

# Take the War-Making Power Away from Congress

## Let the People Decide!, Says Minnesota Labor

Three-Times-a-Week

# Socialist Appeal

Official Organ of the Socialist Workers Party, Section of the Fourth International

LET THE PEOPLE  
VOTE ON WAR

VOL. III, No. 71

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167

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DULUTH, Minn.—The largest convention in the 57-year history of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor voted unanimously Wednesday for a resolution calling upon Congress to prepare immediately a Constitutional amendment providing that any proposal for the declaration of war against any nation shall be submitted to a direct referendum vote of the people of the United States. Of the many anti-war resolutions coming before the convention, the resolution for a popular referendum on war was the one that appealed to the 883 delegates as the most practical and realistic. The referendum resolution was introduced by a group of Twin City trade unionists.

### Full Support to WPA Strikers

All in all, the 57th annual convention of the Minnesota Federation was one of the most progressive in its history. When the conservatives in control of the legislative committee made a report calling upon the convention only to move for amendments to the hated Stassen Labor Law, Gene Larson of the Minneapolis Milk Drivers Union made a minority report demanding the Federation work for outright repeal of the atrocious Stassen labor legislation. Larson's report provoked a veritable storm of approval which swept over the right-wingers, and the convention voted by a large majority to work to wipe the Stassen law off the books.

The Duluth convention also voted full support to the housed Minneapolis WPA strikers and approved the work of the Minneapolis Central Labor Union's WPA Defense Committee. The convention condemned the new relief bill and state secretary George Lawson as well as many other spokesmen placed the blame for the nationwide relief cut and the abolition of the union wage scale directly upon President Roosevelt.

### Ten Billion Dollar Housing Program

Other resolutions passed called for a 10-billion Dollar federal housing and public works program; the 30-hour week in private industry; protested the 25 percent cut in food budgets by the Minneapolis Welfare Board, etc.

The convention took a long backward step, however, when it adopted a constitutional amendment dropping the policy of endorsing political candidates. The debate on this issue raged all Tuesday afternoon and Wednesday morning.

Robert Olson of Duluth and George Lawson of St. Paul were re-elected president and secretary, respectively, of the federation.

## Behind the Lines

By GEORGE STERN

What a macabre joke it is to hear Stalin's newspaper Pravda suddenly wax pathetic over the plight of the Ukrainian and White Russian minorities in Poland!

One of the characteristic marks of the degeneration of the Soviet regime under Stalin has been the destruction of the free rights won by Russia's many nationalities as a result of the October revolution. One after another the governments of the autonomous Soviet republics from one end of the union to the other were converted in the course of the last ten years into instruments of Stalin's bureaucratic clique. More recently native officials of these republics were mowed down by Stalin's purge in scores and in hundreds.

Consequently we are not to seek in Stalin's sudden, touching concern for the Polish Ukrainians and White Russians for anything remotely resembling the old Bolshevik policy of staunch support for the doctrine and practice of the self-determination of peoples. The Pravda editorial was not an echo of Lenin but of Goebbels. The aim of the policy it shrouds is not the liberation of the oppressed peoples of Poland but their subjection and the protection of the power and pelf of Stalin's ruling oligarchy. It is not a question of freeing the

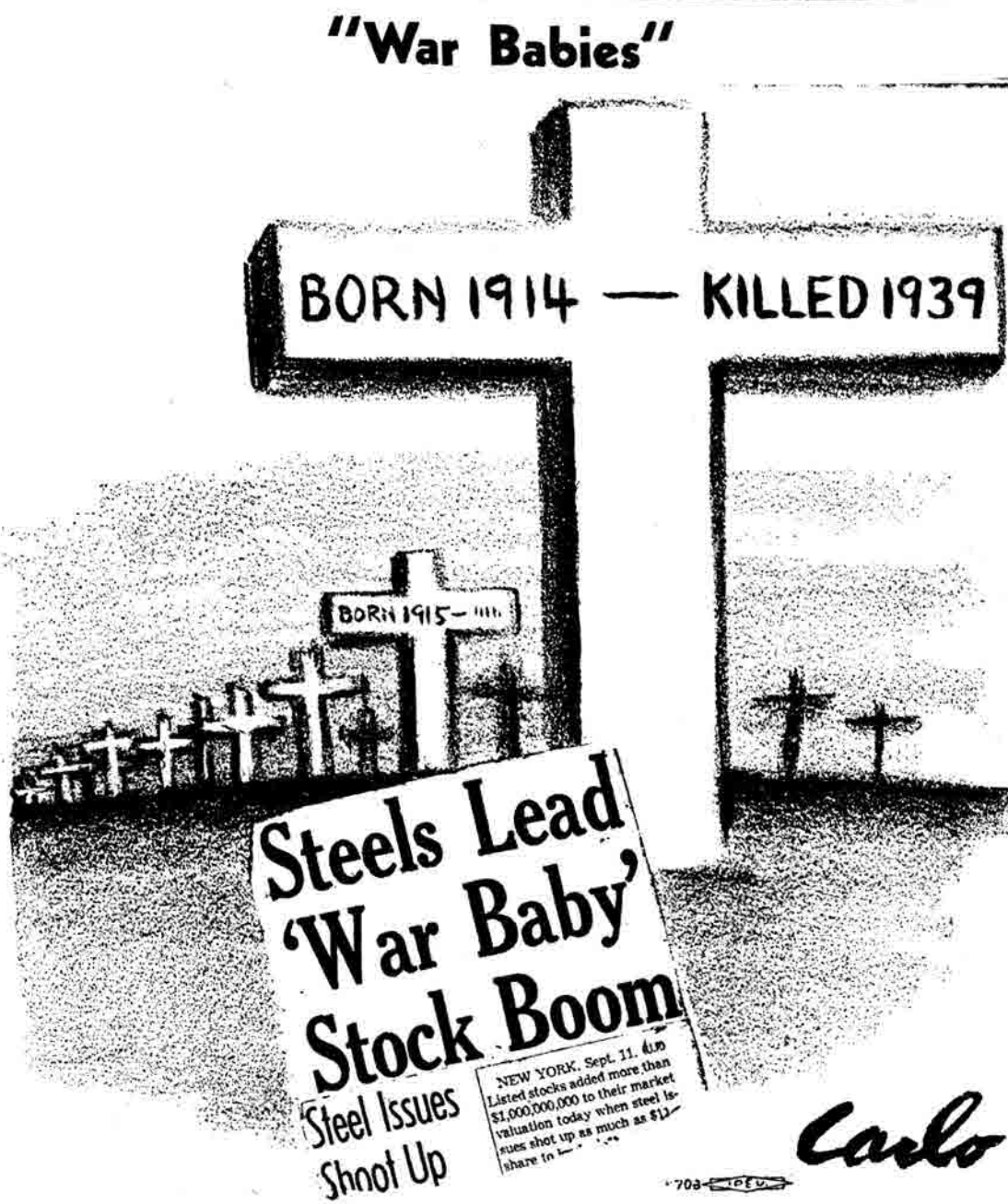
Ukrainians and White Russians but of determining whether their next yoke will be that of Hitler or that of Stalin.

Whether this is to be carried out by the creation of so-called "independent" buffer states or by outright annexation of territory will soon be known. However, any partition decided upon by Hitler and Stalin in the present circumstances is bound to be of a most transient and unstable character.

On both sides there is a tacit recognition of the fragility of the new axis and on both sides there is the fear—quite justified—that the peoples they are pushing around in eastern Europe will before long join with the masses of Germany and Russia in freeing themselves from the rulers who would strangle them.

Pravda attributed the speedy crushing of Poland to its internal instability, to the repression of the huge minorities that kept the country divided and destroyed that national cohesion so vital in a war. Behind the lines of the Pravda editorial, deep in the shadows of the Kremlin, is the realization that Russia's plight is even worse in this respect. It is not merely the structure of nationalities that make up the Soviet Union but the whole regime and the army itself that have been rent

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## Twenty-five Minneapolis WPA Prisoners Are Released on Bail

### SEE SWINDLE IN NEW YORK SUBWAY SALE

Of all the swindles from which the people of New York City have suffered, one of the most scandalous is that now being perpetrated by the LaGuardia administration. For subways that are already owned by the city, LaGuardia has agreed to pay Wall Street a minimum of \$325,000,000!

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### Roosevelt Stooges Now Arresting Women—Labor Unions Map Plans for Fighting Indictments at Sept. 25 Trial

MINNEAPOLIS—Shortly after noon on Wednesday, September 13, 25 of the jailed Minneapolis WPA strikers were released on bail posted for them by the WPA Defense Committee of the Minneapolis Central Labor Union. The bail was raised chiefly through the generosity of the Minneapolis Labor Temple Association which, at a stockholders meeting last Friday night, voted to post the association's property as surety for bail bonds for the victimized WPA workers.

