

Why Is Russia Mobilizing?... By Leon Trotsky

Not Even the Kremlin Knows!

Moscow mobilizes and everybody asks himself, against whom? But at the present moment even the Kremlin doesn't know. One thing is clear: the German-Soviet agreement facilitated the defeat of Poland, but didn't at all guarantee the Soviet Union's neutrality. The Polish army proved to be weaker than many supposed. Now in Paris and London, undoubtedly, the people are looking at the German army's approach to the Soviet border with interest and without excessive alarm. The friendship of Stalin and Hitler needs distance. The complete defeat of Poland can prove fatal to the German-Soviet agreement. Having settled down on the borders of the Ukraine and White Russia, Hitler will propose to Stalin to give a more active character to his new "friendship". Simultaneously, he can turn to Paris and London with a proposition to give the German army an opportunity to march farther east, and will show complete willingness to bind himself, at the same time, not to raise the question of colonies for twenty-five or fifty years (Hitler gladly exchanges time for space). Under the pressure of double blackmail Stalin will have to make a definite choice. In view of this critical moment's approach, the Kremlin is mobilizing. In order to maintain both possibilities, the Moscow radio stations are giving news in the Russian language favorable to the Western democracies, and in the German language favorable to Germany. It is difficult to imagine a more symbolic expression of the Kremlin's double dealing politics and of Stalin's personal character. In what way is this double dealing going to be solved?

Long War Dangerous to Hitler

Stalin understands what even ex-Kaiser Wilhelm understood: namely, that with a prolonged war Hitler is headed toward a great catastrophe. But the whole question is one of time limits and tempo. On the road to the abyss Hitler can not only crush Poland, but he can give the Soviet Union such blows as to cost the Kremlin oligarchy their heads. And those gentlemen value their heads above everything. For their salvation they can be compelled to go farther on the road with Hitler than they wanted at the moment the pact was concluded.

As an obstacle on this road there is, it is true, the extreme unpopularity among the masses of the alliance with fascism. Molotov referred to it recently in his latest speech when he complained that the "simplified propaganda" (that is, the Comintern's propaganda of yesterday against fascism) gave birth even in the Soviet Union to discontent with a German-Soviet combination. The above mentioned radio news in the Russian language testifies to this fact. But Stalin expects to master public opinion in his own country by further purges: the enmity of the Russian workers and peasants, unlike the enmity of Hitler, is not yet armed. Thus, having started as Hitler's quartermaster, Stalin can become his half-prisoner and ally.

Is a New Turn Possible?

But can't the Kremlin complete a new sharp turn, breaking the Soviet-German agreement and throwing itself at the last moment against Hitler? For this there would be necessary, of course, serious military successes by France and England in the next period, plus a radical change of the neutrality law in the United States. But the Kremlin would hardly enter an open war against Hitler even in this case. However, the concentration of significant forces on the western border would permit Stalin to reject Hitler's absolutely inevitable new demands.

To connect the question of the direction of Moscow politics with the ideas of the international working class, with the tasks of socialism, with the principles of democracy, et cetera, can only be done by completely ignorant babblers or by paid agents of the Kremlin. In reality, Moscow politics is exclusively determined by the ruling oligarchy's struggle for self-preservation. The Kremlin's choice of roads will be determined by the material interrelation of forces of both camps and by the march of military operations in the next weeks. It is better not to say the "choice of roads", but the direction of the next zig-zag.

LEON TROTSKY

Corydon, D.F.
September 11, 1939

Behind the Lines

By GEORGE STERN

Stalin has moved more than a million troops to the Polish and Rumanian frontiers and the whole world is wondering why.

The black line of the Nazi advance through Poland is moving like lava across the land. It has already submerged the industrial heart of Poland and at this writing the Germans are claiming entry into the outskirts of Lwow, capital of the Polish Ukraine, only 100 miles from the Soviet frontier. What is going to happen when the lava curls steaming up against Stalin's borders?

Trotsky says he does not believe the Kremlin itself is sure of the answer to this question. The only certain thing we have to go on is Stalin's fearful determination not to let himself be drawn into a war that he knows will mean his end and the end of his ruling clique. Stalin's union with Hitler was a shotgun wedding and is consequently destined to be neither blissful nor long-lived. That is why the approach of Hitler's hordes to the Russian frontier has the whole world guessing.

Is Hitler's wedding gift to his frightened bride going to be a slice of the Polish Ukraine? Or is he going to begin, even at this early date, to show her who is master in this channel house?

One guess is that Hitler will keep right on marching. But if he does he will greatly oblige the French and British by creating a real eastern front. There will be plenty of Hitler-Stalin double-crossing before the world sees daylight, but it is not likely to take the form of a Soviet-German clash at this stage of the game. Hitler won't choose this path because for the time being he has too much to gain from Soviet "neutrality."

Stalin certainly won't choose it because he willingly fights

only against adversaries who are helpless. He may use his bayonets against the Polish refugees who seek haven in his domain, but this column's guess is that when the German troops reach the first Russian outposts they will more likely be greeted with respectful salutes and congratulations for the speedy and efficient completion of the drive across Poland.

With the conquest of Poland, Hitler will have other means of keeping his new axis partner in a state of perpetual trepidation. It is no accident that precisely at this time reports are reappearing concerning the activity of nationalist propagandists among the people of the Polish Ukraine. If the Nazi-Soviet pact did contain secret provisions for parcelling out Poland, Hitler will be handing over to his friend in the Kremlin a heavily-charged bomb. Resurgent Ukrainian nationalism can and will have consequences just as explosive for Hitler as for Stalin, but Hitler's whole daring strategy is based upon playing with dynamite, a game in which Stalin cannot afford to join.

Stalin has strangled the Soviet Ukraine and earned the smouldering hatred of the Ukrainian peasantry. Any fuse touched off in the Polish Ukraine will reach charges laid deep in the Soviet Ukraine by Stalin himself. The spectre of a surge toward the creation of an independent, united Ukraine undoubtedly haunts the Kremlin these uneasy nights. That may be why Stalin has sent a million men to the border and that may also be why Hitler greets this move with evident satisfaction.

For a double cross on a grander scale by either party to this unholy union, conditions

(Continued on Page 2)

SWP Drive To Get on N. Y. Ballot Progresses

Report Good Results Despite Interference Of Tammany

NEW YORK CITY, Sept. 13—Despite orders from Tammany ward heelers to their supporters to block the anti-war campaign of the Socialist Workers Party and prevent it from obtaining the number of signatures necessary to place candidates Max Shachtman of the Bronx and George Lyman Paine of Manhattan on the ballot for the coming Councilmanic elections, canvassers report steady progress in filling out the nominating petitions.

