

Trotsky Sees Closer Hitler-Stalin Ties

1. On the thirteenth of September there were communications from Paris announcing that all Soviet ships sailing to England were given orders from Moscow to return to Soviet harbors. What does it mean? Factual severance of commercial relations with England? Moscow could apply this measure only upon Berlin's demand. What could this demand be based upon? Evidently upon secret articles in the German-Soviet pact. We cannot find any other explanation. Perhaps the international friends of Stalin and Hitler (friends of our friends are our friends) can furnish us another one?

2. On the thirteenth of September the official Soviet press agency, TASS, openly and bluntly accused Poland of violating the Soviet border with her military planes. Even the friends of Stalin and Hitler could scarcely maintain that Poland prepares to conquer the USSR at this time. The matter evidently concerns those cases when Polish planes in order to save themselves from the Germans approach the Soviet border. What interest does the Kremlin have in raising an international uproar about these incidents? An attempt to prove its loyalty to Hitler? Undoubtedly. But possibly something more. It is possible that the Kremlin, at Hitler's request, has begun to seek and publish pretexts for a closer and more open cooperation with Hitler.

One thing is clear beforehand: if the Kremlin, developing the present policy, shows itself driven into hostile actions against Poland, the international friends of the Kremlin (and by the same fact the enemies of the peoples of the USSR) would discover in it Stalin's new service to peace and democracy.

Leon TROTSKY
Coyoacan, D.F., Sept. 14, 1939

P.S. These lines were already written when the evening papers announced that Pravda of September 14th accuses Poland of oppressing the Ukrainians, White Russians, and Jews. The accusations by themselves are true. But isn't it astounding that Pravda remembered them precisely now when Poland is drenched with blood under the blows of the German army! To what end are the accusations of Pravda striving? Toward two ends at the same time: 1) to justify Hitler's attack on Poland; and 2) to prepare a more active cooperation of the Kremlin on Hitler's side.

L.T.

Behind the Lines

By GEORGE STERN

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Late last Friday night the Berlin radio issued the first announcement of the news that Russia and Japan had settled on a "truce" to terminate eight years of undeclared warfare on the Siberian and Mongolian frontiers. This was confirmed on Saturday in Moscow and early Sunday morning Soviet troops crossed the Polish border and marched to meet the oncoming hordes at some new, still unsettled boundary in eastern Poland. Simultaneously the Japanese High Command announced a new major offensive in West China, the first in nearly a year, and began moving fresh troops south from the Soviet and Mongolian borders for a new attempt to crush Chinese resistance.

The pattern of events sketches in shadows behind the Stalin-Hitler pact is thus coming swiftly now to light. Many profess to see the forthcoming creation of a Rome-Berlin-Moscow-Tokyo axis. But Stalin has only one real axis and that is the preservation of himself and his clique of usurpers who hold the Russian masses in bondage. To those who understand this he is not nor ever has been an "enigma"—a thing of mystery whose secret no man can discover.

Stalin is not moving into Poland to "liberate" the Ukrainians and White Russians oppressed by Polish landlords. His claim to such a purpose is the vilest hypocrisy matched only by those of his pact partner, Hitler. Nor is he moving because of any unquenchable urge to expand the frontiers of Russia. He has had almost more than even he could handle in securing his primacy within the broad boundaries he already rules. No, Stalin is taking the Ukraine because he

does not dare let Hitler have it, and does not dare let it remain "independent" unless he, and not Hitler, dominates it with his army, his secret police, his whole bloody apparatus of repression.

It was on this understanding that he left Poland to Hitler's tender mercies. Because Hitler was able to move with such blinding speed, Stalin was drawn in even more swiftly than he expected to be. That is why his deal with Japan is still a tentative one and presumably that is also why he had to move with such caution that he did not even inform Earl Browder of his intentions. For Browder has been trying to make the Stalin-Hitler deal palatable to the American imperialists by insisting, with much verbal perspiration, that it left Japan hopelessly isolated. But now Stalin has flashed the green light to Japan in China, just as he touched off the go-ahead signal for Hitler in Poland. What his peace-loving and peace protecting efforts are going to mean to Rumania, Latvia, Estonia, and Finland, even Browder won't dare guess now!

The speedy conquest of Poland and its partition by Germany and Russia naturally places the whole of southeastern Europe at the mercy of the Berlin-Moscow axis. Rumania must now either yield or be crushed and similarly partitioned. Bulgaria, like a yapping little jackal, is waiting to get back the territory of Dobruja, given to Rumania after the last war, and will readily accede to all that Hitler demands. Turkey is immobilized, and its foreign minister has been summoned to Moscow to sign a new pact that takes into full account the new conditions. Mussolini is still bargaining with Britain and France and Yugoslavia waits to learn its fate from his lips.

JUDAS GOAT

"The unemployed on this Labor Day reaffirm our faith in democracy and our will to peace. We have not much to offer in material resources at this critical hour in history. We have and do offer our strength and courage and devotion to our nation."

—David Lasser, president of the Workers Alliance, in a Labor Day manifesto. (Daily Worker, Sept. 5, 1939)

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REPUBLICANS, DEMOCRATS UNITE BEHIND F.D.R. FOR WAR SESSION

Russia Marches Into Poland

Balkans Now at Hitler Mercy--Japanese In New China Offensive

From all indications the first secret clause in the Stalin-Hitler pact provided for handing Poland over to the Nazi wolves with a slice reserved for Russian occupation.

This is now attested to by the fact of the Soviet invasion of Poland that began without warning at dawn on Sunday, Sept. 17.

A few hours earlier Stalin had paved the way for his intervention in Poland by signing a "truce" with Japan. This truce is still limited and tentative, but as soon as Stalin's soldiers started marching, the Japanese understood they were free to crush China if they can, without further hindrance from Russia. They promptly announced the opening of a new offensive west of Hankow, the first in nearly 12 months. Renewal of Japanese pressure on British, French, and American holdings in the Orient will be an inevitable corollary.

WALL STREET ENGINEERS PRICE RISE

Shachtman and Paine Pledge Fight on War Profiteering

NEW YORK CITY, Sept. 18—The steep rise in the prices of household commodities was denounced today by Max Shachtman and George Lyman Paine, candidates of the Socialist Workers Party in the New York Councilmanic election, as deliberately engineered by the Wall Street war-mongers.

Since the second World War broke out in Europe, prices of all staple commodities such as sugar, flour, and other household goods has shot up to new heights.