Shortly after noon, the prisoners were marched from the jail to the federal court building where individual bail was posted for each. All were instructed to appear back in court September 26 when the strike trial is scheduled to begin. All were jubilant upon their release, and sent a collective letter of thanks to the Labor Temple Association and the WPA Defense Committee which has worked so vigorously for their release.

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## Congress Will Approve Actions Placing U. S. In War Camp of Allies

After a series of rapid-fire actions to line up the United States in support of Anglo-French imperialism, President Roosevelt is now confident of a safe majority for his war program at the special session of Congress, called for September 21.

His immediate objective is the lifting of the arms embargo so that England and France can purchase munitions and airplanes in this country. For this purpose he has already clearly placed the United States in the camp of the Allies by pledging military defense of Canada in case it is attacked. He has sought to create a patriotic hysteria by declaring a "limited state of national emergency," thus making the people believe that there is no real alternative but America's entrance into the war.

## Is the Partitioning Of Poland Part of Hitler-Stalin Pact?

AN EDITORIAL

What secret agreement for the partitioning of Poland was arrived at when the Hitler-Stalin Pact was signed?

The answer is not yet available to the public, since secret diplomacy is just as much a part of Stalin's foreign politics as it is of Hitler's. But the developments of the last few days indicate that there is far more likelihood that such an agreement was made in Moscow than might be concluded by the average reader of the Stalinist press.

The official Kremlin press has suddenly launched a frontal attack upon the imperialist ruling class of Poland and its oppressive rule over the national minorities in the Polish Empire. Up to a few days ago, even a hint to the effect that the Polish Colonels and landowners were not a model of democracy, was treated by the same Stalinist press as a base Trotskyist slander. Now the Moscow Pravda has rediscovered Polish imperialism and oppression and its columns are full of reports of "Polish attacks on the Soviet frontier" and "uprisings of the Polish-Ukrainian and Polish-White Russian masses" against the Polish overlords.

Accompanying this agitation is a tremendous mobilization of Soviet troops along the Polish frontier.

Why?

Is Stalin preparing to protect the frontiers of the Soviet Union from the rapidly eastward marching armies of his recently-found ally, Hitler? Has he come to realize that Hitler has designs upon Soviet Ukraine and, further east, the Urals?

Highly doubtful. That Hitler would like to annex the Ukraine and the Urals has not been a secret for years, and anyone who thinks he gave up his ambition for these territories just because he signed a pact with Stalin, is far more gullible than any human being should be. At the same time, however, Hitler would be a greater fool than his worst enemies give him credit for being if he contemplated making an attack upon the Soviet Union right now. A preliminary to such an attack would be an agreement, a settlement of accounts, with France and England on the western

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According to a United Press dispatch of Sept. 14, "The White House said today that submarine activities and the sinking of the Athenia were factors considered by President Roosevelt in deciding to call for a special session of Congress."

**War Notice**  
Secretary of State Hull has notified the belligerent powers that the government "reserves all rights of the United States and its nationals under international law and will adopt such measures as may seem most practical and prudent when those rights are violated by any of the belligerents."

In these declarations, as in the sharp protest of Anthony Drexel Biddle, American Ambassador to Poland, against German bombing, it is clear that Roosevelt is determined to drive this country into war against Germany. Yet the President is demanding the lifting of the arms embargo as a step for "genuine neutrality."

**War Follows Arms**  
As Senator Borah, leader of the isolationist forces in Congress stated in his speech last Thursday:

"To those who are advocating repeal, I submit this question: Is it not your main purpose in securing repeal to enable us to furnish arms, munitions and implements of war in one group of nations and to deny them to another group of nations, which groups are now in mortal combat?"

"Is not this laying the foundation for intervention—in fact, is it not intervention—in the present European war? Is it not your purpose to take sides through the authority which will be available when the embargo law is repealed?"

**What Price Isolationism?**  
While Borah and his colleagues are against lifting the arms embargo—and in this they voice the opinions of the workers and farmers—they are

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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



# Bucking the War Censors

While the main theater of events is still in Europe, the War Deal is quietly tightening up its military and naval establishments in the Pacific, which is destined to become the main sphere of American wartime interests. The main body of the fleet is and has been in the Pacific for some time. Quietly and without any fanfare, the air arm is being extended across the broad stretch of ocean that leads to the markets of China. A tiny dispatch in the papers reveals that 14 navy patrol bombers flew from San Diego to Honolulu to replace an equal number of war planes sent to Manila, in the Philippines, "for neutrality patrol duty."

Just what "neutrality patrol duty" is there for Americans in waters 6,000 miles away?

The other day a Nazi submarine stopped and searched an American vessel in European waters. The newspapers made hay with the incident, smearing it in the now weary familiar big black headlines. But when the British actually seized a cargo of alleged contraband from an American freighter, the incident was treated as an unfortunate matter of course. What business did an American freighter have anyway in trying to take a load of phosphate to Germany? This is the issue upon which Washington and London almost came to blows in the first years of the last war. But Roosevelt is pursuing a policy of non-neutrality at the war's outset far more openly than Wilson ever dared to profess until just before American entry.

Every once in a while some strutting little brass-buttons let the cat stick his head out of the bag. Gen. Hugh Johnson is of course the champion at that but one Maj. John C. Burns, an officer of the War Department attached to the department preparing for industrial mobilization, doesn't do so badly either. Speaking of the mobilization plans, he told an Associated Press reporter that they "would require a minimum of regimentation—or Fascism if you want to call it that."

## ROOSEVELT MOVES FOR WAR UNDER NEUTRALITY COVER

(Continued from Page 1)

loyal supporters of the system of capitalist-imperialism from which America's involvement in the war flows. That is why they support Roosevelt's armament program, of course in the name of "national defense." That is why, for example, Borah in his latest speech has not a word of criticism against Roosevelt's pledge to go to war in the event of an attack on Canada.

So that if Roosevelt succeeds in his plans to drag the U.S. into the war, the isolationist Congressmen and Senators will support all measures to prosecute the war "for a rapid victory."

That is why the masses in their struggle against Roosevelt's war program, in their opposition to the lifting of the arms embargo, cannot rely on the isolationists in Congress. They must organize their own independent forces to fight the pro-war schemes of the Administration, and to continue that struggle until they succeed in destroying the war-breeding system of capitalism.

(See Editorial—Page 4)

## 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.

## WPA BUILDING STRIKE IN THIRD MONTH

### Ineffectual Conduct Of Strike Weakens Morale of Men

By TONY CHAPMAN  
NEW YORK, Sept. 13.—Beginning its third month, the building trades strike against the abrogation of prevailing wages on WPA is still officially in force in this city.

Although the Building and Construction Trades Council of Greater New York has not yet shown signs of calling off its still widespread stoppage, the ineffectual manner in which it has conducted the strike has already begun to shake the morale of growing numbers of strikers.

Union picketing at North Beach Airport, chief project is scattered and sporadic.

Depended on Roosevelt  
That the strike is beginning to peter out can be ascribed to the union leadership's main strategy of relying on President Roosevelt to act in behalf of the skilled workers.

The heavy extent to which the union placed its trust and faith in the good offices of President Roosevelt is indicated by this inside story:

**President's Empty Promise**  
Prior to his cruise in Canadian waters aboard the U.S.S. Tuscaloosa, the President docked in New York for a brief, overnight stay. On August 12, a committee composed of Representative James H. Fay, Mayor LaGuardia and George Meany, President of the State Federation of Labor, went aboard ship for a conference. After outlining the union proposal for a quick ruling under section 15B of the Woodrum Relief Act favoring the restoration of the prevailing wage on projects begun before July 1, the committee received the personal assurance of the President that Attorney General Murphy would act "within the next few days."

Depending on the president's promise, the unions ceased to push the strike. Fully one month has passed without a word from either Murphy or the President. Since that date, the President has not been available for comment. Far from issuing a ruling in support of the prevailing wage, Attorney General Murphy has been busy prosecuting the Minneapolis WPA strikers.

Having had one month to appraise the personal word of the President himself, the feeling in union circles, as expressed to this writer, is that "Roosevelt was not sincere when he gave us his personal assurance."

**"National Unity" Line**  
But that realization does not mean that the union leaders will press the fight for the prevailing wage at the special session of Congress. President Roosevelt's demand that Congress occupy itself with nothing but his pro-war proposals is being acceded to by the AFL officials in the name of "national unity." Here is an early example of the way in which they will sacrifice labor's needs and demands to the demands of the war machine.

## Food Profiteering Is Hint of Days to Come

### Prices Rising Everywhere in America Despite the Fact That Warehouses Are Full

By B. J. WIDICK

An ominous hint of days to come in America was furnished in the past few weeks by the food profiteering racket which swept the country.

In many cities sugar could not be purchased or else it was available in such small quantities that they were negligible.

"I'm sorry but we're out of sugar," was the grocer's reply to a housewife's demand for a pound. And if she did succeed in getting a pound, the price was increased plenty.