In the Bronx yesterday 300 signatures were obtained in less than an hour and a half by canvassers of the Bronx branch. People not members of the Socialist Workers Party but sympathetic to its anti-war campaign, reports Max Mont, organizer of the Bronx branch, are giving the most encouraging help in order to insure the appearance of Max Shachtman on the ballot in their borough of the Bronx.

Needle Trades Respond

In Manhattan the workers in the needles trades industry are giving the campaign a particularly warm welcome. They are familiar with the successful anti-fascist drives of the Socialist Workers Party at Madison Square Garden on February 20 and in Union Square on August 19 when the Coughlinites threatened an invasion. Canvassers for George Lyman Paine report that those who sign the nominating petition greet them sympathetically on the streets when they chance to meet later, and lend a hand in securing more signatures.

A.L.P. Silent

Meanwhile the policy of silence on the part of leaders of (Continued on Page 2)

PACKINGHOUSE WORKERS WANT ACTION POLICY

By WILLIAM SIMMONS

CHICAGO—Ever since the Packinghouse Workers Organizing Committee delegation, headed by Van Bittner, presented its appeal to the Secretary of Labor in Washington, it has been clear that further moves in negotiations with the packers would be more closely related to the clean atmosphere of the national administration buildings than to the ill-smelling recesses of the stockyards.

Unfortunately for the young union, it has thereby also permitted itself to be maneuvered onto weaker ground. Its strength lies in the yards. There the workers feel the pinch of their mounting grievances, and they have shown on more than one occasion that one ounce of action brings quicker results

(Continued on Page 3)



A Manifesto

To the Oppressed Peoples of Latin America, Asia, Africa!

Before even a generation has passed, Europe is again at war! The imperialist beasts are at large again, anxious to devour, in their greedy ferocity, all the riches of civilization and all of humanity itself. This once more confirms the precision of the Leninist description of our epoch as the epoch of wars and revolutions.

The Anglo-Franco-Polish imperialist bandits on the one hand, and the German imperialist bandits on the other, are however, only the outposts of the world catastrophe that has already begun. All of humanity stands on the brink of the abyss. Nothing can save us from destruction and a return to savage bestiality, except the revolt of the peoples against their capitalist governments.

No part of the world will be spared by the war. Mussolini stands on guard, awaiting the development of the situation and weighing the price offered him by the Anglo-French capitalists on one side and the German capitalists on the other for the sale of the Italian people. As always, the Balkan peoples will be the cannon-fodder of the big imperialist powers.

Roosevelt Will Plunge Us into War

Only those who wish to deceive themselves will be deceived: there is not a corner on the surface of the globe that will be spared by the war. The "assurances" of peace by the United States can fool no one. America, whether it be North, Central or South, is not a world apart. Roosevelt cynically lies, and the puppet governments of Latin America echo their master's lie, when they assert that the Western Hemisphere isn't Europe but is a continent of peace and democracy.

It is not true. The Yankee imperialist sharpens his teeth, feverishly prepares his weapons and awaits only the opportune moment to throw himself into the fight to overcome all his rivals. The whole world will then be but a single red-hot furnace. The fire will extend from Europe to Asia, from Alaska to Patagonia.

Roosevelt will change his democratic smile

to the bellicose snarl of the beast excited by the odor of blood and carnage. The state of emergency already decreed in the United States creates the necessary conditions for snuffing out in advance every critical voice, every manifestation of distrust of the militarist and pro-war policy of Washington. New astronomical sums are being swallowed up in preparations for war; new works are opening to manufacture more engines of destruction night and day; the war profiteers are already licking their chops in expectation of the profits they will draw from the slaughter of millions of men. The power of anti-democratic repression multiplies from day to day. Roosevelt's general staff prepares to call a million men to the flag immediately, while awaiting the transformation of Latin America into a source of supplies and a barracks at the exclusive service of Yankee imperialism.

Roosevelt Gives Orders to Latin America

Washington is already calling the governments of Latin America together at Panama to dictate to them what shall be their conduct in the present international situation. The Panama Conference is the continuation of the comedy of Lima. Authorized by the so-called "Declaration" of Lima, the Yankee imperialists are taking the first steps in the mobilization of the oppressed people of Latin America to lead them to the slaughter-house of war.

Already the watch-dogs of the imperialists, their most faithful lackeys in the mass movements, begin to yelp. Such a watch-dog is Lombardo Toledano, in Mexico, who cynically appeals to the Latin-American masses to support Roosevelt's war policy and the "democratic" imperialists, that is: Chamberlain-Daladier & Co., oppressors of the enslaved peoples of India, of Indo-China, of the five continents.

Pacifists Serve the Imperialists

In this tragic hour, when guns are deciding, the humanitarian verbiage of the pacifists is

(Continued on Page 4)

LET THE PEOPLE
VOTE ON WAR

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167

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F. D. R. CALLS SPECIAL SESSION TO FORCE VOTE ON WAR MOVES

Act of War Seen in His Statement on Defense of Canada

Sole Function of Congress Will Be to Put Rubber-Stamp on Presidential Decrees—
Repeal of Arms Embargo Certain

Having stacked all the cards, in open defiance of law, the Constitution and the will of the people, by his decree declaring a "limited state of national emergency" and by his unparalleled proclamation that the United States will defend Canada in its war against Germany, Franklin Roosevelt on Wednesday summoned the Special Session of Congress to meet on September 21st.

The war-mongering Roosevelt administration, rushing headlong toward direct military intervention, has decided not merely to deprive the people of any voice on the issue of the war. Following the example of the totalitarian democrats of

Britain and France, Roosevelt is determined also to reduce Congress to the function of approving steps which have been taken beforehand by executive decree.

The plain fact of the matter is that Roosevelt's statement on the defense of Canada is an act of war. Canada has declared war against Germany. Roosevelt has notified the world that the armed forces of the United States will defend Canada against its declared enemy. By such a move, Roosevelt drops even the pretense of neutrality.

By what right, by what authority, does Roosevelt usurp the power to commit the United States to war?

Roosevelt's Strategy Plain
Roosevelt's campaign to rush the country into the war within the shortest possible time is moving fast and straight toward its goal. His strategy becomes plainer every day.