Artificial Rise

"This is an artificial jacking-up of prices," declared the Socialist Workers Party candidates in an official statement released to the press today. "Wall Street is attempting to cash in at the very opening of war. This is preliminary profiteering, a token of Wall Street's plans to reap stupendous profits from the blood-soaked battlefields of the new World War.

"The stocks of leading steel, chemical, and other war industries took a tremendous leap forward as the moneyed interests of the United States lined up thirstily for their share of the slaughter. They recall the

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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.

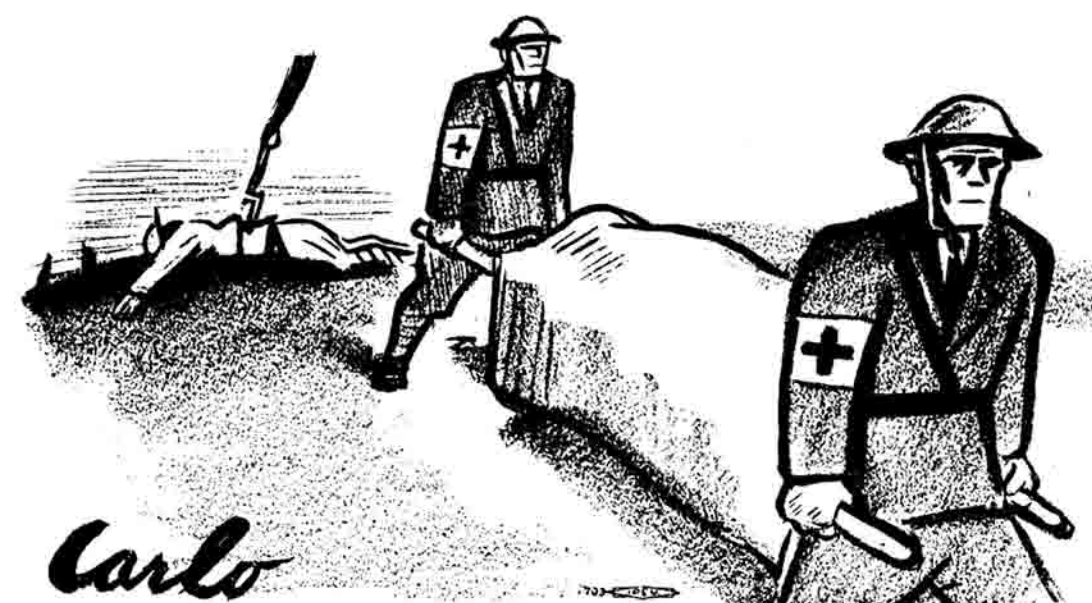
Drop in at headquarters, 116 University Place, N.Y.C., or at the headquarters of the nearest branch to place your name on a petition. If you have friends who are registered voters too and who will sign the petition, bring them with you or give us their names and we will have a canvasser call upon them.

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.

Roosevelt's "Cash and Carry Policy"



British Seamen Help U.S. Brothers Strike Ships In War Bonus Fight

Give Splendid Demonstration of International Solidarity as They Back American Fellow-Workers in Wage Demands

NEW YORK—The struggle of East Coast seamen to obtain extra compensation for shipping in war zones received a tremendous boost over the week end when 46 British sailors joined in the strike that has already tied up six ships.

This display of international solidarity was cheered by 200 American seamen who gathered around.

The British sailors had been hired by the Standard Oil Co. of New Jersey to work on two oil tankers carrying oil to British ports. They had arrived Saturday on the Aquitania.

Make Demands

When company busses arrived to take the men on board the ships a warm discussion on war compensation developed. Out of the 66 present, 46 decided not to sail. They are members of National Union of Seamen of the United Kingdom. They had been hired for \$37.50 a month.

Following conferences with officials of the National Maritime Union, the British seamen decided to ask for \$85 a month, a 50 per cent bonus and a 5,000 war risk insurance policy, which is more in line with American seamen demands.

This action was taken in face of deportation and other threats hurled at them by company and federal officials.

Hint Mutiny Charge

Meanwhile, a government move to terrorize the striking American seamen was announced with the calling of 12 strikers before the supervising inspector of the Bureau of Marine Inspection and Navigation. Charges of

(Continued on Page 4)

'Leaders' Fail to Line Up Indian Masses for the War

Despite the heavy smoke screen of propaganda laid down by the British, the intense hostility of the Indian people to the war has been clearly revealed.

Mahatma Gandhi, faithful watchdog of British rule over the 375,000,000 people of India, has become the most ardent supporter of India's participation in the war. Along with him has gone the entire reactionary leadership of the Indian National Congress, including the so-called "socialist" Pandit Nehru.

Roy Joins War-Mongers

While it is still impossible to give concrete information about the reactions of the left-wing parties to Britain's war designs, nevertheless, it has already been revealed that the notori-

IRISH SAILORS TIE UP SHIPS

Irish sailors tied up three ships in an effort to obtain war compensation and insurance, according to the Associated Press Sept. 18.

Employers had changed the flags of the ships from English to Irish because under the Irish registry, the sailors would not be eligible for war risk insurance.

War Deal Cracks Down on All Critics

F.D.R. Has Already Committed Nation to War Camp of Allies

Pushing ahead systematically in his drive to plunge the United States into the imperialist war now raging in Europe, President Roosevelt called together the leaders of the Democratic and Republican parties for a meeting on the eve of the special session of Congress which he has called for the purpose of repealing the standing arms embargo legislation.

Symbolic of the fact that the New Deal has become the War Deal, and that all pretense of struggle against the Economic Royalists and their spokesmen has been abandoned in the interests of a united front for a Wall Street War, was the invitation extended by Roosevelt to Alfred M. Landon, banner-bearer of the Republican Party in the last presidential election and agent of the big capitalist forces in this country, and Colonel Frank Knox, big-shot Republican boss in the Middle West and editor of the Chicago Daily News.

No Discussion

Roosevelt has made no secret of his desire to rush through Congress, with the minimum of discussion, the repeal of any legislation that might be interpreted as an obstacle in the way of a speedy entry into the war, and to adopt in its place a revised "neutrality" bill which will make possible the open participation of the United States on the side of one of the imperialist gangs in the war—the so-called "democratic" Allies.

Commits Nation

Meanwhile, even before Congress opens its session, Roosevelt continues to take steps, on his own hook, to commit the United States more and more deeply on the side of one of the belligerents. Although the U.S. is ostensible a neutral, Roosevelt has already pledged himself to the armed struggle against Germany in the event that the latter attacks Canada, although the two countries are formally at war.