**Same Everywhere**  
One big industrial center was "out of sugar" for two days. In another city we visited, the restaurants only a few days ago served you two lumps of sugar. None was available at the tables.

It seemed fantastic to have housewives tell us that they couldn't buy flour at some of the big stores!

This same thing happened everywhere in America. All food prices rose. And they still are going up, despite the fine talk of threats against the profiteers.

**Warehouses Full**  
Yet there isn't any shortage of sugar, or flour or other food.

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## RANKS DEFEND UNION FROM THUG ASSAULT

### Gangsters Threaten A.F.L. Furniture Union Organizer

NEW YORK—Determined to protect his union from gangster raids and physical destruction by a clique of ruthless Stalinists in control of a rival CIO union, Joe Kitain, organizer of Bedding and Mattress Local 350 of the AFL, lives under a constant threat of violence.

During the past three weeks, the Stalinist leaders of the rival CIO union have conducted a vicious campaign of physical intimidation against members of the AFL local.

Workers have been seized after work and severely beaten and knifed.

**Charges Assault Plot**  
Despite the fact that Sol Kitain, the C.P. Commissar, is a brother of Joe Kitain, organizer of the AFL local, the former is known to have offered a reward for his brother's hide, according to a sworn statement by Sol J. Striano, a member of AFL Local 350.

Striano testifies that on August 30, at about 4 P.M., he was called out of his shop at 297 Powell Street in Brooklyn by Sol Kitain, who said:

"Tonight I want you to bring my brother to union headquarters. We want to knock the . . . out of him. I'll give you two hundred dollars."

Striano replied, "I don't use that kind of money."

**Members Fear Reprisals**  
Members of the CIO union, who are appalled at the gangster tactics of Alex Sirota and Sol Kitain, are unable to express themselves for fear of reprisals by the Stalinist clique.

Meanwhile, members of the AFL Local who have been assaulted and knifed are preparing legal action against certain of the Stalinist gangsters who have been taken into custody by the police.

Despite the physical assaults, Local 350 has closed ranks to protect the union and fight off further raids against its membership.

## WORKERS' FORUM

### IS THERE A DOCTOR IN THE HOUSE?

Editor:

I am a regular reader of the Daily Worker. For the past few weeks I seem to have gone into a decline. I have already written several letters to the Worker's "How Do You Feel?" department, which is supposed to give out medical advice to readers. In these notes, I have fully described my symptoms: black spots before the eyes, especially after reading the Daily Worker, accompanied by pronounced dizziness and roaring in the ears. I am also subject to violent attacks of nausea. These symptoms began on the day the Hitler-Stalin Pact was announced, and have been getting steadily worse.

All this I fully described to the editor of the "How Do You Feel?" column, but so far I have not had any reply. My condition is getting desperate. Perhaps you can help me.

Worried Worker

### MINNEAPOLIS WPA PRISONERS ASK FULLER REPORTS IN APPEAL

We are two of the arrested WPA strikers and have been readers of the Appeal for a long time.

We find it very difficult to understand why the Appeal up to the present date has not carried any material (with the exception of an editorial reprinted from the Northwest Organizer) on the arrests of about 50 WPA workers by the Federal government on the phony charge of preventing workers from getting relief.

The arrests represent a deliberate attempt by the Roose-

**NOTICE TO ALL NEW YORK YIPSELS**  
The International Youth Day Hike, scheduled for Sunday, Sept. 17th, has been called off in order to have the League participate in the collection of signatures for the election. Yipsels should report to Manhattan and Bronx headquarters all day Sunday to be assigned work.

## Workers of New York! Buy Your Socialist Appeal at the Following Newsstands

### MANHATTAN

Cherry & Katherine Sts., Monroe & Madison Sts.—K. K. Stationery Store & Near Knickerbocker Village—Villard's General Store, Essex & Delancey Sts.—S.E. Houston & Clinton, Meisel Bookshop—Grand & Attorney Sts. Clinton & E. B'way, 5th St. & Ave. B—N.W. 9th St. & Ave. D—Candy Store, 2nd Ave. & 2nd St.—N.W. 2nd Ave. & 4th St. 17 First Ave. 2nd Ave. & 9th St. (Stuyvesant Casino), Ave. B & 10th St.—N.E. 2nd Ave. & 12th St. (near Cafe Royal), Waverly Pl. & B'way.—N.W. Biederman's—184 Second Ave. Univ. Pl. & 12th St.—N.E. 14th St. & Univ. Pl.—S.E. 14th St. & B'way.—S.E. 14th St. & 4th Ave.—S.W. 14th St. & 4th Ave.—N.E. 14th St. & 4th Ave.—1st Stand S.E. 14th St. & 4th Ave.—2nd Stand S.E. 14th St. & 3rd Ave.—S.W. 14th St. & 3rd Ave.—N.W. 14th St. opp. Jefferson Theatre, 14th St. & 2nd Ave.—N.W. 13th St. & Ave. 14th St. & 8th Ave.—N.E. 23rd St. & 7th Ave.—N.W. & St. & 6th Ave.—N.E. 42nd St. & 15th Ave.—S.W. 36th St. & 7th Ave.—N.E. 35th St. & 6th Ave.—38th St. & 8th Ave.—38th St. & 7th Ave.—N.W. 33rd St.—Rm. 704, 75 Greenwich Ave. 8th St. & 6th Ave.—N.E. 51 Unit Pl. Rand Block Store—7 E. 15th St. 23rd St. & 4th Ave.—S.W. 14th S.W. 42nd opp. Stern's—South side, 42nd St. & 6th Ave.—S.E. & S.W. 42nd St. & 7th Ave.—S.W. 64th St. & 65th St. & B'way.—Candy Store, 66th St. & B'way. 72nd St. & B'way, 93rd St. & Columbus Ave. 96th St. & Cent'l. Pl. West, 110th St. & Columbus Ave.—N.E. 181st St. & St. Nicholas Ave. 157th St. & B'way—N.W. 145th St. & St. Nicholas Ave. (Wigerson's), Madison Ave. & 90th St.—N.W.; Candy Store, cor. 103 St. & B'way.

### BRONX

Longwood Ave. & Southern Boulevard—S.W. 171st St. & Fulton Ave. S.W. 170th St. & Jerome Ave.—S.E. 167th St. & Jerome Ave. Jerome & Burnside Ave. 161st St. & Prospect Ave. Freeman St. & Southern Blvd. 174th St. & Boston Road. Kingsbridge Rd. & Jerome Ave. East Mosholu Subway Station, 387 Seaside Ave. McClean & Grand Concourse—S.E.

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### QUEENS

3023 Grand Ave. 31-10 Broadway.

future struggles. The Ukrainian proletariat wishes to free itself from the clutches of the bureaucracy. The slogan of democratic Ukraine is historically belated. The only thing it is good for is perhaps to console a bourgeois intellectuals. It will not unite the masses. And without the masses, the emancipation and unification of the Ukraine is impossible.

### The Charge of Centrism

Our severe critic flings at us the term "Centrism" at every opportunity. According to him the entire article was written so as to expose the glaring example of our "Centrism." But he does not make even a single attempt to demonstrate where in precisely consists the "Centrism" of the slogan of independent Soviet Ukraine. Assuredly, that is no easy task. Centrism is the name applied to that policy which is opportunist in substance and which seeks to appear as revolutionary in form. Opportunism consists in a passive adaptation to the ruling class and its regime, to that which already exists, including, of course, the state boundaries. Centrism shares completely this fundamental trait of opportunism but in adapting itself to the dissatisfied workers, centrism veils it by means of radical commentaries. If we proceed from this scientific definition, it will appear that the position of our hapless critic is in part and in whole centrist. He takes as a starting point the specific (accidental)—from the stand-

point of rational and revolutionary politics) boundaries which cut nations into segments, as if this were something immutable. The world revolution, which is for him not living reality but the incantation of a witch-doctor, must unequivocally accept these boundaries as its point of departure. He is not at all concerned with the centrifugal nationalist tendencies which may flow either into the channel of reaction or the channel of revolution. They violate his lazy administrative blue-print constructed on the model of: "first" and "then." He shies away from the struggle for national independence against bureaucratic strangulation and takes refuge in speculations on the superiority of socialist union. In other words, his politics—if scholastic commentaries on other peoples' politics may be called politics—bear the worst traits of centrism.

The sectarian is an opportunist who stands in fear of himself. In sectarianism, opportunism (centrism) remains unfolded in its initial stages, like a delicate bud. Presently the bud unfolds, one-third, one-half, and sometimes more. Then we have the peculiar combination of sectarianism and centrism (Ver-ecken); of sectarianism and low-grade opportunism (Sneevliet). But on occasion the bud shrivels away, without unfolding (Oehler). If I am not mistaken, Oehler is the editor of "The Marxist."