During the first two weeks, by his own acts as head of the government, he lines up the United States on the side of Anglo-French imperialism. At the same time, his subordinates start a howling war-mongering campaign throughout the country.

Rubber-Stamp Congress
Then, with the fundamental direction toward the war established in advance, he calls Congress together to rubber-stamp the moves already taken and to make the next giant steps.

In particular, he demands and will get from Congress repeal of the arms embargo. The Senate isolationists, led by Borah, feeling the pressure of the anti-war sentiments of the people, announce that they will fight to retain the embargo.

Borah expressed the entirely correct belief that repeal of the embargo, coupled with the Administration's general conduct of foreign relations, "will inevitably bring us into the war."

Isolationists Will Collapse
Nevertheless, any reliance on the isolationists to block Roosevelt's war moves would be utopian. The isolationists are themselves patriots of the first water, advocates of an ever

(Continued from Page 2)

(Continued on Page 2)

(Continued on Page 2)

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

FOR A GENUINE LABOR STAND AGAINST THE WAR-MAKERS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(See editorial, page 4 of this issue)

Also Denounces Persecution of Minneapolis WPA Strikers

(Continued from Page 1)

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

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

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

As yet it is impossible to judge whether Lewis will follow the mandate of the conference and set up an International WPA and unemployed workers.

Should he take this step—which would mean a definite break between the CIO and the Stalinist Workers Alliance—it may very well be the basis to rally to get all militant WPA and unemployed workers.

IN DEFENSE OF PERSECUTED MINNEAPOLIS WPA STRIKERS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ALL SET FOR BIG DANCE MANEUVERS

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

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

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

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

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SOCIALIST APPEAL

SWP DRIVE TO GET ON BALLOT PROGRESSES DESPITE TAMMANY

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

(Continued on Page 2)

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

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

Relation to A.L.P.

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

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

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

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

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

Last Call for New York Dance and Entertainment

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

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

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

F.D.R. CALLS WAR SESSION

(Continued from Page 1)

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

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

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

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

Join the Socialist
Workers Party

What Your Dollar Can Do

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

Five dollars permits free distribution of two hundred Socialist Appeals.

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

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

Dear Friends:

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

Name

Address

Independence of the Ukraine and Sectarian Muddleheads

By Leon Trotsky

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

Our critic takes as his point of departure the following position: "If the workers in Soviet Ukraine overthrow Stalinism and reestablish a genuine workers state, shall they separate from the rest of the Soviet Union? No." And so forth and so on. "If the workers overthrow Stalinism" . . . then we shall be able to see more clearly what to do. But Stalinism must first be overthrown. And in order to achieve this, one must not shut one's eyes to the growth of separatist tendencies in the Ukraine, but rather give them a correct political expression.

FAT FORMULAS DON'T SOLVE CONCRETE TASKS

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

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

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

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

DEMOCRATIC TASKS TIED TO SOCIALIST AIMS

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

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

HAS STALIN CONVINCED THE UKRAINIANS MASSES?

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

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

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

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

DO THE UKRAINIANS DESIRE SEPARATION?

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

REPUBLICAN "ISOLATIONISM"

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

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

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

SIGNIFICANT ATTITUDES OF UKRAINIANS ABROAD

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

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

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

SECTARIAN ARGUMENTS LIKE THOSE OF STALINISTS

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

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

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

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

INDEPENDENCE FOR UKRAINE IS REVOLUTIONARY SLOGAN

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

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

Our author interprets the slogan of independent Ukraine as follows: "First the Soviet Ukraine must be freed from the rest of the Soviet Union, then we will have the proletarian revolution and unification of the rest of Ukraine." But how can there be a separation without first a revolution? The author is caught in a vicious circle, and the slogan of independent Ukraine together with Trotsky's "faulty logic" is hopelessly discredited. In point of fact this peculiar logic—"first" and "then"—is only a striking example of scholastic thinking. Our hapless critic has no inkling of the fact that historical processes may occur not "first" and "then" but run parallel to each other, exert influence upon each other, speed or retard each other; and that the task of revolutionary politics consists precisely in speeding up the mutual action and reaction of progressive processes. The slogan of the slogan of independent Ukraine is aimed directly against the Moscow bureaucracy and enables the proletarian vanguard to rally the peasant masses. On the other hand, the same slogan opens up for the proletarian party the opportunity of playing a leading role in the national Ukrainian movement in Poland, Rumania and Hungary. Both of these political processes will drive the revolutionary movement forward and increase the specific weight of the proletarian vanguard.

(To Be Concluded Next Issue)

OUT OF THE HORSE'S MOUTH

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

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

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

JUDAS GOAT

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

THE NEGRO QUESTION

By J. R. JOHNSON

The Negro and the War

V

It should now be clear to every Negro that the Communist Party is today as great a deceiver of the Negro people as the Republican and Democratic Parties. There was a time when the Communists and Soviet Russia were the greatest leaders of the poor and oppressed in every country including the Negroes. They used to call upon all the workers and peasants to fight against imperialists and capitalists everywhere, above all in a war. But these days are over and they have been over for many years.

Stalin sold oil to Italy all during the martyrdom of Ethiopia. That was proof enough for any Negro. Since that time Stalin and the Stalinists have been encouraging Negroes and all workers to fight for the British and French democracies against Hitler and Mussolini; that is to say, with one gang of bandits against another gang. And after encouraging workers to do this for years, Stalin suddenly turns and signs the Stalin-Hitler pact. Thus he encourages the fascists and throws the workers in every country into confusion and dismay. Unlike Roosevelt, the Communists at one time used to put forward a policy of militant struggle for Negroes. Precisely for this reason, they are the most dangerous enemies of the Negroes in this attempt of the rich to shove them into the war. Why do they do it?

Revolutionists No Longer Rule Russia

They do it because revolutionists like Lenin and Trotsky no longer rule Russia. Stalin and millions of officials, engineers, trade-union bureaucrats and others, now have the country in their grip. They live easy lives with great power and privileges. They oppress the Russian people, they murder all the old revolutionists like Zinoviev and Kamenev in frame-up trials, they have tried several times and are still trying to murder Trotsky, the last of the great revolutionists. They do not want revolution anywhere. Bureaucrats never do. They want to prevent the revolution, for revolutions will not only overthrow Hitler, Chamberlain and Roosevelt, but will give the Russian workers a chance to overthrow Stalin.