In addition, on the day the special White House Conference of Republican and Democratic Party bosses was announced by the President, he sent a message to President Moscicki of Poland condemning the German bombings of that country, again in clear violation of a real position of neutrality. As is known, Roosevelt never opened his lips in condemnation of bombings, just as horrible and indefensible, that have been practised in the past by the imperial governments of France and England against the helpless natives of the colonial countries under their domination. The message to Moscicki is merely part of Roosevelt's carefully stage-managed preparations of the minds of the

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In the Labor Unions

By B. J. WIDICK

Another indication of the depth of the break between John L. Lewis, CIO chairman, and President Roosevelt over both domestic and foreign policy was furnished last week at the United Rubber Workers of America convention.

It was revealed in the speech of Eli P. Oliver, executive vice-president of Labor's Non-Partisan League, and Lewis henchman, on the 1940 elections.

Oliver spoke of the need for a "progressive" president but very pointedly did not mention Roosevelt's name, although just before he talked the convention had endorsed Roosevelt for a third term!

This incident exposed completely the utter stupidity of Lewis' "realistic" politics. Lewis is spent so much time placing the CIO behind Roosevelt in the last six years that Lewis is now unable to shift the position of the CIO easily. (Even Phillip Murray and Sidney Hillman didn't like his labor day speech.)

Besides, the U.R.W.A. convention endorsed Roosevelt mainly because of a rabble-rousing speech by Michael Quill, Stalinist president of the Transport Workers Union, a guest speaker at the sessions.

The chief opponent within the CIO of a break with the Roosevelt administration will be the Stalinists. Lewis' allies of yesterday become his opponents of today. And Lewis is really going to pay for the way he allowed the Stalinists to run wild within the CIO, disrupting union after union, capturing control of key unions, etc.

The expected removal of Elmer Andrews as Wage and Hours Administrator to be replaced by an army officer is another blow at the CIO by Roosevelt. It means no enforcement of the wages and hours provisions.

John L. Lewis understands too well that the New Deal has become the War Deal. That is one reason why he is paying the way for a public break with Roosevelt at the coming CIO national convention.

The famous Labor Day address of Lewis showed that he understood the strategy of Roosevelt's war deal. Yet Lewis is caught in a terrible dilemma for a labor bureaucrat from which there is no escape, except turning sharply to the left, and this is most improbable.

After spending 30 years as a labor bureaucrat, after supporting the first world war to make the world safe for democracy, after living the luxurious life of a Washington gentleman, and after preaching the glories of American "democracy" to his followers, Lewis can hardly be expected suddenly to become a Eugene V. Debs.

The powerful pressure of the CIO rank and file which wants no part of a "foreign war," and the dangers to Lewis' own position in war time caused the Labor Day speech against "meddling in Europe."

But what does Lewis propose? A break with Roosevelt? Fine. But where will the CIO go?

Already Lewis has sent out a "feeler" to the effect that he was going to support Senator Wheeler for president in 1940. A deal with the Republicans?

What will that solve? How will war be stopped by that maneuver? Utterly futile!

It is up to the ranks of the CIO to force Lewis to quit playing Hamlet. The coming convention can do a tremendous job towards slowing down the march to war by demanding a popular referendum on war, and by announcing its determination to run a labor candidate for president in 1940.

Lewis is incapable of solving even his own dilemmas.

NIGHT in HARLEM

Dancing
Entertainment
Refreshments

Sat., Oct. 7, 9 p.m.

at the
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Tickets: 50c

On Sale At:
S.W.P., 116 University Pl.

Asplices:
National Negro Department,
Socialist Workers Party

FARMER LABOR PARTY SILENT ON WAR THREAT

Old-Style Minnesota F.L.P. Signs Its Own Obituary

MINNEAPOLIS—The Socialist Workers Party has maintained since last November's election that the Farmer-Labor movement in Minnesota, in its old form, could never be revived. Between the Stalinists and the right-wingers the old Farmer-Labor movement was hopelessly wrecked.

The Minneapolis municipal election of 1939 could in no sense be termed a contest between the F.L.P. and the Republicans. Rather it was a struggle between the trade unions acting concertedly as a labor party, and a coalition of Republicans and Democrats.

Two Timid References
Striking proof of our obituary on the Farmer-Labor movement is provided by the September 13 Minnesota Leader (fittingly enough it is called the "August Issue").

The ONLY reference to the war is contained in two brief editorials which are way to the right of editorials that can be read in most of the boss papers in the Middle West.

The first editorial merely suggests to its readers that they "Look before they leap to conclusions" when reading their papers. Becoming even more militant and subversive, the paragraph points out that "American taxpayers are still paying a million dollars a day for the last European war."

The second editorial, another one-paragraph filler, points out that the wheat traders have made 20c a bushel and quotes President Roosevelt approvingly in his righteous and wholly

JUST DOING THEIR BIT

WASHINGTON, D.C.—Impatient with the slow progress the militarists are making in hog-tying the American labor movement to the war machine, the Stalinist leadership of the Federation of Architects, Engineers, Chemists and Technicians, got a bright idea.

President Lewis Alan Berne and other union leaders held a conference with Navy department officials on personnel problems.

"The maximum efficiency of the Navy's emergency program can be reached only if workers operate under progressive personnel policies," Berne explained.

meaningless statement that "No American has the moral right to profiteer at the expense of his fellow citizens."

And that is what the Minnesota Farmer-Labor movement has to tell the people about the second World War!

1940 Deal
The leading story on the front page tells us "What a Republican Victory in 1940 Would Mean Is Now Clear."

The recent relief bill—need I tell you—was the result of a Tory victory in Congress. President Roosevelt, Heaven forbid, was no place around. Indeed, the session of Congress just ended was the result of a "Tory Coalition" staging a revolt against Roosevelt and the New Deal.

Just that crudely the tattered bankrupts of the old Farmer-Labor machine are making their deal with the Democrats for the 1940 election.

Workers and farmers can hope for no progressive leadership from the Minnesota Leader and the spineless opportunists it represents. The ONLY party is the Socialist Workers Party. That fights against the boss war and you can't fight the war without fighting the Number One War-Monger, the hypocrite in the White House.

Chinese Fourth Internationalists Mourn Loss of Comrade Lo Han, Loyal Soldier of the Revolution

By M. Y. WANG

SHANGHAI, Aug. 17—The Communist League of China, Chinese Section of the Fourth International, is mourning the loss of one of its best and most devoted comrades, a valiant fighter for China's liberation, a loyal soldier of the proletarian revolution—comrade Lo Han—word of whose untimely death has just reached Shanghai.

Comrade Lo met his death in Chungking, the provisional capital, during a Japanese air raid on June 4.