Fraternally yours,  
Two WPA Strikers  
Sept. 9, 1939  
Hennepin County Jail

(On July 25 the Appeal devoted its main headlines and half the front page to calling upon the labor movement to defend the Minneapolis WPA workers against the impending frame-up, which was already indicated by Attorney General Murphy's preparations. The main headlines of our July 28, August 4 and 8 issues were devoted to the Minneapolis strike. The arrests were dealt with in an editorial in the August 25 issue, both an editorial and a long news story in the August 29 issue, a front page story in the September 9 issue and a front page story and editorial in the September 13 issue.

But even so we regret not having carried fuller coverage of the arrests, for Attorney General Murphy's indictment of 103 WPA strikers in Minneapolis is undoubtedly a threat to the entire labor movement, for if the government gets away with this, it will establish a no-strike precedent against all workers in government departments or public works or work contracted for by the government of any kind.

We are asking our Minneapolis correspondents to provide adequate material to arouse the labor movement to the necessity of rallying to the defense of the Minneapolis prisoners—Editors.

# Independence of the Ukraine and Sectarian Muddleheads

By Leon Trotsky

(Continued from last issue)

My statement to the effect that workers and peasants of Western Ukraine (Poland) do not want to join the Soviet Union, as it is now constituted, and that this fact is an additional argument in favor of an independent Ukraine is parried by our sage with the assertion that even if they desired, they could not join the Soviet Union because they could do so only "after the proletarian revolution in Western Ukraine" (obviously, Poland). In other words: Today the separation of the Ukraine is impossible, and after the revolution triumphs, it would be reactionary. An old and familiar refrain! Luxemburg, Bukharin, Piatakov and many others used this very same argument against the program of national self-determination: Under capitalism it is utopian; under socialism, reactionary. The argument is false to the core because it ignores the epoch of the social revolution and its tasks. To be sure, under the domination of imperialism a genuine stable and reliable independence of the small and intermediate nations is impossible. It is equally true that under fully developed socialism, that is to say, with the progressive withering away of the state, the question of national boundaries will fall away. But between these two moments—the present day and complete socialism—intervene those decades in the course of which we are preparing to realize our program. The slogan of independent Soviet Ukraine is of paramount importance for mobilizing the masses and for educating them in the transitional period.

**What the Sectarian Ignores**  
The sectarian simply ignores the fact that the national struggle, one of the most labyrinthine and complex but at the same time extremely important forms of the class struggle, cannot be suspended by bare references to the future world revolution. With their eyes turned away from the USSR, and failing to receive support and leadership from the international proletariat, the petty-bourgeois

reaction. To find the bridge from reaction to revolution—that is the task. This is the import, by the way, of our entire program of transitional demands (The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International). Small wonder that the sectarians of all shades fail to understand its meaning. They operate by means of abstractions—an abstraction of imperialism and an abstraction of the socialist revolution. The question of the transition from real imperialism to real revolution; the question of how to mobilize the masses in the given historical situation for the conquest of power remains for these sterile wiseacres a book sealed with seven seals.

**Superficial Reasoning**  
Piling one dire accusation indiscriminately on top of another, our critic declares that the slogan of independent Ukraine serves the interests of the imperialists (!) and the Stalinists (!) because it "completely negates the position of the defense of the Soviet Union." It is impossible to understand just why the "interests of the Stalinists" are dragged in. But let us confine ourselves to the question of the defense of the USSR. This defense could be menaced by an independent Ukraine only if the latter were hostile not only to the bureaucracy but also to the USSR. However, given such a premise (obviously false) how can a socialist demand that a hostile Ukraine be retained within the framework of the USSR? Or does the question involve only the period of the national revolution? Yet our critic apparently recognizes the inevitability of a political revolution against the Bonapartist bureaucracy. Meanwhile this revolution, like every revolution, will undoubtedly present a certain danger from the standpoint of defense. What to do? Had our critic really thought out the problem, he would have replied that such a danger is an inescapable historical risk which cannot be evaded, for under the rule of the Bonapartist bureaucracy the USSR is doomed. The very same reasoning

## JUDAS GOAT

"I think that now is the time for all good Americans to back Franklin Roosevelt in his efforts for peace at home and abroad. And I think we should . . . say for what he has done and for what he proposes to do: 'Thank you very much, Mr. Roosevelt.'"

—Heywood Brown, president of the American Newspaper Guild, in his daily column, "It Seems to Me," (N. Y. World-Telegram, Sept. 4, 1939)

ous reaction. To find the bridge from reaction to revolution—that is the task. This is the import, by the way, of our entire program of transitional demands (The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International). Small wonder that the sectarians of all shades fail to understand its meaning. They operate by means of abstractions—an abstraction of imperialism and an abstraction of the socialist revolution. The question of the transition from real imperialism to real revolution; the question of how to mobilize the masses in the given historical situation for the conquest of power remains for these sterile wiseacres a book sealed with seven seals.

**Superficial Reasoning**  
Piling one dire accusation indiscriminately on top of another, our critic declares that the slogan of independent Ukraine serves the interests of the imperialists (!) and the Stalinists (!) because it "completely negates the position of the defense of the Soviet Union." It is impossible to understand just why the "interests of the Stalinists" are dragged in. But let us confine ourselves to the question of the defense of the USSR. This defense could be menaced by an independent Ukraine only if the latter were hostile not only to the bureaucracy but also to the USSR. However, given such a premise (obviously false) how can a socialist demand that a hostile Ukraine be retained within the framework of the USSR? Or does the question involve only the period of the national revolution? Yet our critic apparently recognizes the inevitability of a political revolution against the Bonapartist bureaucracy. Meanwhile this revolution, like every revolution, will undoubtedly present a certain danger from the standpoint of defense. What to do? Had our critic really thought out the problem, he would have replied that such a danger is an inescapable historical risk which cannot be evaded, for under the rule of the Bonapartist bureaucracy the USSR is doomed. The very same reasoning

**The Critic's Ideal Variant**  
The slogan of independent Ukraine does not signify that the Ukraine will remain forever isolated, but only this, that she will again determine herself and of her own free will the question of her inter-relations

equally and wholly applies to the revolutionary national uprising which represents nothing else but a single segment of the political revolution.

**Independence and the Plan**  
It is noteworthy that the most serious argument against independence does not even enter the mind of our critic. The economy of Soviet Ukraine enters integrally into this plan. The separation of the Ukraine threatens to break down the plan and to lower the productive forces. But this argument, too, is not decisive. An economic plan is not the holy of holies. If national sections within the Federation, despite the unified plan, are pulling in opposite direction, it means that the plan does not satisfy them. A plan is the handiwork of men. It can be reconstructed in accordance with new boundaries. In so far as the plan is advantageous for the Ukraine she will herself decide and know how to reach the necessary economic agreement with the Soviet Union, just as she will be able to conclude the necessary military alliance.

Moreover, it is impermissible to forget that the plunder and arbitrary rule of the bureaucracy constitute an important integral part of the current economic plan, and exact a heavy toll from the Ukraine. The plan must be drastically revised first and foremost from this standpoint. The outlived ruling caste is systematically destroying the country's economy, the army and its culture; it is annihilating the flower of the population and preparing the ground for a catastrophe. The heritage of the revolution can be saved only by an overturn. The bolder and more resolute is the policy of the proletarian vanguard on the national question among others, all the more successful will be the revolutionary overturn, all the lower its overhead expenses.

**The Critic's Ideal Variant**  
The slogan of independent Ukraine does not signify that the Ukraine will remain forever isolated, but only this, that she will again determine herself and of her own free will the question of her inter-relations

with other sections of the Soviet Union and her western neighbors. Let us take an ideal variant most favorable for our critic. The revolution occurs simultaneously in all parts of the Soviet Union. The bureaucratic octopus is strangled and swept aside. The Constituent Congress of the Soviets is on the order of the day. The Ukraine expresses a desire to determine anew her relations with the USSR. Even our critic, let us hope, will be ready to extend her right. But in order freely to determine her relations with other Soviet republics, in order to possess the right of saying yes or no, the Ukraine must return to herself the complete freedom of action, at least for the duration of this Constituent period. There is no other name for this than state independence. Now let us further suppose that the revolution simultaneously embraces also Poland, Roumania and Hungary. All sections of the Ukrainian people become free and enter into negotiations to join the Soviet Ukraine. At the same time they all express the desire to have their say on the question of the inter-relations between unified Ukraine and the Soviet Union, with Soviet Poland, etc. It is self-evident that to decide all these questions it will be necessary to convene the Constituent Congress of Unified Ukraine. But a "Constituent" Congress signifies nothing else but the Congress of an independent state which prepares anew to determine its own domestic regime as well as its international position.

### The Road to Unity

There is every reason to assume that in the event of the triumph of the world revolution the tendencies towards union will immediately acquire enormous force, and that all Soviet republics will find the suitable forms of ties and collaboration. This goal will be achieved only provided the old and compulsory ties, and in consequence old boundaries are completely destroyed; only provided each of the contracting parties is completely independent. To speed and facilitate this process, to make possible a genu-

ine brotherhood of the peoples in the future, the advanced workers of Great Russia must even now understand the causes for Ukrainian separatism, as well as the latent power and a historical lawfulness behind it, and they must without any reservations declare to the Ukrainian people that they are ready to support with all their might the slogan of independent Soviet Ukraine in a joint struggle against the autocratic bureaucracy and against imperialism.