Therefore Stalin and his army of bureaucrats give money to the Communist parties in the various countries, and these parties no longer lead militant struggles as in the old days, but try to fool the workers, white and black, and keep them subordinate to Roosevelt, Chamberlain, and Daladier. "By their fruits ye shall know them." Their policy is to support the democracies in a war for civilization. And this, every Negro knows from his own experience, would be a damnable treachery and betrayal. Any one, parson or president, black or white, who encourages Negroes to shed their blood for this so-called "democracy" is a damnable traitor and betrayer.

What Happened to Negroes in 1917

Some people, however, including the Communist party, state that there is a possibility of Negroes gaining their rights and participating freely in American life, if they show that they are willing to die for democracy. Let us look back at the last war. They said then that the war was being fought for democracy, was being fought to make the world a better place than it had been before. Also, and this is what is important, many Negro leaders told the Negroes to support the war wholeheartedly. By showing themselves good citizens, they would win the sympathy of the whites and gain all the things of which they had been deprived. That is what was said but how did the rulers of their country actually treat the Negro?

First of all, they took many more Negroes than they should have taken. Out of every hundred persons in the population, ten were Negroes so that, roughly, out of every hundred soldiers, ten should have been Negroes. More than that, the Negroes are the worst paid, live in the worst houses, in the worst localities, get the worst food and the poorest medical attendance. Thus, taking the Negro population as a whole, the number of persons fit for military service should have been proportionately less than the number of whites. This through no fault of the Negroes, but through the lives and conditions to which they are condemned. So that instead of ten out of every hundred of the soldiers being Negroes, we could reasonably expect that there should have been about seven or eight. But instead of some number like seven or eight per hundred there were more than ten. So that this American democracy seized the opportunity to kill off as many Negroes as possible as a means of helping democracy solve the Negro problem.

Soldiers—But Jim-Crowed

The war was a war for democracy, but the Negroes were segregated. There was not a single regiment consisting of white and Negro soldiers mixed. American democracy did not want to have even American colored officers, and it took a hard fight to have a few hundred. When they did agree, they trained Negroes as officers in a special camp of their own. And these men were informed by the State Department that when they visited the South, they should not wear their uniforms. Democracy was sending the Negro to fight for democracy, but could not bear the sight of him in the officer's uniform of democracy.

The old lynch spirit continued. The Negroes were beaten up in the camps, they were stoned and jeered as they marched along the streets. When they were on leave and attempted to enter cafes and restaurants frequented by white people, they were driven out in many places.

When they went to France, the discrimination continued. American democracy forced most of the black soldiers to be common laborers. Of the 200,000 Negroes who went to France, some 160,000 were used as servants and in labor battalions. Even when fighting democracy, the Negro was kept in his place. Negroes were made to build roads, wash

Patriotism Puts Blight On Finnish Movement

By TAUNO VUORI

The recent tour through the Finnish sections of this country by Mr. Hjalmar Procope, Finnish Minister to the United States, became the occasion for a display of the complete degeneration of the leadership of what was once the revolutionary movement among the Finns of America.

The Social-Democratic Finnish Federation long ago forgot whatever Marxism its leaders ever knew, so it was no surprise to see the Social-Democratic paper, *Rivajaa*, going into fits of patriotic joy about Procope, his capitalist government, the traditions of Finland, the great virtues of the Finnish settlers in Delaware, etc., etc. These folk are old hands at the game of worshipping at the altar of middle-class nationalism.

Stalinists Halt White Guards

The attitude of the Communist Party, expressed in the pages of *Eteenpain*, organ of their Finnish Workers Federation, is revoltingly identical. Their only criticism of the tour of this representative of the White Guard government of Finland, the government that drowned the Finnish Soviets in blood, the government that still today keeps Antikainen, leader of their own party, in jail, appeared in their paper on August 19. They protest, (and this is one for the books, a real gem!) yes, these "Communists" protest—because they weren't invited to a party for Procope in Boston! In an article bristling with outraged nationalism they denounce the Boston vice-consul who overlooked them in favor of his friends, "of whom but one-half

clothes, cook food, clean up camps and trenches and clean latrines, though they had enlisted as soldiers of the line.

Far from practicing any sort of democracy to Negroes, the American commanders did their best to make the French maltreat the Negroes. The French people are not as prejudiced as one would expect from their treatment of natives in Africa, and great numbers of French people in France do not differentiate at all in any way between Negroes and whites. But when the American officers saw this and the friendly way in which Negro soldiers were being welcomed both by French men and women, they issued a military order, Order No. 40, instructing Negroes not even to speak to French women. For this offense against democracy, many Negroes were arrested, though the French people, men and women, had made no complaint.

The American officers, in this war for democracy, wrote a special document to the French commanding staff, telling them that Negroes were a low and degenerate race, that they could not be trusted in the company of white people, that although some Negroes were officers, the French officers should have nothing to do with them, except in matters relating strictly to fighting. The French, said this American order, should not eat with Negroes, nor even shake hands, and above all, they wanted the French to use their influence to keep the white women who worked in or near the camp from forming any associations with Negroes.

This was the way in which the American ruling class fought side by side with Negroes in the great war for democracy.

Negro Bravery—And the Reward

The Negroes, believing that by fighting bravely and showing that they were men as good as any other, they would gain freedom from their oppression, performed feats of distinguished bravery. Of all the American soldiers in France a Negro was the first to win the Croix de Guerre (War Cross), and one Negro regiment, the 8th Illinois, received more decorations than any other regiment in France. Another American Negro regiment stayed a longer spell in the trenches than any other regiment in the Allied forces. No one after that could say that Negroes were inferior. They had stood the stern test of modern war and came out with a great record.

What happened to the Negroes, after this fine showing, should be branded on the forehead of any so-called Negro leader who tries to thrust them again into war. For as soon as the war was over, there was such a desperate series of race riots in America as had not been seen for many years. In Washington, in Chicago, white mobs inspired and encouraged by American employers and American capitalist police, shot down Negroes, many of whom had lost relations in the great war for democracy. The Southern whites were so anxious to put the Negro back in his place that they lynched Negroes who dared to wear the uniform of a private. The great war for democracy and the bravery and the sacrifices for democracy of the Negro people ended with thousands of them having to fight desperately, not for democracy, but for their lives in "democratic" America.

Now let Herbert Hoover and Franklin Roosevelt and Earl Browder and James Ford and some so-called Negro leader, stand up and tell Negroes that the present war is another war for democracy and that they must go again to fight in it.