Our deceased comrade was one of the forerunners of the Chinese Communist Party and one of its first members. A proletarian revolutionist to the core, he was also one of the earliest participants in the Bolshevik-Leninist movement which grew into the Chinese Section of the Fourth International. He was in his prime—45 years old—when Japan's air raiders dropped the bomb which mangled his body to a pulp.

Of Peasant Family
A native of Hunan province, comrade Lo was born into a peasant family. His political activity dates back to the years immediately after the first World War, when together with many other poor but ambitious Chinese youths he managed to travel to France.

In France, where he spent three years, comrade Lo studied engineering. The stirring events of the post-war years drew him into politics. At first he was an Anarchist, but it was not long before he gravitated toward the Marxist movement. He founded the Society for the Study of Marxism, together with Chou En-lai, Li Li-san and Tsai Hu-sen, now leaders of the

Stalinist party. This society later became the European branch of the Chinese Communist Party.

Sent to Moscow
Upon his return to China, comrade Lo was sent by the Communist party to work in the Kuomintang army in Canton and was head of one of the political departments. After Chiang Kai-shek's coup d'état of March 20, 1926, he was expelled from Canton and the Party sent him to Moscow to study the lessons of the Russian Revolution. In Moscow he enrolled as a student in the Far Eastern University.

At that time the internal struggle in the Communist party of the Soviet Union was reaching its climax. On the basis of his experiences in China, comrade Lo quickly discovered that the Left Opposition was the repository of revolutionary tradition and action. He joined the Opposition ranks and conducted propaganda among the Chinese Communists in Moscow. The writer of this article was one of the many Chinese comrades who were influenced by him.

Heartily disliked by the Stalinist bureaucrats, comrade Lo was sent back to China in 1927. He carried on underground work in Peking for one year and was then arrested by order of General Yen Hsi-shan, the Shansi warlord who then ruled the northern capital. For two years he was confined in the jail of the City Garrison. Torture and general mistreatment, in efforts to force him to recant his revolutionary views, were the lot of comrade Lo. But he never faltered. Finally he was "bought out of jail" by a personal friend, a professor at the

Peking Normal University, who paid comrade Lo's jailers 60 dollars for his release. This was made possible by the chaos which had descended on Peking. General Yen Hsi-shan had fled from the city with his troops, and Marshal Chang Hsueh-liang had not yet taken over.

When released, comrade Lo departed for Shanghai. That was in 1930. The movement of the Chinese Left Opposition was just beginning to take definite form. Four separate groupings were preparing to unite in a single organization. Comrade Lo took an active part in the unification movement although he was in poor health after his prison experiences.

On May 1, 1930 the unified organization of the Left Opposition was born and Lo Han was elected a member of its first Central Committee. In the ensuing years, the committee was several times wrecked by police arrests and comrade Lo had many narrow escapes from a fresh prison term. To help maintain the organization and his own livelihood, he accepted a job in a porcelain factory as an engineer. By Chinese standards this brought him a high salary, and comrade Lo used most of it to finance the revolutionary movement and to assist comrades less fortunately situated.

When the Sino-Japanese war broke out in August, 1937 all the Stalinists and many Trotskyists held in the prisons of the Kuomintang were released. One member of the Communist League—the writer of these lines—was, however, still detained in a secret prison in Nanking. Comrade Lo went to Nanking and endeavored to secure my release. He approached General Yeh Chien-ying of the 8th Route (former Red) Army, who was his personal friend for many years. General Yeh at that time took a somewhat liberal attitude toward the Trotskyists, and although he failed to set me free (I secured my freedom some time later) he proposed to comrade Lo that he should take the initiative in bringing about a united front between the Communist party and the Communist League of China.

On his own responsibility comrade Lo accepted the proposal and travelled to Sian to negotiate with Mao Tse-tung. This naive move naturally brought no good result. Mao refused to discuss a united front. The Communist Party had only recently capitulated to Chiang Kai-shek and Mao demanded that the Trotskyists capitulate to the Communist party. Disillusioned, comrade Lo returned to Shanghai where he was severely censured for engaging in political negotiations without the authority of the League.

In the spring of 1938, comrade Lo was in Hankow. There General Yeh Ting, newly-appointed commander of the New Fourth Army, a C.P.-controlled guerrilla force, invited him to conduct political work in the army ranks. If not for the violent opposition of Chou En-lai, comrade Lo would have taken on this work.

On Hunan Front

Since last summer, he was with the Kuomintang army on the Hunan front, working as an engineer, constructing military fortifications. He proceeded to Chungking on army business only a few days prior to the June 4 air raid in which he lost his life.

About a year ago, the Hsin Hwa Jih Pao, Stalinist organ in Hankow, launched a violent attack on our comrades Chen Tu-hsiu and Lo Han. They accused comrade Lo of being a spy for the Japanese, from whom they said he received a monthly payment of \$300. By his work in the army, by his entire life, comrade Lo disproved the shameful slanders of the Stalinists.

By the death of comrade Lo, the Chinese proletariat has lost a valiant fellow-fighter, a stainless revolutionary warrior. His untimely death has made a gap in our ranks which it will be hard to fill. In the hard battles ahead we shall remember him. His dauntless spirit will march with us to the great revolutionary victory.

**At Your Service
POSTER SHOP
THE APPEAL**

APPEAL ARMY

The thriving Lynn, Mass. local of the S.W.P. proceeding quietly, but efficiently and energetically with various activities, made another sharp advance in the circulation of the Socialist Appeal. Lynn last week increased its regular bundle quota from 50 to 100 copies and thus went several times over its quota of an increase of 20 in the War Referendum Campaign.

Rochester, New York, likewise more than exceeded its quota of 15 by increasing its regular bundle order to 50 copies, and besides has on several occasions ordered extra quantities for special sales.

St. Paul, Minnesota, which has done splendid work in obtaining new subscribers, has also made another increase in its bundle order from 75 to 100 copies, representing a total increase of 50 per issue. The St. Paul comrades are not sure that the second increase will be permanent, but can be depended upon to make every effort to do so.

NEW MEMBERS MEAN MORE APPEAL SALES
In Newcastle, Pa., additions to our movement have resulted in a spurt in Socialist Appeal sales.

The small, but promising, San Diego, Cal. Branch has increased its bundle once again, this time from 8 to 12 copies regularly.

Reading, Pa., reflecting increased activity in that territory, has increased its regular bundle order from 5 to 10 and now to 20 copies per issue; and Allentown, Pa. by another 5 and now receives a bundle of 25 each issue.

