the high-pressure appeals of M-Day."

"The posters already drawn indicate that the publicity division recognizes a higher level of national intelligence than that

which existed in 1917. Today most people would refuse to believe in babies skewered on bayonets, in breasts amputated in the spirit of vengeance, or in women crucified on hastily devised crosses. The posters drawn for the next war suggest an appeal to reason of the type used in the best institutional advertising. Newspaper feature stories, however, have a familiar emotional ring. One will serve to illustrate. It begins: 'I didn't go last time and I've hung my head ever since. . . .'"

YOUTH WILL PROVIDE MOST CANNON FODDER

Of the utmost importance especially for American youth are the "yield" figures which are published in the Legion article—that is, the crop of cannon fodder that can be expected. In the following table the age span for the draft is divided into three categories: 18 to 21, 21 to 30, and 30 to 45. The second column gives the present population falling between these age limits, and the third column gives the number that could be called for immediate service.

Age Population To Be Called

18-21 3,000,000 2,000,000

21-30 12,000,000 3,000,000

30-45 13,000,000 2,000,000

Two out of every three boys between 18 and 21 to be called to the front! Reason? "They are healthy, have fewer responsibilities, and are less valuable to industry than older, better-trained men."

"In the aggregate," conclude the Legionnaires, "the machinery already set up is geared to produce 330,000 men every 30 days; or 4,000,000 every 12 months."

Both Johnson and the American Legion Monthly carefully refrain from mentioning that the most important section of the war mobilization plan deals with the suppression of labor, control of trade unions and breaking of strikes. The totalitarian dictatorship that is planned is a dictatorship over the working class, directed by the representatives of America's Sixty Families like those who have already been appointed to the War Resources Board.

It is being planned behind our backs. And with good reason. For if the American people knew what was in store for them, the Sixty Families and their tool, the government, would never succeed in carrying out those plans.

There Is a Division of Labor Among the Many War Mongers

If all the war-mongers in America came out flatly for America's immediate entry into the war, the issue would be clearly drawn and the genuine anti-war forces would crystallize and consolidate in direct conflict with the war-mongers.

Precisely for this reason, the war-mongers do not all come out for war. The better to break down the resistance to war, the war-mongers divide among themselves various tasks. Some of them call for war; others call for "peaceful" aid to the "democracies"; others call for removal of the embargo provisions in the name of "real neutrality"; still others express themselves as genuinely neutral in order to be able all the better tomorrow to howl for the war (Father Coughlin is playing this latter role with particular skill).

Example—"The Nation"

An example of a number of phases of this division of labor within the pages of one journal is the September 9 issue of The Nation, "liberal" weekly. In a signed article its editor and publisher, Freda Kirchwey, calls for war, for the "Western nations" to "fight for their existence." An unsigned editorial, presumably representing the collective position of the editors, entitled "Measures 'Short of War'", belittles the embargo provisions of the Neutrality Act and assures us that "it is absurd to pretend that the passage of this bill (to remove the embargo provisions) would bring us any nearer to war" and, in fact, declares that "Actually the issue of our participation or non-participation is not likely to be much affected one way or another by the existing neutrality law or any other act possible of passage."

The collective editors, in other words, play the "peaceful aid"

racket, even going to the point of saying that not even "an economic stake in an Allied victory" would be decisive.

Only fear of a German victory, say these students of the cause of war, will be "the basic cause" of American entry.

In its "news" summary, without so much as a blink of an eyelash, The Nation accepts the British Propaganda Office version of the Athenia sinking, on the ground that "the world puts more faith in the word of a British seaman than in that of the great liberator of poison gas."—as if he had talked to a British seaman about it!—speaks warmly of Winston Churchill's "qualities of imagination which should prove most valuable" (they proved so when he waged an undeclared war against the Lenin government while swearing to the British workers that he wasn't); informs us that responsibility for the attack on WPA "rests directly with the 'economy bloc' in Congress" (deliberately ignoring Roosevelt's April 27 relief budget message fixing the sum for WPA, his initiative in ending the prevailing wage, his outlawry of the strike, etc.).

Louis Fischer Deserts

The same issue carries an article by Louis Fischer, with whom the Nation editors connived (he was its Moscow and Spain correspondent) in defending the Moscow trials and the Stalinist assassinations of revolutionists in Spain. Now, without a word of explanation in this paper in which he regularly writes, Fischer bolts his Moscow paymaster—perhaps it would be more accurate to say that Fischer got fired with Litvinoff—for a job as an Allied propagandist. His article was radioed from Paris on September 4. The Nation does not even

rise to the Hearst press level of morality—even the latter printed the warning that all foreign dispatches are censored; The Nation does not.