(Continued in Next Issue)

You Can Aid the Fight Against War by Signing Nominating Petitions for SWP Candidates

All citizens resident in New York who sympathize with the campaign of the Socialist Workers Party to place a candidate in the Bronx and one in Manhattan on the ballot for the Councilmanic Elections are asked to sign a nominating petition immediately.

Drop in at headquarters, 116 University Place, N.Y.C., or at the headquarters of the nearest branch to place your name on a petition. If you have friends who are registered voters too and who will sign the petition, bring them with you or give us their names and we will have a canvasser call upon them.

The circulation of a petition for signatures among your shopmates, if you are in a position to do so, will give the campaign a big boost.

Absolutely no obligation is entailed in signing. Without any commitment on your part, by signing a petition, you give the only anti-war party in the United States a chance to fight against the second world war from the vantage point of the ballot.

We need your help now as never before in placing our anti-war, anti-fascist candidates on the ballot for the coming election.

were Finns" (tsk, tsk), but they make sure only to attack the small fry vice-consul, while in the same article they speak of Procope himself as the "diplomatic and democratic envoy."

Since even the Finnish "little Browders," Paasikivi and Co., can feel the questioning attitude developing among many of the Finns, especially the younger, English-speaking ones, they are now conducting a drive to cut out from the youth section of their paper all this "political bunk" that you can find in all the regular (i.e., capitalist) papers, as one inspired correspondent actually put it.

But in this country and in Canada the Fourth Internationalists are beginning to spread their influence among the thinking Finns. This development is being quickened by the stories that are reaching here by letter and word of mouth of the rotten conditions of the Finns in Soviet Karelia, where the imported Russian Stalinist bureaucrats are cracking down, as in Ukraine, and even trying to stop the teaching of Finnish.

PACKINGHOUSE WORKERS SHOW LEADERSHIP COURSE OF ACTION

Victory Lies in Union Militancy, Not in Polite Committee Negotiations

(Continued from Page 1)
than a whole carload of beautifully adorned appeals.

Action Got Results

Here are some of the most outstanding examples from various parts of the country:

A few weeks ago the Armour superintendant fired 13 shop stewards from the Chicago main plant because they had left the assembly line to demand a grievance hearing on wage adjustments. The same evening a meeting of 650 shop stewards elected a strike strategy committee and ordered it—not merely authorized—to call a strike immediately unless the 13 were reinstated. Results followed quickly. The company yielded. While Armour officials were permitted to indulge in a little empty face saving by declaring that the punishment—firing—had been too severe, the thirteen were reinstated.

At the Denver Armour plant workers similarly made demands for grievance adjustments during working hours. The plant manager fired the protesters. But he quickly agreed to complete reinstatement when confronted with the threat of an immediate strike.

Chicago Tie-Up

And now just a few days ago 2,700 workers in the killing department at the main Armour plant of the Chicago stockyards tied up the production line for a hour in protest against the increased speed-up. (Elimination of the speed-up is now the major demand of workers in every yard in the country.) Yet, startling as it may seem, a statement issued by the plant superintendent said that: "union leaders disclaimed having planned the stoppage and termed them runaways."

The same day 2,400 men in the John Morrill and Co. plant at Ottumwa, Iowa, went on strike in protest against the firing of four workers prominent in the organizing activities of the PWOC. This is the largest individual packing plant in the country.

Leaders Back Down

In Washington, however, the union delegation started out by making an important concession to Armour and Co. It withdrew its previous demand for a single nation-wide wage agreement covering all of the company's plants. It declared the union was willing to negotiate with the packing firm on a

F. D. R. Sheds Hypocritical Mask In Persecuting Minneapolis WPA Strikers, Says Plentywood Union

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

PLENTYWOOD, Montana—At a special meeting of Federal Labor Union No. 21760, AFL, called to discuss the persecution of WPA workers in general and WPA workers of Minneapolis in particular, the following resolution was forwarded to President Roosevelt, Attorney General Frank Murphy, Col. F. C. Harrington and Governor Staasen of Minnesota:

"Whereas, it has taken approximately 75 months for President Roosevelt to shed the mask of hypocrisy and disclose the fact that like all capitalist spokesmen he is a bitter enemy of labor and a regular pal of the 'Economic Royalists' whom he previously pretended to de-

nounce as forces inimical to the welfare of the people, and

"Whereas, he has further shown his contempt for the sufferings of the great masses of unemployed in so many ways, viz. reduction of relief budget, appropriation of billions of dollars for the building of a huge war machine, depriving WPA workers of making a very poor living by ordering hundreds of thousands dropped from the WPA pay roll, the attempted slashing of prevailing wages by the institution of a slave standard of wages, and lastly, his dragging from some hitherto undiscovered hole known only to himself the scab-herding pronouncement: 'You can't strike against the government,' and

"Whereas, he has directed the legal machinery of the nation against workers who have challenged his right to dictatorial power by insisting on their right to maintain a decent wage whether paid out by the government or through the offices of his industrial cohorts, and

"Whereas, FBI agents, under the direction of Attorney General Frank Murphy, who takes his orders from President Roosevelt, are known to have acted as agents-provocateur to draw the brutality of the police on the heads of workers defending their rights to existence, and

"Whereas, Deputy United States Marshals, gloating in the opportunity afforded them to persecute and humiliate WPA workers in Minneapolis, have dramatically raided the homes of workers under indictment during the hours of the night in company with photographers of the capitalist press who publish pictures of those workers

in handcuffs whose only crime consists of fighting for a right to exist, while corrupt judges and bankers, who have disgraced and plundered the country are treated with servile courtesy, and

"Whereas, the full strength of Governor Staasen of Minnesota was thrown into the scale of oppression against the laboring class of Minneapolis in consonance with Roosevelt's wishes, now therefore

"Be It Resolved, that in accordance with our constitutional rights we condemn each and every act of President Roosevelt and his underlings, including Attorney General Murphy and Col. F. C. Harrington, etc., and call on labor to unite in opposition to the 'easy' introduction of Hitlerism in this nation and pledge our fullest support to the victims of Roosevelt oppression in Minneapolis."

President, A. N. Wankel

SWP MEETINGS PROVE MASSES AGAINST WAR

By B. J. WIDICK

National Labor Secretary
The deeply rooted anti-war sentiment of the masses of people reflected itself in the mass meetings on the war crisis and the Stalin-Hitler Pact which I addressed in the Middle West last week.