SMALL BRANCHES BEST ON NEW SUBSCRIPTIONS

In the field of subscriptions Los Angeles sent in 5 during the past week, New York, 6 new subscriptions, but the small units at Washington, D.C. and Baltimore, Md. did the best by mailing in four new subscriptions each.

Several cities sent in one or two additional subscriptions for a total of 34 new subscribers in the past week. New York City likewise obtained five renewals, and the total number of renewals in the past week was 18.

To date, since the inception of the War Referendum campaign, a total of 189 new subscriptions and 55 renewals have been turned in. The figures to date are as follows:

Branch	New	Renewal
Los Angeles	12	1
San Francisco	4	1
New Haven	2	2
Wash., D.C.	7	3
Chicago	12	1
Kansas	4	—
Detroit	4	5
St. Paul	16	2
Baltimore	7	—
St. Louis	5	1
E. St. Louis	1	—
Boston	4	3
Minneapolis	18	7
Newark	11	—
Fresno	2	—
Toledo	5	—
Cleveland	2	1
New York City	43	18
Akron	6	—
San Diego	1	—
New Castle	1	1
Lynn	1	—
Texas	1	1
Philadelphia	3	4
Evansville	1	—
Calais	5	—
Youngstown	1	—
Pittsburgh	6	—
Hartford	—	1
Worcester	—	1
Miscellaneous	4	3

Several cities have responded well in the distribution and sale of the tri-weekly Socialist Appeal, but the financial problem of our Press has been accentuated by the increased frequency of issue. Several locals are considerably in arrears with their bundle bills, and this is public notice that these locals will either have their bundles cut off or sent to them C.O.D., unless payments are forthcoming in two or three days. These locals are being advised by private correspondence.

TROTSKY ON THE NEGRO QUESTION

In the Socialist Appeal of September 15, we published an article by J. R. Johnson on the role of Negro soldiers in the armies of the allied "democracies". As a continuation of that article, we publish below a letter written by Leon Trotsky to Claude McKay, the famous Negro poet who represented the revolutionary Negroes at the World Congress of the Communist International (1922). McKay had requested comrade Trotsky to answer a few questions regarding the struggle for emancipation of the Negro race. Comrade Trotsky's reply appeared in the International Press Correspondence, official organ of the Communist International, March 13, 1923.

Dear comrade McKay:

1. What are the practical steps to be taken to prevent France from employing black troops on the European continent?—this is your first question.

The blacks themselves must offer resistance against being so employed. Their eyes must be opened so that they realize that when they help French imperialism to subjugate Europe, they are helping to subjugate themselves, in that they are supporting the domination of French capital in the African and other colonies.

The Time for Action

The working class of Europe and particularly of France and Germany, must realize that their own most vital interests are involved in this work of enlightening the colored race. The day of general resolutions on the right of self-determination of the colonial peoples, on the equality of all human beings regardless of color is over. The time has come for direct and practical action. Every ten Negroes who gather around the flag of revolution,—and unite to form a group for practical work among the Negroes, are worth a hundred times more than dozens of the resolutions establishing principles, so generously passed by the Second International. A Communist Party confining itself to mere platonic resolutions in this matter, without exerting its utmost energies towards winning the largest possible number of enlightened Negroes for its ideas, within the shortest possible time, would not be worthy of the name of Communist Party.

2. There is no doubt whatever that the use of colored troops for imperialist war, and at the present time for the occupation of German territory, is a well thought out and carefully executed attempt of Euro-

pean capital, especially British and French capital, to raise armed forces outside of Europe so that capitalism may have mobilized, armed and disciplined African and Asiatic troops at its disposal, against the revolutionary masses of Europe. In this way the question of the use of colonial reserves for imperialist armies is closely related to the question of European revolution, that is, to the fate of the European working class.

Educating the Cadres

3. There is no doubt whatever that the employment of the backward colonial masses for economically and culturally the world conflicts of imperialism, and still more in the class conflicts of Europe, is an exceedingly risky experiment, from the standpoint of the bourgeoisie itself. The Negroes, and indeed the natives of all the colonies, retain their conservatism and mental rigidity only in so far as they continue to live under their accustomed economic conditions. But when the hand of capital, or even sooner, the hand of militarism, tears them mechanically from their accustomed environment, and forces them to stake their lives for the sake of new and complicated questions and conflicts (conflicts between the bourgeoisie, conflicts between the classes of one and the same nation), then their spiritual conservatism gives way abruptly, and revolutionary ideas find rapid access to a consciousness thrown off its balance.

4. Therefore, it is of the utmost importance, today, immediately, to have a number of enlightened, young self-sacrificing

Negroes, however small their number, filled with enthusiasm for the raising of the material and moral level of the great mass of Negroes, and at the same time mentally capable of grasping the identity of interests and the destiny of the Negro masses with those of the masses of the whole world, and in the first place with the destiny of the European working class.

The education of black propagandists is an exceedingly urgent and important revolutionary task at the present juncture.

Black and White Solidarity

5. In North America the matter is further complicated by the abominable obtuseness and caste presumption of the privileged upper strata of the working class itself, who refuse to recognize fellow-workers and fighting comrades in the Negroes. Gompers' policy is founded on the exploitation of such despicable prejudices, and is at the present time the most effective guarantee for the successful subjugation of white and colored workers alike. The

fight against this policy must be taken up from various sides, and on various lines. One of the most important branches of this conflict consists in enlightening the proletarian consciousness by awakening the feeling of human dignity, and of revolutionary protest, amongst the black slaves of American capital. As stated above, this work can only be carried out by self-sacrificing and politically educated revolutionary Negroes.

Needless to say, the work is not to be carried on in a spirit of Negro chauvinism, which would then merely form a counterpart of white chauvinism,—but in a spirit of solidarity of all exploited without consideration of color.

What forms of organization are most suitable for the movement among the American Negroes, it is difficult for me to say, as I am insufficiently informed regarding the concrete conditions and possibilities. But the forms of organization will be found as soon as there is sufficient will to action.

With Communist greetings,
L. Trotsky

'LEADERS' FAIL TO LINE UP INDIAN MASSES FOR THE WAR

(Continued from Page 1)

before the British authorities. (1) What were the war aims of the British government? (2) What did the British intend to do about granting India its freedom once the war had been concluded? Gandhi, in a speech has admitted that he stood alone in opposing this resolution. He wanted to give unconditional support to the British and ask for nothing.

Seek Bargain

There is no doubt as to the aims of these nationalist leaders. They are in a position to drive a bargain which will benefit the small native, Indian capitalist class whom they represent. This is what they are seeking when they place their demands before the British.