The petty-bourgeois Ukrainian nationalists consider correct the slogan of independent Ukraine. But they object to the correlation of this slogan with the proletarian revolution. They want an independent democratic Ukraine and not a Soviet Ukraine. It is unnecessary to enter here into a detailed analysis of this question, because it touches not Ukraine alone but rather the general evaluation of our epoch, which we have analyzed many times. We shall outline only the most important aspects. Democracy is degenerating and perishing even in its metropolitan centers. Only the wealthiest colonial empires or bourgeois countries especially privileged are still able to maintain nowadays a regime of democracy, and even there it is obviously on the down-grade. There is not the slightest basis for hoping that the comparatively impoverished and backward Ukraine will be able to establish and maintain a regime of democracy. Indeed the very independence of the Ukraine would not be long-lived in an imperialist environment. The example of Czechoslovakia is eloquent enough. As long as the laws of imperialism prevail, the fate of small and intermediate nations will remain unstable and unreliable. Imperialism can be overthrown only by the proletarian revolution. The main section of the Ukrainian nation is represented by present-day Soviet Ukraine. A powerful and purely Ukrainian proletariat has been created there by the development of industry. It is they who are destined to be the leaders of the Ukrainian people in all their



# THE NEGRO QUESTION

By J. R. JOHNSON

## The Negro and the War

The Socialist Workers Party says to the Negroes: "After your experiences in America during the last hundred years, after your experiences during the last war and after it, you would be making the greatest mistake of your lives if you were to give any support to the coming war."

If Negroes supported the war, Franklin Roosevelt, Jack Garner, Cotton Ed Smith, Senator Bilbo and all that bunch in the Democratic Party would be able to sit back and say, "We give them the nastiest jobs, we pay them the lowest wages, millions of them are unemployed. Even in Washington here, the Federal capitol, we kick them out of restaurants and theatres. We lynch them whenever we think that they should be reminded of where they belong. We treated them like dogs in the last war. We lynched them after they came back. And now, when we want them to do some more dirty work for us, we just snap our fingers and whistle, and look at them! They come running to do anything we want them to do! We have only to make a few promises and they are ready to be fooled again. Truly these Negroes are the most ignorant, backward and slave-like people in the world, and deserving of no more consideration than the scraps we throw to them."

But no, large masses of Negroes have no wish to support this war. Their memories of the last war and the great deception and fraud which were practiced on them are too vivid in their minds.

So bitter was their disappointment after the last war, that millions of Negroes supported Marcus Garvey. They were ready to follow even the fantastic, impossible scheme of going back to Africa rather than to continue to live in the American democracy for which so many thousands of them had suffered and died.

## What Is the Negro to Do?

What then is the Negro to do?

Before we act we must understand the forces acting with us and the forces against us. Many Negroes in America feel that they would be ready to shed their blood and take any steps to break the chains which bind them. Yet they feel also that their numbers are too few. They think that they would be overwhelmed by the number of the whites, their power, their authority, and their control of the means of destruction.

That, however, is a short-sighted view. Today we are dealing with an international war, and the problem is an international one.

Let us look at the last war. That also was an international war. It was fought in Europe, in Asia, and in Africa. The British armed the black man in Africa. The French armed nearly half a million Negro soldiers to fight for them. These fought not only in Africa, but in Europe. There was a regiment of West Indian Negroes. Now today, the millions of Negroes all over the world are more politically conscious, more bitter against oppression and humiliation than they were in 1914. They have not only had the experience of the last war. They have suffered from the effects of the crisis. They have seen the rape of Ethiopia, and they know that in Africa, for instance, whether they are ruled by Italian Fascists or British "democracy," their situation is the same. Their lands are stolen, their wages are often ten cents a day. They are driven away to live in segregated areas, where at night they are kept jailed as if they had committed a crime by being born with a black skin. They are thinking the same things that the Negroes in America are thinking; only more fiercely because they have more cause. Many of them, particularly in the French and Italian colonies, have arms in their hands which they have learned how to use. Now that the war has begun, many more of them will be armed and trained in order to go and fight for their masters. But despite all the shouting about democracy by James Ford, the great millions in Africa only need leadership to use their guns, not for British or French democracy, but for their own independence, for a free Africa, liberated from all sorts of imperialist domination, liberated not only from Fascist Italy and Germany, but also from those democratic bandits, Britain, France, and Belgium. They outnumber by many millions the whites who keep them in subjection today. And these whites, in the course of a war, will have to arm more and more of these despised and oppressed blacks. The Africans are only waiting for the opportunity and for that powerful organization which will give them a policy and leadership. In a war fought on an international scale, the Negroes in America will have the Negroes in Africa as their allies. American Negro soldiers who may be forced by conscription to go to France to fight, will be certain to meet hundreds of thousands of African soldiers there.

## An Alliance of the Millions

Contact can be made and plans made for the struggle on an international scale. But there are other allies as well—millions. For two hundred and fifty years, the British have been squeezing the lives out of the millions of people in India. There are well over three hundred and fifty million people in India today, and the large majority of them are just awaiting their chance to get arms in their hands, drive the British imperialists into the sea, and make their country their own again. The same in Burma, in Ceylon, and in Indo-China. So that from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific, you have over five hundred million people, oppressed colonials, who are thinking in terms of freedom from the domination of imperialism. Imagine the enormous power which these colonials can exert for their own emancipation in the tremendous crisis which will soon be loosed upon all peoples in the world.

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

# Have Hitler and Stalin Agreed to Partition Poland?

## New York Councilmanic Candidates of SWP Charge Subway Swindle

(Continued from Page 1)

In 1894, through their representatives in City Hall, a group of Wall Street sharks engineered a notorious deal called the "Dual Contracts," through which they set up two holding companies, the Interborough Rapid Transit Company and the Brooklyn Manhattan Transit Company for the purpose of operating the two city-owned subway and elevated lines for a period of 75 years.

Upon the signing of the "Dual Contracts" the city sank \$326,000,000 into the lines for their development and extension; the Wall Street sharks put up only \$287,000,000. The "Dual Contracts" guaranteed the Wall Street sharks a minimum profit of \$10,000,000 a year; that is, a guaranteed minimum profit for the period from 1894 to 1939 of \$450,000,000—the actual profits being far greater.

During this same period under the terms of the "Dual Contracts," the city, which owns the lines, sustained a loss of \$325,500,000 which was made up through taxes wrung from the pockets of the workers of New York City.

From 1894 until the first world-wide slaughter ended in 1918, the take of the Wall Street sharks through their lease on the city-owned lines was enormous. But with the post-war period when operating costs rose and it became necessary to begin replacement of antiquated equipment, profits dropped until they fell below what the Wall Street could obtain from investment in other fields.

Immediately Wall Street launched a drive to raise the five-cent fare. But the "Dual Contracts" carried a clause which reads: "the rate of fare shall be five cents but no more." Even the Supreme

All this seems very commonplace and obvious. Millions of Negroes and other colonials, in Africa, in the West Indies, and India think of these things in a vague way. They understand them the moment they are placed clearly before them. Why is it, then, that so few people are saying all this in public speeches and writing it? Why is it that a pamphlet of this kind is published only by the Socialist Workers Party? The reason is very important and is fundamental to an understanding of the political situation not only as it is today, but as it will be tomorrow.

Poor as the majority of Negroes are, and despised and humiliated as all of them are, in every community, particularly in America, there is a small number of Negroes who have better jobs than the others, who have managed to climb onto a little ledge, a little higher than the rest of their fellow-Negroes. These are, in America, for instance, a few doctors, a few people who do well in business, and a few racketeers—Numbers kings, and so on. They are thrown out of the restaurants, excluded from the theatres, Jim-Crowed and discriminated against as all Negroes are. They will complain, and pass resolutions, and sometimes will carry a case to the courts. But because they get something between thirty and fifty dollars a week, they are prepared to do anything that the American ruling class really wants them to do. They are Negroes, and they are forced to live with the large masses of Negroes. But in reality, they are much closer to the American ruling class than they are to the great millions of their own people. It is the same thing in every other community, even in the South. The large majority of Negroes live in dirt, in poverty, are subjected to all sorts of humiliation, and a few are allowed special privileges, a few dollars more per week, etc. Whenever something serious turns up, these may make a protest and demand a little more for themselves, but they are always prepared to do what the American ruling class wants the American Negroes to do. It is so in America, it is so in Africa, it is so in the West Indies, and you have a similar situation in India, Burma, Ceylon.