Louis Fischer's formal announcement of changing employers appeared in The New Republic issue of September 13. "I find the Russo-German non-aggression pact totally indefensible," he says:

"All discussions of this startling agreement must begin with one indisputable premise: Moscow knew that the British and French governments had dropped their policy of appeasement. A high Soviet official in western Europe said to me three days before the announcement of Ribbentrop's flight to Moscow: 'There will be no second Munich.' The Kremlin had received reports to this effect, Voroshilov's talks with the French and British military experts confirmed it and the whole history of the last six months made it abundantly clear to the Bolsheviks." Note that last word—Fischer in recent years has never used it; Russia has been one of the "great democracies." He reverts the term now as an Allied propagandist.

Fischer calls the Nazi pact "devastating" in its "moral effect," "unpardonable" and ends: "morally it will haunt us." But a political explanation of Moscow's turn he does not provide. Its relation to the Moscow trials and purges in which tens of thousands were killed as Hitler's agents? Its relation to Stalinist destruction of the Spanish revolution? In a word, its relation to all the infinite crimes of Moscow that Louis Fischer defended and condoned? Not a word about this from Fischer. Instead this utter scoundrel covers up everything with his moral indignation.

From England A Revolutionary Manifesto Against Imperialist War

On the eve of the outbreak of the Second World War, the Militant Labor League, a left-wing group within the Labor Party, issued the revolutionary call which we print below. While the Labor Party officialdom slobbered all over itself to assure the government of its fidelity, and, more, shouted loudest for war, the voice of this small group rang out with heathening militancy. The treachery of his Majesty's Loyal Opposition, did not silence the voice of revolution. The Militant Labor League will no doubt continue to find means for its revolutionary agitation despite the war-time dictatorship.

Manifesto of the Militant Labour League

After nearly a year of unrelieved tension the world is again on the brink of war. The energies and resources of all nations have been devoted to the piling up of immense armaments and the regimentation of whole peoples for slaughter.

WORKERS! What would you get out of war? In 1914 they promised you

A land fit for heroes to live in.
An end to militarism and autocracy.
That it was a war to end war, to safeguard small nations and make the world safe for democracy.

And they gave you
Mass unemployment and wage cuts.
Fascism and dictatorship triumphant in two-thirds of Europe.

Small nations abandoned to their fate and your democratic rights attacked on all sides.

Who gained from the last war? The British, French, and American bosses. They got immense new tracts of territory whose resources and inhabitants they could exploit—they reaped immense profits out of your blood and suffering.

The bosses are still in control; they make the same lying promises. Do not be deceived.

This will not be a war for democracy. Democracy does not exist for two-thirds of the inhabitants of the British and French Empires. A few months of war would see the disappearance of the remaining democratic rights and free organisations of the workers. The Emergency Powers Act is an earnest for the future.

This will not be a war for peace against aggression. Britain and France, Germany and Italy are all greedy, aggressive imperialisms fighting for a re-division of the colonial plunder.

Another war will mean:
Death and suffering to millions of toilers.
Wealth and fortunes to the small boss classes which controls the means of production.

STOP THE WAR!

The leaders of the Labor Party and Trade Unions urge you to support the class enemy in their crime against humanity. Clear out the traitors!

The Communist International, under the whip of the Stalin gang has demoralised the revolutionary workers of the world. Now to save the miserable anti-working class Stalinist regime in Moscow they cynically abandon the workers to their fate.

THE ENEMY IS IN OUR OWN COUNTRY

Labor Party Workers! Communist Workers! Trade Unionists! There is still time to stop the slaughter. Chamberlain and Hitler may yet compose their differences, but so long as capitalism lasts war remains a constant threat to the toilers of the world. No pacts or treaties can prevent the rivalries of imperialism breaking out into open conflict. Only the workers' struggle against the boss class for socialism can ensure peace.

Demand Special Meetings of your branches!
Demand that the whole power of organised labor be thrown against this imperialist war!
Build up the revolutionary vanguard! Join the Militant Labor League!

Demonstrate against the war in the factories and in the streets.
Not a man, not a gun for Imperialist war!

Labor Looks Through The Press By Arthur Hopkins

It ought to be easy now to tell a Stalinist—even if they keep their mouths shut. It's because of their look of perpetual astonishment.

SUCCESS STORY: At Fort Snelling a \$21-a-month private gives out the secret of his success—work hard, join the army, obey your officers implicitly, and have a relative will you a \$95,000 estate. It is reported that the soldier is seeking to buy his discharge from the army as the result of his deceased uncle's bequest.

Seven persons allegedly involved in a Minneapolis dope ring were held as an aftermath of a brief flurry when two federal narcotic agents, arresting the two men in a tavern, were mistaken for armed gangsters. A perfectly natural "mistake."

DAILY DOUBT: "Everyone is predicting war and preparing for it and that is the very thing that will prevent it," says Dr. John R. Mott.

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