It was an inspiration to see the many new faces at the mass meetings in Akron, Youngstown and Cleveland.

Two leading Stalinists attended the Akron meeting, and asked sympathetic questions. In Youngstown a new group of workers listened attentively when Roosevelt's war aims at their expense were exposed.

New headquarters in Cleveland furnished a good background for delivering an anti-war talk to the audience of nearly 100 people. Roosevelt's emergency proclamation had been headlined in every newspaper just before that meeting and the impact of this event could be felt among the people.

"What can we do to stop war? To keep America out of war? To keep from going to Europe to fight?" These questions were paramount in everyone's mind as radio bulletin after bulletin brought the latest moves in the imperialist war.

Party Mobilizing

Although the meetings were arranged at very quick notice, the fine work done by the branches was a significant indication of how the party ranks are determined to fight unceasingly against war.

Of course, there was the moment of shock felt by everyone when the bloody spectacle of mass murder, destruction, and pestilence unfolded before the world. The ghastly nightmare had become the reality.

Perhaps the bitterest comments against war came from the women in the audiences. Women whose husbands or sons face the prospect of death while Wall Street sucks the profit out of their blood.

Significantly, while many asked questions on various aspects of the Socialist Workers Party program, one fact was accepted by all—the Socialist Workers Party is the only anti-war Party in America.

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116 University Place

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more timely than ever is the literature of the Socialist Workers Party for those who have left the Communist Party and for those who desire to understand the nature of the present imperialist conflict.

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LABOR BOOKSHOP 116 University Place NEW YORK CITY

Founding Conference of the Fourth International	25c
Fascism and the American Scene	
By Dwight Macdonald	10c
Declaration of Principles of the S.W.P.	10c
Stalinism and Bolshevism by Leon Trotsky	10c
Whither France by Leon Trotsky	35c
Lessons of October by Leon Trotsky	35c
In Defense of the Soviet Union by Leon Trotsky	10c
Let the People Vote on War by James Burnham	63c
America's Permanent Depression by Art Preis	63c
People's Front by James Burnham	15c
Father Coughlin—Fascist Demagogue	
By Joseph Hansen	65c
From Lenin to Stalin by Victor Serge	35c
SPECIAL—War and the Fourth International	65c

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7. All war funds to the unemployed.
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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.

Why FDR Wants War

The anti-war resolution adopted by the Pittsburgh conference of the CIO United Project Workers Organizing Committee (printed elsewhere in this issue) breathes a spirit of sincere sincerity and—more important—grim determination to fight the war-makers, that it may seem carping to make some criticisms of it.

Unlike the isolationists, the signatories of the Pittsburgh resolution start out with a realistic understanding of a number of basic facts: that the war tends to become a world war, that the M-Day plans are primarily directed against labor, that to fight against the wars waged by capitalists means to fight for the needs of the workers, that labor only loses by such wars. One has only to compare this resolution to the Labor Day "anti-war" speech of John L. Lewis to see the fundamental difference between a serious, honest approach and that of a trade union bureaucrat seeking to take advantage of anti-war sentiment.

But the Pittsburgh resolution is exceedingly naive when it says that "the only motives which force us into wars" are the profits of the munitions makers. These profits are a link in the chain, and that is why it is so important to stop Roosevelt's attempt to lift the embargo on munitions shipments. But it is only one link, and scarcely the most important one.

Roosevelt is taking the road toward war, not only at the behest of the munitions makers, but as the executive of the entire American capitalist class. He is taking the road to war because that is the capitalist way out of the economic crisis raging since 1929. For ten years the capitalists tried other ways: Hoover's way, and then the various shifts and turns of the "New Deal". For ten years they tried internal methods of getting capitalism to run again. All these methods, as we predicted, failed. And, as we predicted, the capitalists have now turned to the external method of war.

Not merely for the gigantic profits of trade in munitions and other products with Anglo-French imperialism, but—more important—to join the one imperialist gang against Hitler's imperialist gang in re-dividing the world, and then to shoulder aside as much as possible America's Anglo-French partners in order to take the lion's share of the swag for the American bosses. At the end of this another Versailles Treaty, breeding still more wars, separated by "peace" in the form of great economic crises. That's what it's all about, and not basically about munitions profits.

A clear and realistic understanding of the motivation of the war-makers is the first weapon needed by the labor movement in mobilizing against the Roosevelt war plans.

Smash the Frameup

On "evidence" provided by FBI agents sent into the Minneapolis WPA strike by Attorney General Murphy, a Federal grand jury has indicted 103 strikers. "You can't strike against the government," Roosevelt threatened—though there's nothing in the Constitution or the law to that effect—and his lieutenant Murphy carried out the threat. They hung the indictments on the flimsy thread provided by a provision of the Roosevelt-Woodrum Relief Law which prohibits "interference" with WPA workers. Trials are to take place shortly.

Minnesota labor got a stiff dose of government and state prosecution in the last war for democracy. Minnesota labor understands that Roosevelt is taking the road that Wilson travelled, and that Roosevelt is moving even more swiftly than his predecessor. What Attorney General Daugherty didn't get around to until 1918 and 1919, Murphy is already up to.

The answer of Minnesota labor has been inspiringly decisive. The Central Labor Union of Minneapolis, comprising the entire labor movement, has set up a WPA Defense Committee which is raising the necessary bail, taking care of the prisoners and their families, providing attorneys, and fighting the case before the bar of public opinion. The St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly, speaking for the labor movement of Minneapolis' twin city, has established a committee empowered to cooperate to the full with the Minneapolis defense body. The Minnesota Federation of Labor, now in session, will undoubtedly join in the defense and, moreover, will have submitted to it a proposal for a one-day general strike against the frame-up.

But the Minnesota labor movement should not stand alone in this fight. The financial burdens should be shared by the whole American labor movement, for the issues involved affect the future of every section of organized labor. If the government succeeds in railroad the defendants, that means that strikes will be outlawed not only on WPA and all work in government agencies, but on all public works for any national, state or municipal agency and, for that matter, on any job under government contract. Shipbuilding, munitions, chemicals, steel—all the multitudinous fields in which the Roosevelt administration sticks its nose and lets out a contract—will operate under the shadow of a successful frame-up in Minneapolis.