## Uncle Tom Negroes

Now these traitors are the people who have the best chances, who have the opportunity to get sometimes quite a good education. They run newspapers and magazines. They get subscriptions from rich white men. They are enabled to borrow from white banks. These lick-spittles, Uncle Tom Negroes, constantly speak in the name of the Negro people or in the name of Africans, when in reality, they are only saying what the imperialists want them to say. If they didn't, they would be thrown out of their jobs, and lose their little privileges and benefits. And so for the sake of the crumbs and bones that they get from the big table, they are quite prepared to sacrifice the interests of the majority of Negroes. They are the most dangerous people. It is they who deceive the Negroes every time. They, despite their black skin, are no more than agents of the white imperialists. They are not saying much now, but when the time comes, they are going to shout for "democracy" as loudly as the American ruling class. Some of them are going to get jobs in the government service. A few of them are going to be given positions a little higher than the ones they have at present. Some of them will be allowed to train as officers. This one here will be made a major, the other one there will be made a colonel. These appointments and others will fill the pages of the imperialist press and the Negro press. Meetings will be held at which these Negro traitors will speak and agitate and do their best to bluff the Negro people to take part in a war and be deceived and maltreated just as they were in the last war for democracy. The bait that they will dangle will be promises of a better world. They will say that after the war, things will be different. We know better than that. So that the first preliminary step for action is to be ready to condemn and drive out of the Negro ranks those traitors who sell their birthright for a mess of pottage. Whether they are in America, in Africa, or in India, they are traitors. Whoever tries to drag Negroes into a war for "democracy" is a traitor and a Judas. They will come preaching about unity. But the workers and farmers want no unity with them. What we must struggle for is the unity of the masses.

(Continued in Next Issue)

## 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 . . . . .

## LEGIONNAIRES BREAK UP SWP ANTI-WAR MEET

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 14.—A mob of Jewish war veterans, some of them armed with black anti-war meeting of the SWP held at 31st and Norris Sts.

In the scuffle that took place, Sid Kaye, a party member, was injured and arrested. Later the magistrate held Kaye for a further hearing on September 18th under \$1000 bail.

The vigilantes had a carefully arranged plan to break up the meeting. They had announced the week previous that they were not going to allow any "ism" to hold any meeting against war.

Despite the fact that a detective from the radical squad, who has been following all street meetings of the SWP, was present, and saw that the attack and provocation was started by the legionnaires, he did nothing to protect the SWP, which not only had a permit for the meeting, but who were also greatly outnumbered by the hoodlums.

The magistrate discharged all the veterans and held only Kaye, stating that he was determined to stamp out all "Un-American activities."

The Philadelphia local is going to have a mass distribution of a leaflet in the neighborhood exposing the vigilantism of the legionnaires, and asking the workers to come out and protect the future anti-war meetings that the Party is going to hold in the neighborhood.

Several workers did join in the attempt to beat off the veterans but they were also outnumbered. Efforts are being made to contact these militants.

Another meeting will be held at the same corner in the very near future.

## Release Twenty-five Minneapolis WPA Prisoners on Bail

(Continued from Page 1)

they must support; all are long-time residents of Minneapolis. Despite these circumstances, bail for each woman was set at \$2,000; a few got off with \$1,500. Of course neither the prisoners nor the WPA Defense Committee had the bail available and the women were jailed.

Fifteen other women had been arrested earlier but were released on their own recognizance.

## Plan Defense

Obviously the court's resumption of its policy of demanding excessive bail is being dictated by the national administration and the reaction in Minnesota, and is an attempt to break the morale of the labor movement and confront it with a seemingly hopeless task.

But Murphy and Roosevelt and Stassen don't yet understand the temper of the organized labor movement in this section. The WPA Defense Committee will of course take up the task of raising bail for those newly arrested, and is already laying the plans for the legal defense of the strikers.

The WPA Defense Committee was heartened by a resolution passed by the Minnesota State Federation of Labor convention Wednesday, calling upon all unions in the state to come to the aid of the Defense Committee and its fund.

## Twenty-five Released

The 25 men released yesterday on bond were Max Geldman, Ed Palmquist, Leslie Wachter, Arnold Mullen, George Palmquist, Victor Nicholas, Charles Grider, Oscar Shoenfeld, Walter Russell, Ralph Core, Glenn Smith,

## Events Indicate That Stalin Intends to Take Polish Ukraine

(Continued from Page 1)

front, and that is not indicated at the present moment. It is a prospect, something for the near or distant future.

## Stalin Seeks a Pretext

Far more likely is that, by agreement with Hitler or not, Stalin is planning to bring under his rule the Ukrainian and White Russian territories and populations now under Polish domination. The inspired reports in the Moscow press about "frontier incidents" and "minority uprisings" are unmistakably calculated to create a pretext for Stalin taking his share of the division of present-day Poland.

The "democratic" and social-democratic press is of course terribly indignant at the prospect of carving up "poor little Poland." They never managed to work up the same indignation when the arch-reactionary Polish militarists brutally seized the very same territories that are in question and established their brutal dominion over the national populations inhabiting them. Nor were they so outraged when Poland, last year, helped Hitler in the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia.

## Out of the Frying Pan Into the Fire

The working class, in any case, has no cause to shed tears over the prospect of the rotten ruling class of Poland losing control of their Ukrainian and White Russian subjects.

At the same time, however, the kind of "liberation" which is now the prospect of the former Polish minorities, is very much like being taken out of the frying pan and hurled into the fire. Life under Hitlerite rule or "protection" would be worse, if anything, than life under Polish rule for the Ukrainians or White Russians—to say nothing of the Jews who are suffering so horribly from the war.

Then is the choice to be the rule of the brutal and cynical Moscow bureaucracy? That seems, at the present writing, to be Stalin's sinister plan. The Bonaparte of the Kremlin appears to be planning to place his bureaucratic, militaristic yoke over the necks of the Ukrainian and White Russian peoples now in Poland. How much that would improve the lot of the latter, they already know. They know the situation and the sentiments of their fellow-nationals on the soil of the Soviet Union, who, in the Soviet republics of the Ukraine and White Russia, are so arrogantly terrorized by the Kremlin clique as to be reminded of the persecutions they suffered in the days of Czar Nicholas the Bloody. They know that their fellow-nationals in the Soviet Union aspire to liberation from that clique, for independence and separation which alone is the road to the revolutionary freedom and unity of the Ukrainian and White Russian masses now dispersed over three or four of Europe's eastern countries.

## For a Free, Independent Soviet Ukraine

Months ago, in an article in these pages, Leon Trotsky foresaw how acute the Ukrainian question was sure to become. The choices of the Ukrainian — and the White Russian — peoples are not confined to domination by the Polish militarists, by Hitler's fascists or by Stalin's G.P.U. There is another choice! A free, independent, united Soviet Ukraine—fortress of defense from the attacks of the enemy in Berlin, Warsaw or the Kremlin.

Stalin's seizure of the Polish Ukraine would be an attempt to crush the movement for a united Soviet Ukraine under his iron heel, with the aid, in all likelihood, of Hitler.

Here as everywhere else, the interests of the Stalinist oligarchy are in diametrical opposition to the interests of the workers and oppressed peoples of all countries.

## OCTOBER NEW INTERNATIONAL TO BE EXCEPTIONALLY GOOD

The management of *The New International* announces an unusually splendid October number, which will be out in a week.

The leading article is devoted to the world situation today. It is, "A Panoramic Survey of the Second World War," and concerns itself with the political, economic and social aspects which finally culminated in the outbreak of war in Europe. The Hitler-Stalin Pact, the role of American imperialism, prospects for early American participation in the war, and the attitude and policy of the labor and revolutionary movement are analyzed.

Trotsky on France  
A second feature, held over from the previous number, is

Floyd Hurley, Frank Johnson, Edward Alberts, George Tofino, Richard Connell, Myron Phillips, Ernest Stark, Arthur Selbert, Mark Patterson, Ralph Johnston, Alfred Christianson, Carl Pemble, Simon Baruch and David Gordon.

Bond of \$58,000 was posted to win their release. The original bail had been set at over a quarter of a million dollars, but the storm of protest from organized labor forced the court to reduce it to the still outrageous sum of \$58,000.

Other interesting features complete what will unquestionably be among the banner issues of *The New International*.

The management wishes to announce that increased orders must be placed in advance. In view of the critical situation of *The New International* at this time, agents and readers of the magazine are requested to give their assistance, by paying on bundle accounts at once and by sending in their subscriptions to:

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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.
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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.

## The Third Camp

Two camps are engaged in a wordy battle over the decisive question that the special session of Congress has been called to face. On one side, which seems to have gained the great majority of the Senators, stand those who are going to repeal the arms embargo legislation now on the books. On the other side, are the so-called "isolationists," headed by Senators Borah, Nye and their associates.

In his broadcasted speech opening up the campaign of his group, Senator Borah stated the question in this form: "Has the time come when the United States must take a part in this European conflict?"

That way of putting the issue is correct. Yet, so fast is the United States being driven into the Second World War by the Roosevelt Administration and its allies, that even this formulation of the question is already outdated.