But at the same time these men must bend every effort to appease the angry discontent of the Indian workers and peasants whose last desire is to fight for their oppressors, the British. This resolution is a direct reflection of the opposition and hostility to the war on the part of India's 375,000,000 colonial slaves. And the last word has by no means been said.

British Fear Revolt

Opposition to Britain's imperialist war will take on increasingly bitter forms before long. Imposition of the Indian Federation scheme has already been prevented, despite its approval by the British Parliament and the native princes of India. The British fear more than ever a mass revolt on the part of the Indian people. We shall shortly see whether or not they intend to reveal their war aims. The war is two weeks old and already they have been placed on the spot by the people of their Empire.

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THE NEGRO QUESTION

By J. R. JOHNSON

The Negro and the War

VI

Nevertheless, if even we are agreed on the necessity of uniting the Negro masses against the war many American Negroes will say: "I agree with the Socialist Workers Party that the 15,000,000 Negroes in America have as their natural allies the 150,000,000 Negroes in the world and the millions of Indians, Burmese, Ceylonese, etc. If we all join together, that would be an immense force acting on a world scale. It is true also that the imperialists are so hard pressed for men and forces that they are arming and training these millions of colonials. But nevertheless we remain only 15,000,000 out of a population of some 130,000,000 people. The Africans in Africa, the Indians, in India will be concerned with their own struggles. We wish them well. But how can we here struggle against the vast numbers and the great power that are opposed to us?"

It is a very good question, and the answer to it brings us to the very heart of the matter. We shall have to examine this very carefully. Whenever a problem like that faces us we should examine it in all its aspects, then examine similar situations in foreign countries, look back into our own history, see where the circumstances are alike and where they differ, and then attempt a conclusion.

A Lesson from History

The best example that we can start with is what happened in America some 75 years ago, when the Negroes gained their freedom. If all the American whites were agreed upon the fact that the Negroes should continue to be slaves, then the 4,000,000 Negroes of that time and their descendants would have continued to be slaves until they died, for they would never have been able to free themselves against the enormous odds that were arrayed against them. But all the whites were not united. There was a great division between the whites themselves, between the merchants, the industrialists, and the bankers of the North on the one hand, and the slave-owners of the South on the other. That was a fierce quarrel that had been going on for many years, and at last it reached a stage where it could only be settled by force of arms.

It was this terrific quarrel that led to the Civil War. And Lincoln and the North found that they could not win their battle against the South except by bringing the Negroes in. Lincoln never intended at the beginning to free the Negroes. Yet all men who fight a battle and wish to win it seek their allies where they can find them. So he enrolled the Negroes in the Northern army, and finally declared their emancipation from slavery. That is one of the great lessons of the Civil War. The division among the whites, and the necessity for Lincoln to seek assistance from Negroes.

Class Stands Against Class

Let us now look at what is happening in Europe at the present day and during the last twenty-five years. Everyone knows that a very bitter civil war has just taken place in Spain. The Spanish workers and peasants were on one side. The Spanish capitalists, the bankers, the great landlords, and their followers were on the other side. It is true that some Moors from Africa took part on the side of Franco. But that has nothing to do with the fundamentals of the question. What we must note is that in Spain, where no Negroes live, the workers and the peasants on the one hand, all the poor, fought very fiercely against the rich owners of the country. Unfortunately the workers and peasants lost. Yet we see that in a country where all the population is of the same color the various classes can fight desperately to decide which class shall be master.

Let us take another example. The whole world has heard of how brutally the German fascists treat the German workers. The fascists murder the workers' leaders, throw them into concentration camps, beat up the workers in the streets, cut their wages down, and treat them in the most brutal manner. But no Negroes live in Germany. This is a matter between whites and whites. The white capitalist class is in mortal conflict with the white workers. Jews have nothing to do with this at all. If there was not a single Jew in Germany, the leaders of the German workers would still be in concentration camps, and the working-class movement stamped upon.

The same thing has happened in Italy, where the workers and poor peasants have had their leaders murdered and their organizations destroyed by Mussolini and his fascists.

Let us take one final example: Russia in 1917. There the workers and peasants fought the same civil war against the nobles, the landlords, and the capitalists. Only in this case, the Russian workers and peasants won. The land was divided among the peasants. The workers took over the factories and the workers' government was established.

The Situation in America

Here then it is clear that during the last few years, not to mention other great examples in history, there have been developing terrific clashes in country after country where the population is all of one color. In the case of Russia, the workers and peasants won. In others they have definitely lost, for the time being. In other countries, as in Great Britain and in France, this struggle, the continual struggle of the classes, goes on, although for the time being it is hidden by the war.

Now let us look at America of 1939 in the light of what we have just discussed. We saw that in America 75 years ago the division between sections of the white population in America resulted in one side calling the Negroes to join and assist them in their struggle. Through this means the Negroes gained their emancipation. Although at the present time it may seem that all the whites, or at least most of them, are against the Negroes, oppress them, and discrim-

Hitler-Stalin Complete Partitioning of Poland, Japanese in New Drive

(Continued from Page 1)

Throughout eastern Europe, in the Baltic and Balkan states, there was shivering apprehension over the application of the Kremlin's "peace" policy to them. In Rome the wavering Mussolini was obviously impressed by the Nazi-Soviet demonstration and by the seeming impotence of the Allies on the western front. He still, however, made no move to burn any bridges in any direction.

There can be no doubt that the developments in Poland so far, taken together with the Soviet-Japanese truce, are proceeding according to deliberate plan. But the partners to this plan trust each other about as much as crooked gamblers. Stalin's march into Poland is not a march of liberation for the Ukrainians but a march for the self-protection of Stalin. A Stalin-dominated buffer state will fulfill the conditions of the Nazi-Soviet understanding so succinctly defined by Trotsky when he said this combination "needs distance" to work.

Masses Not Informed

It is not accidental that the Soviet masses learned of the troop movements hours after they had actually begun. These actions have nothing in common with the interests of the Russian people. They are concerned solely with the interests of the oligarchy that rules the Kremlin.

Despite his act of war, Stalin has proclaimed his continued neutrality and will probably sit tight on his new Polish domain until Hitler's hordes tear off another piece of southeastern Europe of which he can claim a share.

In both the military and diplomatic sense, the Allied camp is at the moment stymied and will consequently do as little as possible to aggravate their position. The next move, as usual, is Hitler's and all signs point to the Rumanian frontier as the next locale for the further development of the Hitler-Stalin "peace offensive" in Eastern Europe.