Sharing the financial burden with the Minnesota unions is, therefore, an elementary obligation of the American trade union movement. But the financial aspect is secondary. Far more important is the necessity to arouse the organized workers of this country to the danger now concretized in the Minneapolis cases, to awaken every trade unionist and friend of labor and democratic rights, to the need for smashing the Minneapolis frame-up. Every union should take a stand in solidarity with the defendants against the prosecution. Every trade union paper should publish the story. Nothing will give the prosecution more cause to hesitate and back down, than a mountain of protests from the American trade union movement.

Copies of all resolutions should be sent to the Central Labor Union WPA Defense Committee, Eighth Street North, Minneapolis, Minnesota, and checks and money orders should be made out to the same body.

Such Coincidences!

Recently we noted that the day after the Stalin-Hitler pact was announced the Soviet Pavilion at the World's Fair withdrew from exhibition the anti-Nazi film, *Professor Mamlock*. This was officially described by the Stalinists as a "coincidence". The *N.Y. Times* for Sept. 7 reports a whole series of such "coincidences" now taking place in the Soviet Union:

"Increasing signs of a desire to consider German susceptibilities are noted. Tolstoy's play, *The Road to Victory*, which deals with Germany's part in the wars of intervention, has been withdrawn from the schedule of the Vakhtangov Theatre. Such famous anti-fascist films as *Professor Mamlock* and *The Oppenheimer Family* have been withdrawn, as has also Eisenstein's *Alexander Nevsky*, although it deals with a Russo-German conflict as far back as 1214. All comments on anti-German films, historical or contemporary, are being deleted from the jubilee book on the development of the Soviet motion picture now in course of preparation."

A Manifesto

To the Oppressed Peoples of Latin America, Asia, Africa

(Continued from Page 1)

the most dangerous poison for the masses. The true face of the pacifist democrats begins to be revealed in all its hideous nudity. Look at Gandhi, that senile saint of the Hindu capitalists! He drops his mask and changes his role of the humanitarian vegetarian prophet into that of recruiting sergeant in the service of British imperialism, the most infamous oppressor of India. The same despicable role is played by such petty-bourgeois nationalists as Nehru, M. N. Roy, etc.

Neither Hitler-Stalin Nor Chamberlain-Roosevelt

Oppressed peoples of Latin America! Enslaved peoples of Asia and Africa! Do not believe the lies of the imperialist powers! Do not march to war under the bloody and ignoble banner of imperialism! Chamberlain-Daladier want your skin, your bones that are exhausted by feudal and capitalist exploitation, in order to throw you into the mouths of the fascist cannibals of Hitler! Japan wants to profit from your legitimate hatred of the imperialist bandits of London and Paris in order to exploit you, in the name of a vague Asiatic patriotism. Do not let yourselves be used! If Hitler-Mussolini come before you, arm in arm with the infamous Stalin, trying to exploit for their own benefit your justified fight against Anglo-French imperialism, do not listen to them; under the anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist demagoguery of the Hitler-Stalin combine hides the hideous face of bestial fascism; drive them away!

Neither is Roosevelt more worthy of confidence. He works not for the defence of peace and democracy but for war, for the interests of Wall Street, for the exploitation of all the people of Latin America and Asia, for the domination of the world!

Hear Only the Voice of Your Brothers

The voice that you must hear is the voice of the toilers of the world, crucified anew by the unfaithful and traitorous leaders, from Stalin to Leon Blum, from Citrine to Toledano, from Browder to Green, Lewis and Co. This is the profound voice of your countrymen bent under the feudal yoke, it is the voice of the toilers of the cities and the fields who get nothing from life but the duty of not dying from hunger so that the strong-boxes of the super-rich may continue to be filled. That is the voice that you must hear!

The war that at this moment is devastating the fields of Europe and that will very soon embrace the whole world is not your war. It is an undertaking of the big thieves to see which shall be master of the world in the near future. Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America: profit from their war by awakening! There is only one national war in the world that can be just: that is your war! The war that only you, oppressed and enslaved peoples, will be able to lead: the war against the bankers and imperialists of Europe, the United States and Japan; the war for your national independence!

Break with all the Agents of Imperialism

But in order that you should be able to profit from the war of the exploiting imperialist bandits, in order that you should be able to utilize it to conquer your national independence and liberty, one condition is indispensable: you must mercilessly drive from your ranks the open or disguised imperialist agents of every color, whether they be democrats or fascists. The former want to push you to war in the service of the British, French or American oppressor, the latter want to put you under the yoke of Hitler, the Mikado or Mussolini. Drive

from your ranks, with equal firmness, the faithful agents of Stalin the traitor, yesterday still the raging partisans of the "democratic" war against the fascist aggressor, and today the defenders of the treacherous alliance between Stalin and Hitler!

Yankees—Policemen of World Reaction

The role of Yankee imperialism is no less reactionary than that of the European or Japanese imperialisms. The Yankee imperialists will be the reserve force of world reaction when, sickened by the horrors of the war, the enslaved peoples of the Orient stand up erect, chase out the British and French slave-drivers and proclaim their independence. The European imperialists, worn out by the war, will no longer have the strength to strangle the great revolution of the colonies. This task falls upon the less exhausted imperialists, the richest and most powerful ones, those of the United States. It is the historic responsibility of the American workers, with the aid of the oppressed peoples of Latin America, to prevent world capitalist reaction from achieving its goal.

That is why the American workers and the Latin-American peoples must not let themselves be deceived by the lies about the "war for democracy". The reactionary governments of Latin America cannot defend democracy, for if democracy really existed in these controlled countries their peoples would have the means of refusing to go to this war for the profits of Wall Street.

Freedom for all the Oppressed!

Side by side with the millions of Latin America and of Asia, the African Negroes, the peoples of Algeria, Morocco, Tunis and Egypt who suffer under the heel of the "democratic" imperialists, will make common cause with their brothers oppressed by Mussolini, Salazar and Franco. Together they will fight the common struggle against serving in the competing armies of imperialism. Together they will aim at one goal: the complete independence of the peoples of Africa, so long the prey of predatory capitalism.

The oppressed peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies must take into their own hands the right to decide their own destinies; they must take back their national riches which were stolen from them by the foreign capitalists; they must take back their land with the right to work it freely; they must take back the great means of production and the monopolies swallowed up by the foreign imperialists; they must take back the freedom of which they were deprived by the national feudal barons, allied with the foreign imperialist bandits.

It is for these things that you must fight, people of the oppressed countries of the world! The hour of this struggle will soon sound. The proletariat of Europe, of the United States, of the capitalist powers, will support you in this struggle for freedom. And with your aid, they will stop the inter-imperialist world war by transforming it into a war of the oppressed for freedom which will establish the only lasting peace, the peace of the workers, erected by the World Republic of Labor and Socialism!