In violation not only of the clearly indicated sentiments and interests of the American masses but even of the laws governing his office, President Roosevelt has already committed the country to participation in the war. His statement that the United States will defend Canada, which has already declared war against Germany, is precisely such a commitment.

The purpose of calling together the special session of Congress—to repeal the arms embargo—is a fairly open and fairly brazen attempt by Roosevelt and Co. to ally the United States with the slave-owning "democracies," that is, to advance America's present participation from the economic to the directly military. For Roosevelt and his war-making crew, the only question that remains to be solved is not "Should we enter the war?" but How and When to enter.

How completely the "isolationist" bloc in Congress has cracked up, will be seen when the special session actually convenes. But it is already clear that under the enormous pressure of a war-profit-hungry and united capitalist class, and the old hypocritical war-cry of a "united nation in face of the enemy," the bloc is nothing like it used to be. What is left of it is weakening, retreating, and putting up a rear-guard fight before they themselves surrender the struggle.

Which was to be foreseen, and is to be understood. Like the Congressional sponsors of the original Ludlow Bill for a popular referendum on war who became terror-stricken at the huge mass sentiment that was set in motion for it and who are now about as vocal as a corpse with the mumps, the "isolationists" fear to arouse the mighty giant of labor by a militant anti-war campaign. Even the dullest of them understands that a real fight against the imperialist war-mongers means a real fight against imperialist government.

That is why we never put an ounce of reliance upon the pacific protestations of I - hate - war-Roosevelt in the past, and we place no reliance on "isolationist" Borah today.

The isolationist bloc has kept completely silent on the Ludlow Amendment and, even where some advocate it in words, they have refused to call upon the people to fight with them for it. They fear to rouse the masses into action against war on the crucial issue: shall the people be given the right to decide for themselves whether we shall go to war. Their struggle for "neutrality" has been purely verbalistic and is thereby condemned to futility.

At bottom, the fight between these two camps is superficial, where it is not outright sham.

The fight against war and the war-mongers can be conducted only by the third camp—the camp which has not been given any publicity, and which both of the other two camps hope will remain silent and docile. The third camp is the camp of labor! The third camp is the camp of the toilers! It is the camp of the people who fight and die in the war.

The very fact that the majority of the American people, as shown by several tests, favors a referendum before Congress may declare war, shows that the instincts, the fears, the sentiments of the masses are healthy and sound.

They don't trust their legislators on the war question! They do not want to leave the decision of that life-or-death question in the hands of the capitalist politicians in Congress. They want to have the chance of deciding it themselves—for if the question of declaring another "war for democracy" is submitted to the people it would vote overwhelmingly against it. And rightly so!

Roosevelt and Co. know this. They also know what everyone else should realize:

The United States cannot be plunged into war unless the people are gagged. The United States cannot be kept in the war unless that gag is tightened to the point where the difference between Hitler's regime and that of the United States becomes microscopic.

## AND HOW!

Said Earl Browder, speaking at Madison Square Garden Monday night:

"These are very trying days."

## A Lynching Bee

(An Invitation to C. Y. Harrison)

We predicted some time ago, when the not unknown gentleman-parasite Charles Yale Harrison got a job with the New Deal and began to discover, in the columns of the New Leader, the identity of Trotskyism and Stalinism, that we would not have had long to wait before he appeared as a Home Guard recruiting sergeant for "democratic" cannon-fodder.

Sure enough, his latest column in the New Leader, social democratic organ of the War Department, comes out for the war with a bang, and for the speediest American entry into it. Not for Mr. Harrison, to be sure, for he has the most intransigent intention of fighting out every battle thousands of miles from the front, where his soggy but well-beloved hide cannot be reached by such grossly material items as shrapnel, gas or bayonet. But he is heartily in favor of YOU doing your bit for Democracy.

You don't agree with him?

Then you're an agent of Hitler, and in all probability a paid spy of Wilhelmstrasse. "In all essential respects their attitude toward the war is identical," he writes of the "Communist, Trotskyist, Nazi newspapers."

You have a doubt or two about the lofty democratic aims of the war-mongers? Mr. Harrison is ready to take care of that, too. Our brave bully-boy writes:

"I would suggest that Mr. Trotsky or Mr. Browder attempt to get up in the streets of Paris and tell French trade-union members that the struggle against the Hitler-Stalin pact is imperialist brigandage. They would be lynched on the spot—and with justification."

A perfect way to launch the war for democracy, in our opinion: lynch its opponents!

Now we don't know much about the streets of Paris, but we are willing to supply Mr. Harrison with a list of our coming New York street meetings against imperialist brigands' war. We ever so cordially invite Mr. Harrison to bring his first lynch mob to our meetings so that he can start his job right. We might also suggest that he bring along Abe Cahan and Algonquin Lee as his bodyguards.

"I shall be called a warmonger," concludes Mr. Harrison, in his most pathetic beer-bass. "The epithet does not frighten me in the least. I am an old soldier, ladies and gentlemen, and this is my war."

Warmonger? The name is too pretentious, we think.

Rat would be more appropriate.

Just plain rat.

"Against a bounding rise of prices which with the approach of war will assume an ever more unbridled character, one can fight only under the slogan of a sliding scale of wages. This means that collective agreements should assure an automatic rise of wages in relation to the increase of prices in consumer goods." (Program of the Fourth International.)

## Jail Is Better

In a recent editorial, we printed a table comparing the average weekly diet of Germans under Hitler's war-time restrictions with that of families on relief in New York City, where relief standards are highest in the country. The two diets were about the same. The relievers get between 30 and 32 ounces of meat per week, as against 25 ounces for war-blockaded Germany. But, according to *Time* of September 11, prisoners in New York City's jails get 51 ounces of meat a week. We leave the moral to you.

## Machinery for Dragooning U. S. People into the War Is All Ready

Knowing That The People Do Not Want War, That They Will Not Volunteer to Lay Down Their Lives for Boss Profits, The War Deal Government Has Readied Its Draft Machinery

By H. D. HERRICK

The machinery for drafting you into European trenches is all ready—right now.

The forms for draft registration cards are on file in every state capitol, ready to be rushed to the printer and run off in millions of copies on a moment's notice.

The draft administration is in existence right now, in skeleton form. At the top is the Joint Army and Navy Selective Service Committee. "Selective service" is the official name for the draft or conscription—words which are never used officially.

This committee is a six-man board consisting of military and naval officers. Its agent in each state is the adjutant general. Under each state adjutant general are four to sixteen Army men who have gone through special training for draft administration.

These men hold regional conferences every year, in New Orleans, San Francisco, Chicago and Washington. These conferences last two weeks. Here is the N. Y. Times report of one of them (October 12, 1938):

"Army officers rehearsed on paper today the national set-up of a civilian-operated selective service act, and estimated that it would cost between \$6,000,000 and \$10,000,000 to mobilize 300,000 men in the first month of a war." They expect to draft four million men in 12 months.

Just as an example, here is one of the questions they discuss: "Where are men on forest reserves to register?" No, you won't be overlooked.

In each town or section of a city, there will be a local draft board. The men who will sit on them have already been tentatively selected and are listed. According to the mobilization plan, they are to be "outstanding citizens."

THEY EXPECT US TO BE UNWILLING

Why this feverish preparation for prodding us to the trenches at the point of a bayonet? Don't

they think we'll WANT to fight the war they will declare?

Not on your life, for all their talk of a "just cause" or a "people's war." That's why Roosevelt and his war-birds foam at the mouth at the very idea of letting the people have the right to decide on going to war. They KNOW what to expect: the American masses will put on a uniform just as willingly as they would a prison suit.

The preparation of the draft is the government's way of confessing that IT WILL NOT BE OUR WAR.

Up to 1917 all of America's wars with other nations were fought by volunteers only. They tried that in 1917 too. Here was the result, as sorrowfully told in a book called "America's Part in the World War: A History of the Full Greatness of Our Country's Achievement"—a patrioteering flag-waver publication in 1919 with an introduction by Generalissimo Pershing:

"Enlistments were opened almost immediately. Every possible means to attract a recruit to the service was used. Women pleaded with noon-hour crowds at recruiting meetings, and the entire country was plastered with posters urging men to enlist. Volunteer recruiting was not a success in the United States. It was as flat a failure as it had been in England. We later profited by England's example and drafted men into the army, but it was not until we had experienced some of the same symptoms which had marked England's entry into the war and a few subsequent months thereafter."

And who were the "patriots" who volunteered? The authors continue:

"Far from satisfactory were the recruits obtained by volunteer enlistment. Many gave fictitious names or addresses when they enlisted. Others failed to report to the stations to which they had been assigned."

General Peyton C. March, war Chief of Staff, lamented:

## Canadian War Role Is Limited by Widespread Sentiment Against War

By CARL HICHIN

TORONTO, Ont.—Throughout this Dominion opposition to Canadian participation in the New World War has continued to widen sufficiently to make Premier King pursue a more circuitous route. But, as yet, it is not deepening sufficiently rapidly to prevent King finally lining up actively with Chamberlain, and at this moment it would appear that Canada will be officially committed to war when the speech from the Throne carries in a few days.