WORKERS' FORUM

ORIENT NOT SUFFICIENTLY DISCUSSED IN APPEAL

The question of the Orient in relation to United States imperialism is an aspect of the current world war crisis which deserves more than the almost total silence which the Socialist Appeal has accorded it since the beginning of the German-Polish crisis. We have repeated that the American imperialists' dream must be one of world domination; this means (1) the reduction of our European rivals to impotency and (2) an extensive program for an even larger navy and a huge conscript army for occupation in China.

George Stern, in his article in the Appeal, September 9, said, "The pressure on Britain in China has ceased. . . ." His was the only comment on Japan appearing lately. There were two United Press dispatches which both prove the incorrectness of this statement and justify more attention to the question in our press:

World-Telegram, September 6—"The Japanese government has asked Britain and France to withdraw their army and naval forces from China 'on their own volition'."

Daily News, September 8—"This move might intensify tension between Japan and the United States if it should result in attempts by Japan to take over foreign concessions in China."

"The Navy ordered the aircraft carrier Langley to Manila, ostensibly to aid in the enforcement of Philippine neutrality. Unofficial observers believed this step, coupled with the fact that the main body of the American fleet remained concentrated in Pacific waters, was an indication that the United States stood ready to protect its traditional interests and policies in the Far East."

The Daily News followed this up with an editorial on September 11 demanding a naval blockade of Japan by Britain and the United States (i.e., the U.S.) to last until "Japan pulled its armies out of China."

The perspective of a war with Japan (plus perhaps Germany and Russia as allies?) means a long war, a considerable period of preparation. This preparation would necessitate more

A FEW SUGGESTIONS FOR OPEN AIR MEETINGS

Editor:

I submit this suggestion for open air branch meetings.

At a regular hour, regular street corner, regular night, have one comrade give a fifteen minute to half hour talk on the "News of the Week," seen from the viewpoint of the workers. He would have to be well-prepared, be able to give a good Marxist interpretation of that week's news, and would have to stick to his subject—the news of the week.

The great success of bourgeois news weeklies, newspaper and radio commentators, indicates that such a regular feature of our outdoor meetings could attract many workers to come regularly to listen. Of course, it would flop if it were sloppily given, not prepared in advance, or not given by a well-informed comrade. Let the other speakers be spontaneous, and wander all over the field of

imate against them, yet we can take it as certain that the same struggle which we have seen working itself out in the various countries of Europe is taking place in America today. Sooner or later the workers and farmers of America, who are now fighting against the landlords and capitalists in unions, on the WPA, in struggles for better relief, will ultimately be driven to the same civil war that we have seen take place in country after country during the last 25 years. A Negro therefore who is looking at the political situation, not as it appears on the surface, but is seeing into the realities of the struggle between the classes, can have confidence in the future. He will realize that all white America is not solid. There is a tremendous division, a great split opening up. We can already see the signs of it very clearly. And as this struggle approaches and then actually flares out into the inevitable civil war, Negroes can be certain that many white workers and farmers who today are prejudiced will seek their assistance in the same way that Lincoln did when he wanted Negro help. Negroes in the last Civil War made one great step forward and so, in this coming civil war, the workers' revolution, Negroes have a great chance to complete their long journey to full freedom.

(Continued in Next Issue)

TURNING PWA INTO WAR INSTRUMENT

Troop shelters, not houses! That's the new slogan of Roosevelt's PWA!

It's launched by John M. Carmody, federal boss of PWA, WPA, and the other works administrations, and now an unofficial member of the Cabinet.

On a visit to New York Carmody said "that American participation in the European war might revolutionize the character of public spending on capital projects."

But Carmody isn't waiting for participation.

"Mr. Carmody said that cantonments for the shelter of troops would have to be built immediately. He pointed out that the government would have to widen highways between 'procurement centers'—cities like New York, Philadelphia and Boston—to facilitate the transport of troops and the shipment of war materials."

"To what extent military expenditures would divert money from the present program of highway construction, low-cost housing projects, rural electrification and other public enterprises Mr. Carmody did not say." (N.Y. Herald-Tribune, Sept. 12) We can't guess.

G-MEN GO AFTER WAR OPPONENTS

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

MINNEAPOLIS—Two Minneapolis boys who were passing out anti-war literature in St. Paul September 13 were arrested by the police and closely questioned by Frank Murphy's FBI men before being released. The cops and the G-men lectured them, warning them against "rabble rousing."

The boys, Hugh Reichard, 21, and Herbert Gardner, had conceived the idea of printing and distributing posters and stickers with the slogan, "War is Hell! Why not mind our own business?"

The pair said they did this with the idea of arousing public opinion against the war in Europe. They said they hated war and could see no reason for this country's entrance into the European conflict, and were afraid this country might be dragged in "if we didn't succeed in rousing public opinion against it."

The New Deal's FBI doesn't like the youth to oppose the "poor sly propaganda" pur- cast to the nation's cops to stop "subversive propaganda," by which he means anything that tells the people about the war he is preparing and opposes the war.

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San Francisco

Harlem Mass Meeting
"THE NEGRO AND WAR"
Wed., Sept. 27, 8 p.m.
at the Y.M.C.A.

SPEAKERS:
E. R. McKinney
Rueben Plaskett
Nathan Gould
Stanley B. Jones
ADMISSION FREE

WALL STREET ENGINEERS PRICE RISE

Councilmanic Candidates of SWP Pledge Fight on Profiteers

(Continued from Page 1) hundreds of millions of dollars they reaped in profits in the last World War and they hope to plunge the country into this new blood-bath in order to repeat that experience so lucrative to their bank vaults.

Warehouses Full
"But Wall Street overlooks no cranny from which to wring profits no matter how flimsy the pretext. That is why the prices of foodstuffs have taken a spectacular jump. This artificial price rise is particularly criminal in view of the fact that there are enough reserves in the warehouses from Maine to California to feed and clothe the entire nation for a long time to come even if all the factories were closed down and not another crop harvested."

"But prices will not come down one cent so long as the working class does not organize to bring them down. Housewives must organize neighborhood groups in order to exercise their power of boycott and to demonstrate at the grocery stores through which Wall Street puts its squeeze on the worker's dinner table."

Signatures Needed
"Every worker must intensify his efforts to put the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party on the ballot. Only through militant political action is it possible to organize a campaign powerful enough to bring prices finally down to a level which the average working class family can afford. Only the Socialist Workers Party so far has clearly taken a positive stand 100 per cent against the war and the greed for profits which is back of the war."

"Our preliminary campaign to gain the necessary number of nominating signatures is going forward despite all the obstacles placed in our path by sources connected with Wall Street such as Tammany Hall. If we are elected we will immediately launch a militant campaign from the vantage point of the City Council against this criminal and completely unwarranted hoisting of prices."