Down with both the "Democratic" and Fascist Imperialists!
Down with the Inter-Imperialist War!
Down with Capitalism!
Long Live the War of the Colonial Peoples for their National Liberation!
Long Live the World Socialist Revolution!
All-American and Pacific Bureau,
Sub-Secretariat of the
Fourth International.

MANUSCRIPTS ASKED FOR JOHN DEWEY RESEARCH FELLOWSHIP

Professor Sidney Hook announced a contest for the first award of a \$750.00 fellowship for "a piece of original research work or a constructive analysis of a labor problem." The award will be made by a committee of judges consisting of Professors John Dewey and Sidney Hook, and Julius Hochman, well-known labor leader. The name of the winner will be made public, and the chosen manuscript will be published by the JOHN DEWEY RESEARCH FELLOWSHIP, of which Professor Hook is Chairman.

The fellowship was founded by friends and admirers of Professor Dewey in honor of his approaching 80th birthday, in appreciation of his contributions to the labor movement and to human progress, and in the hope of stimulating wide in-

terest in the labor movement. The contest is open to everyone under the following rules:

1. A full detailed outline of a proposed manuscript, the latter to be preferably of book size, must be submitted on or before November 30, 1939, covering an original piece of research on any problem of general significance to the American labor movement; for example:
 - a—Relations of the labor movement and public school education;
 - b—Philosophy of trade unionism in relation to the democratic way of life.
2. The outline is to be signed with a nom de plume. The real name and address of the contestant should be

placed in a sealed envelope, with the nom de plume on the outside—the envelope to be attached to the outline submitted.

3. The manuscript must be completed within one year after date of award.
4. One-third of the fellowship (\$250) will be presented to the winning contestant on acceptance of the outline, the balance (\$500) on acceptance by the judges of the completed manuscript. Outlines should be mailed to Hillman M. Bishop, Secretary of the Committee of the Committee of Award, Government Department, College of the City of New York, 17 Lexington Avenue, New York, N. Y.

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.

The Stalinist War Line Adds A New Wrinkle

... "the character of the war now developing is that of a struggle between two rival imperialist groups for the domination of the world."

"Poland has been made the excuse for the outbreak of this war as Belgium became the pretext for the development of the last world war."

"The character of this war in no principle respect can be said to differ from that of the late World War."

"This war has nothing to offer the masses of any participating country except death and destruction, further miseries and burdens."

Incredible as it may seem, these simple statements of fact are now uttered by the general secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, Earl Browder. (*Daily Worker*, Sept. 13).

And to round out the picture he declared that to understand the role of Poland "we have to refer to the fascist character of the government of Poland itself. This was a government which only a few months ago participated with Hitler in the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia."

"This government in the past oppressed, and still continues up to the present to oppress nationalities within its own frontiers."

These words are by the same Browder who only the other day howled for a war of England and France against German Fascism.

What Browder Said Until Yesterday

Yesterday he painted the Polish government as the genuine spokesman of the Polish people, the true defender of their national independence.

Yesterday he denounced as "counter-revolutionary Trotskyism" the view that the impending war would be a repetition of the war of 1914-1918, that is, an imperialist war waged under the hypocritical slogan of defense of small nations. He scurrilously attacked as "Fascist agents" those who pointed to the fascist and imperialist nature of the Polish government.

Today, at the dictates of the Kremlin master, Browder's tune has changed. Stalin's agents have to explain why their paymaster has signed a pact with Hitler which directly aids the latter's attack on the Polish people. So they discover that the imperialist governments are nothing but... imperialist governments! They can no longer defend the war as a just war, because otherwise how can they explain Stalin's direct material and moral aid to Hitler?

Then the war—"the struggle between two rival imperialist groups for the domination of the world" (Browder)—it appears should not be supported by the working class in any country?

Browder remains silent on this question!

Browder's Comrades Back "Imperialist War"

A week ago he endorsed the support of the war by the French and English Communist Parties. In a *Daily Worker* editorial (September 6), entitled "Symbol of the French Communist Party" we read:

"Maurice Thorez, general secretary of the great French Communist Party, has presented himself for military service with the army of France..."

"Now that Munich has led to war, Thorez, the Communist leader beloved of the French people, offers his life to defend the national security of France..."

And the next day, a special cable to the *Daily Worker* from London reports that the Communist Party "vigorously proclaimed that it continues to work more actively than ever to help win the war against fascist aggression!"

The French Stalinists support the war in the name of "the national security of France."

The English Stalinists support the war in the name of the struggle "against fascist aggression."

This is the same war which Browder correctly says "has nothing to offer the masses of any participating country except death and destruction, further miseries and burdens..."

All of Browder's explanations of the Stalin-Hitler pact and the new policy of the Communist Party only increase the confusion and bewilderment in the Stalinist ranks.

Covering Up the Nazi Alliance

Browder's condemnation of the war as imperialist on both sides is for the sole purpose of serving the interests of the Stalin dictatorship in a new period—the period of the Stalin-Hitler pact. For the present, this requires an attack on British and French imperialism, and an increased agitation for a Roosevelt-Stalin alliance against Japan and any other powers threatening Russia. But the program to be persuasive, must be put forward as flowing not from Stalinist but from American interests. That is why the Communist Party increases its drive for rallying the workers behind Roosevelt's "national unity" and his war moves.

However, events are moving very rapidly. Roosevelt is traveling at lightning speed towards involvement of the United States in the war on the side of England and France. In fact he has already done so by his declaration that the government will defend Canada—an active ally of Britain and France—against any attack. Since the interests of Stalin are at present not in that direction, the Communist party will begin a flank attack on this course.

The policy of the American Communist Party will be determined at each stage by the dictates of the autocrat of the Kremlin. If Stalin makes an open military alliance with Hitler for the partition of Poland and the Baltic states—of course, under the slogan of "national independence" of the Ukrainians, etc.—then the Communist Party will come into more open conflict with Roosevelt.

MASS MEETING Tuesday, Sept. 19, 8:30 p. m.

EUROPE IN FLAMES

Eyewitness Report of War-Torn Europe

Albert Goldman, Just Returned from Europe, Will Speak

Irving Plaza, Irving Place at 15th St.

Auspices: Local New York, Socialist Workers Party, Fourth International. 116 University Place, N.Y.C. Admission 25c