But even then, the extent of Canada's participation in actual military operations will be but a flea-bite compared with 1914-1918. There will be no conscription, nor any large expeditionary force. But, more important, the present wide unorganized opposition may yet prove capable of becoming a well organized basic opposition.

When the speech from the Throne was read some few days ago to the Ottawa House the impression was conveyed that Canada was definitely at war. It was but a feeler. Within a few hours Prime Minister King hastened to deny this first impression. More recently he has thrown the whole question over to the parliament, and been careful to sketch the limits of Canada's participation even though the upper House (the Senate) has unanimously voted for declaration of war against Germany.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATS SPLIT IN PARTICIPATION

During the week the Social Democratic CCF parliamentary caucus split 4 to 3 on the question of Canadian participation in the war. The minority was against participation. It included the CCF national leader J. S. Woodsworth. In the House later, Woodsworth explained he no longer spoke for the CCF group. One of his colleagues, M. J. Coldwell (highly Stalinized) would give the group's views later, he said.

Continuing, Woodsworth then said in part, "If we are not at war, it is proper that we should go into war without any declaration? (That is actually Canada's present position—C.H.) If we are capable still of keeping out of war, then I for one would hold up both hands to keep out of it."

Theoretically, Woodsworth said, Canada was an independent nation. Why then should Canada be made responsible for the result of British policy over which Canada had no control whatever?

Jeers interrupted from all sides of the House, but Woodsworth continued:

"The greatest contribution that Canada can make to Britain is to maintain friendly relations with the United States." The common people of Canada could gain nothing by slaughtering the common people of other countries.

MASSIVE OPPOSE WAR SERVICE

Later the new leader, Coldwell, said Canada's assistance to Britain should be purely economic and should not include conscription nor the sending abroad of an expeditionary force.

Coldwell reflected the western farmer's opposition to war service. He played to the most reactionary farm views, that war may mean increased wheat prices. Both he and Woodsworth, objectively tried to turn into safe channels the opposition of western farmers and workers.

Earlier a petition, signed by thousands of French Canadians had been tabled in the House. In part it read:

"We, the undersigned electors of Quebec Province, declare ourselves categorically opposed to any participation in a European war. . . . We refuse to sacrifice our most vital interests to the petty interests and exigencies of international high finance and the manufacturers of armaments. . . ."

Within a few hours a curb was placed on even the very selective recruiting that had been taking place. Recruiting in Ontario is now reported halted, although Air Force members have been and are being sent to Europe.

But of deeper immediate political significance is the following: A couple of days ago a fairly large group of the lower middle leadership of the ULFTA asked a prominent 4th Internationalist to unofficially express his views to them. The ULFTA, composed of Canadian Ukrainian workers and farm-

ers, is the largest mass organization controlled by the "Communist Party of Canada." The reception given the 4th Internationalist was exceedingly encouraging. Those who heard him were all "CP" members, at least until the Hitler-Stalin pact.

So far the Ottawa government has hesitated to strike at the organized opposition. The attorney general of Ontario, apparently alarmed at the "lack of loyalty abroad" is pleading for a crushing of the political labor movement. He has not yet received the federal authority. Even the boss dailies are driven to printing stories of housewives' opposition to rapidly increased food prices—butter is up 25 per cent; other table commodities about the same figure; sugar difficult to get.

Thousands are intent on dodging war service by marriage. Efforts at patriotic demonstrations, etc., are for the most part received coolly.

ANTI-SEMITISM GROWING RAPIDLY

There is one very dangerous development however—a rapid growth in anti-Semitism. In one local armory there is posted a sign to the effect that out of 2,000 recruits only 2 were Jews. An effort is being made to utilize such alleged facts to whip up a particularly vicious crusade against the Jews. This needs the immediate attention of labor.

But again on the more promising side: the Toronto Trades and Labor Council (highly Stalinized) has had to change its position slightly, due undoubtedly to rank and file sentiment. At first its heads declared full hog for British imperialism. At the last meeting the Council edged back and withheld all statements on policy "until the position of the government is made known."

Amongst all these trends, Canadian Fourth Internationalists continue to be active to the utmost now practicable. Conditions prevent a recital of those activities. But it can be said that in Canada, right now, passive opposition increases. As it does so the opportunity to change it into a more dynamic force most certainly is not lessened. Nor is that opportunity being ignored.

## Their Government

By James Burnham

You have probably never heard of Herman Brassert. His name never appears in headlines, nor is it ever listed in the reports of international conferences. Nevertheless, Herman Brassert is one of the most important men in the world, and millions upon millions of human beings are now beginning to feel the effect of his activities.

Herman Brassert is one of the greatest living engineers. His specialty is the design and technical organization of steel mills, and at this he has no equal.

The great economic crisis of the late '20's began in Great Britain several years before it hit the rest of the world. The British industrialists believed that they were handicapped by the outmoded technological character, in comparison with Germany and the United States, of much of the equipment of their heavy industries. They decided to remedy this by a program of what was then called "rationalization."

Brassert was called in as a chief consultant for the re-making of the steel plants. From then on he made frequent trips to England.

## Steel Gets a New Direction

After a short while, however, it became clear to Britain that the "rationalization" of the steel plants had actually to be made the preparation of the steel industry for war, and that the whole process had to be speeded up. Occasional visits by Brassert were not enough. The British government induced him to transfer residence to England, where five years ago, he settled his family on a beautiful estate which he bought in the English countryside.

The idea that Britain began re-armament only after Hitler had taken over Austria and was threatening Czechoslovakia is a myth. The fundamental preparations were far advanced long before Vienna fell.

Brassert did his work well. The British steel industry is re-located, reorganized and re-equipped. It is specifically and admirably adapted for turning out the maximum quantity of the most destructive implements so far devised by human ingenuity.

## A New Assignment

While Brassert was working in England, Hitler conquered and consolidated power in Germany.

The German industrialists were also faced with the problem of the reorganization of heavy industry, and from the beginning they were clear about the purpose of reorganization: for war. Through the Nazi Four Year Plan, they proposed to bring all existing plants and mills to the highest technical efficiency, and to add new works of a surpassing order. In particular, they wished to build the greatest steel plant in the world: the Hermann Goering Works.

There was one man whom they wanted for the job in steel: Herman Brassert. And they got him. In addition to his English estate, he rented a splendid apartment in Berlin; and every week he shuttled back and forth by airplane between the two nations.

The Hermann Goering Works arose in record time, the full flower of engineering art.

What a consolation it should be to the soldiers facing each other from the Maginot and Limes Lines! No favoritism in this war! They can each know that the tanks which crush them, the planes that hurl destruction on them, the shells which tear their guts apart, are on both sides alike the very finest products of the very highest skill. And all of them are turned out with the trademark of the one supreme artist.

But, you ask, did not the two governments and the two sets of industrialists object to Brassert's double duties? If you ask this question, you have still a lot to learn. Business is business; and patriotism is also business. During this same period it was Britain which supplied the greater part of the coal and ore which built and extended and fed Krupp and Stinnes and the Hermann Goering Works. And, after all, should not a British soldier be far happier to be torn to pieces by steel forged out of exclusively Empire products?

It was this same Brassert, by the way, who was first offered the job (which he finally refused) of building Magnetogorsk. And it was he who was chief consultant in building the great steel plant ordered by Kemal Ataturk—the completion of which task has given Turkey a new weight among the neutrals.

## How to Get on in the World

So far, all was well with Brassert. But, when war was declared you would think that he would have found himself in something of a jam, and would have been bound to end in either a British or a German concentration camp. But such thoughts, too, forget that business is business.

Brassert was born in Germany, but long ago he became a citizen of the good, old U.S.A. And you may be sure that his years of European residence did not lead him to give up his U.S. citizenship. The "main office" of his firm continued to be located patriotically in Chicago.

So, four days after the war began, Brassert and his family stepped off the Queen Mary to the un-bombed and unbombable docks of New York City.

There is work still to be done! The steel industry of this country is already, from a technical standpoint, primed for the war. But there are last minute changes and revisions and improvements to be tended to, so that we may all be confident that the death which is "Made in America" will be more sure and certain and terrible than any alien death.

H. N. Brailsford, British Laborite, writes in the New Republic, September 13, that the Stalin-Hitler pact "was a violation of public morality for which nothing in the record of the Soviet Union has prepared us." Where's he been all these years?

Dr. Eaton M. Mackay of Los Angeles says the man who puts away a big meal, loosens his belt and sighs with satisfaction, wasn't feeding his stomach at all but a section of his brain the size of a fingernail. He said that the appetite is controlled by a brain segment weighing about one-eighth of an ounce. Relief clients will note with interest the theory that they're not hungry—they just think they are.