BOSS PARTIES UNITE BEHIND ROOSEVELT

(Continued from Page 1)

American masses for concurrence in his war-mongering plans.

Will Act Quickly
One of the main purposes of the White House Conference is to arrive at ways and means for jamming through the war-making legislation without too much discussion by opponents of it and above all with such speed that the American masses shall have as little time as possible for making their vigorous protests heard. The carefully-worded Washington dispatches are themselves compelled to acknowledge that "there will be some indecision among the 534 men and women fresh from constituencies which, all agree, dearly want peace."

The isolationists, so-called, precisely because they cannot and do not want to set into motion the only real force that can put a decisive spoke in the imperialist war plans of Roosevelt and Co.—the mass action of the American workers and farmers—are not expected to put up an effective fight against the President's program.

That can be done only by the united and militant action of the organized movement of workers and farmers, demanding the right to a popular referendum before the declaration of war, and an end to the secret diplomacy practised by the government in its campaign to precipitate the United States into a world slaughter aimed to achieve control of the world by the Wall Street gang.

A REQUEST

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

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

The WAR DEAL

By DWIGHT MACDONALD

II

Social Consciousness in Steel

When Europe went to war in 1914, the American steel industry lost no time in squeezing the last drop of profit from its strategic situation. As Allied orders poured in, prices soared, profits rose to unheard-of figures. Even after the United States entered the war, steel prices were maintained at prices high enough to yield huge profits. After vainly appealing to the steelmasters' "patriotism," the Wilson Administration was driven to threaten nationalization. This bluff, which every one knew the government had no intention of backing up, failed to move the steel industry. As Judge Gary, its spokesman, coldly remarked in March of 1918, just as the Germans were getting their last and most nearly successful "break-through" under way: "The manufacturers must have reasonable profits in order to do their duty." Profits first, then patriotism.

In the opening weeks of this war, we find an amazing reversal of this policy. Overnight, as German guns roared in Poland and German torpedoes sent British ships to the bottom, a "buyers' market" in American steel changed into a "sellers' market." Orders from Europe began to pour in—for rails, for pipe, for scrap iron, light steel, and a hundred other types of non-military steel products. (The Neutrality Act forbids sale of munitions, but every ton of rails exported to a belligerent country releases that much of its own productive capacity for munition making.) The reaction to this flood of export orders was unexpected. On September 15, the Steel Corporation's chief subsidiary, Carnegie-Illinois, announced that prices on light steel for the last quarter of the year would be the same as they had been in the third quarter. This policy of no price increases so far has been followed by the other major companies in publishing their last-quarter prices. And this is in spite not only of a rush of new business but also of a rapid rise in the prices of such raw materials as pig iron, spiegeleisen, and ferromanganese.

"Industrial Statesmanship"

The N. Y. Times, announcing this seven-days' wonder, comments that "while this policy reflects the known desires of the Administration in Washington and takes into account the nationwide fear of high prices," it is by no means popular with many steel men, "particularly those of senior rank." It is not customary in the steel business for the "known desires of the Administration" to be deferred to, nor have the steel barons in the past shown any concern over high prices—quite the contrary. Why this excess of social consciousness?

The Times' explanation is as puzzling as the fact itself: "The new that the price of steel has an important bearing on the national wage and price structure . . . was held to be a more important argument against an immediate price advance than the sudden change from a buyers' to a sellers' market in the last fortnight, allowing prospects for handsome profits after a long period of lean earnings. . . . The steel industry has given evidence of industrial statesmanship which is quite at variance with the traditions and experience of former periods of prosperity."

It is clear that something much more potent than "industrial statesmanship" must have induced the steel companies to temporarily forego "handsome profits." This new policy is a particularly dramatic illustration of the institutional nature of both war and capitalism in the year 1939.

Towards State Capitalism

War in our time seems to have become such a gigantic social and economic enterprise, requiring such staggering capital investment and such a centralization of control, as to be beyond the grasp of even the most powerful private capitalist group or corporation. The problems raised by modern war, in neutral as well as in belligerent countries, can only be met by the state—acting, of course, as the agent, trustee, and executive committee of the bourgeoisie. Hence the lead taken by the Administration, not "Wall Street" in arranging war credits for the Allies in this country. And hence this renunciation on the part of the steel industry of its sacred "right" to charge all the traffic will bear—a renunciation of immediate, individual profits for the sake of the greater security of the entire economic system.

The Administration was the better able to persuade the steel industry to follow its lead because the present head of the U. S. Steel Corporation is a very different sort of industrialist from the stubborn and individualistic Judge Gary. When the House of Morgan two years ago put at the head of the Steel Corporation young E. R. Stettinius, son of a former Morgan partner, it served notice that a new era was beginning. For Stettinius has worked closely with the Roosevelt Administration ever since NRA days, and he has continued this "cooperation." He was inevitably chosen to head the War Resources Board recently set up by the War Deal. In Stettinius, the "Morgan man," the head of the nation's biggest industrial corporation, the White House intimates, one aspect of the War Deal—and right now the most obvious aspect—is symbolized.

But Stettinius is also symbolic of the changing nature of American big business. As stock ownership has become more and more widely scattered, the conception of "ownership" has become increasingly vague. What Walter Rathenau wrote in 1918 of the then more advanced German capitalist system, is now applicable to our own: "The claims to ownership are subdivided in such a fashion, and are so mobile, that the enterprise assumes an independent life, as if it belonged to no one. It takes an objective existence, such as in earlier days was embodied only in church and state, in a municipal corporation, in the life of a guild or religious order. . . . The depersonalization of ownership, the objectification of enterprise, the detachment of property from the possessor, leads to a point where the enterprise becomes transformed into an institution which resembles the state in character." (Quoted in Berle and Means' *The Modern Corporation and Private Property*.)

This development, of course, has not affected the social base of the bourgeoisie, which still remains in its control, through ownership, of the means of production. But it has had a great, and all too little realized, effect on the agencies through which the bourgeoisie maintains its class rule. This is true above all in the supreme crisis of war. American capitalism went into the last war with a laissez-faire philosophy—though already its economic foundations had been largely institutionalized. This war finds the state and the corporation, Washington and Wall Street grown much closer together—and the shock of war, the supreme crisis of any social system, has already in the brief space of two weeks enormously hastened the process of fusion, as the overnight replacement of the old reformist "brain trusters" with Wall Street's "men" in the top circles of the Administration dramatically indicates.

GUERIN'S FASCISM and BIG BUSINESS

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