

WORKERS OF THE
WORLD UNITE!

Socialist Appeal

LET THE PEOPLE
VOTE ON WAR

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

VOL. III, No. 73

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 26, 1939



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ROOSEVELT MESSAGE SPEEDS WAR ENTRY

Secret Bulletin Proves Sixty Families Await F.D.R. War Declaration

A most revealing picture of the state of mind of Big Business towards the war problem in the United States is contained in the special and confidential bulletin of the Tax Research Institute of America, Inc., a copy of which was obtained by the office of the Socialist Appeal.

What does Big Business think of the Roosevelt pro-war machine? What does Big Business think of its prospects in the coming war? What does Big Business think the

Roosevelt government is going to do to Labor in the course of the war? These and related questions will be dealt with in a series of articles on the Tax Research Institute's confidential report, written by Joseph Hansen, beginning in this issue of the Appeal. The articles will quote extensively from the thoroughgoing Institute bulletin. All emphasis in quotations from the bulletin are in the original unless otherwise indicated. —Ed.

Within a very short time the Roosevelt government will drop its "mantle of benevolent neutrality" and plunge the United States into the World War now raging in Europe.

This is the inside tip that the top leaders of Big Business have sent out to all members of the Tax Research Institute of America, Inc., a confidential bulletin service set up by Wall Street to supply the overlords of American industry with straight information on subjects of vital interest to the capitalist class.

Dated August 30, a few days before the second World War started, the latest bulletin calls on all members of Big Business to make immediate preparations for the ENTRY OF THE UNITED STATES into the conflict and then proceeds to analyze the exact steps the Roosevelt government will take in regimenting labor and in gearing American industry for war production.

"Unless a miracle brings about unexpected peace," begins the bulletin, "the world will remain at war (Big Business understands very well that armed conflict is but an extension of the economic conflict!—J. H.) — a twentieth century type of war frequently bloodless, always undeclared, but resulting in the same periodic face-lifting of the world's map as did the old-fashioned hostilities."

The bulletin then continues this cold-blooded analysis of the real nature of the war with a point by point explanation of what the present war means to the capitalist class. Not a war (Continued on Page 3)

Behind the Lines

By GEORGE STERN

The Far Eastern front is now a definitely active sector of the second world war. Coming developments there will proceed in closest relation to events on the fronts of Europe.

From its seeming isolation after the signature of the Nazi-Soviet pact, Japan has returned to partial and tentative collaboration with the newly-extended axis. Japanese fears that the pact meant that Russia would be free to deal with a single-headed enemy in the Far East have been entirely dispelled. Russia has instead arranged a truce quite satisfactory to Japan and has become directly involved in the war in Europe.

Consequently Stalin's "peace policy" has in quick succession given the go-ahead signals for war in Poland and renewed war in China. The Japanese have naturally taken up the cue. They have announced the opening of a new drive in West China and have resumed needling Britain and France. Most significantly of all, the Japanese army-inspired press has begun to assume a truculent tone toward the United States, in sharp contrast to the previous effort to smear milk and honey on the profoundly antagonistic relations between the two countries.

There are several straws in the wind to attest to further coming changes in the set-up. Gen. Juichi Terauchi, a former Japanese war minister, was on his way to Germany on a special mission generally assumed to be strengthening of Japanese contact with the axis. When the Stalin-Hitler pact was signed Terauchi's mission was cancelled and he arrived in Italy as a plain tourist who announced he would not go to Germany. But Terauchi has now gone on to Berlin to meet German leaders.

Some equally significant journeying is being done by Chow En-lai, one of Stalin's principal acolytes in China. Chow left Chungking for Moscow last week on an unannounced mis-

sion. Is Chow going to be informed that the thin trickle of Soviet aid to China will now cease? Is he going to receive new orders for the Eighth Route Army which will in effect retire it from effective struggle against the Japanese invasion? Will the Chinese Communist Party — already half-strangled by the tortuous twists in its policy — be ordered to throw its support to the "peace party" in Chungking?

All of these are now strong possibilities, even though the transition to such moves is likely to go through a careful period of tentative reconnoitering. For the Soviet-Japanese truce is just as tentative as the Stalin-Hitler bargain.

In any case, the developments generally have created new and serious difficulties for the Chinese national cause. The road to Burma is still open and so is the road to French-Indo-China, but there is little chance that French and British arms and supplies will be flowing over them in any significant quantities.

The situation leaves the problem primarily in the hands of the Roosevelt War Deal. For American imperialism the main issues of the war still remain in the Pacific, cradle of the great expansionist dreams of tomorrow. Wall Street has a definite stake in the destruction of German imperialism and in the weakening of Anglo-French imperialism. But its ultimate war aims are also premised upon the establishment of undisputed American domination of the Pacific. These aims will bring it into collision with Japan and possibly even with Russia if Russia remains part of the axis.

That is why the U.S. fleet remains based in the Pacific and that is why tiny dispatches reporting the regular ferrying of great American navy bombers to the Philippines are filled with such fateful significance.

FIFTY NEW MINNEAPOLIS INDICTMENTS

Union-Busting Jury Indicts Another 50 WPA Strikers

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) MINNEAPOLIS—Fifty more indictments against WPA workers and union leaders were returned this week by the federal grand jury in the latest union-busting move of the Roosevelt administration.

This development brought redoubled efforts on the part of the AFL WPA Defense Committee to get more donations from individual unions in order to gain freedom for the latest victims and to adequately defend all those arrested.

Word of the new indictments came Wednesday along with persistent and ominous reports that there is a grouping within the jury that is out to "get" leaders of the Minneapolis General Drivers Union and the Minneapolis Building Trades Council.

(Continued on Page 3)

Belgian Militarists Arrest Walt Dauge

Walter Dauge, secretary of the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Belgium, section of the Fourth International, was last week arrested by the Belgian militarists for distributing anti-war propaganda. Comrade Dauge is among the best known and best loved revolutionists in Belgium. Only recently he was elected Mayor by the workers of his village in the Borinage district, which is noted for its many militant strike battles in the mines. His extreme popularity among the workers of the entire Borinage prompted his internment. The Belgian war government, which fears the revolutionary policy of the Fourth Internationalists and the spokesmen for that policy hopes to crush the anti-war sentiment of the masses by repressive measures. They will be proved to be wrong.

The American Way



Stalin's Invasion of Polish Ukraine (A Warning to Revolutionary Workers Against Deceptive Propaganda)

AN EDITORIAL

Stalin's invasion of the Polish Ukraine has let loose a flood of deceptive propaganda of different kinds from different camps.

The cynical hirelings of the Kremlin hail the invasion as an act of socialist "liberation" of the oppressed minorities of the invaded regions. The equally cynical propagandists of the democratic imperialists utilize this military incident as the occasion for new sermons on the identity of the Soviet Union with fascist Germany and for new incitements for a holy war of "democracy versus totalitarianism". Both these arguments are hypocritical and fraudulent to the core. Both arguments are baited traps for the unwary.

It behooves the revolutionary workers to keep their heads and avoid both these traps, especially the second. We say, especially the second, because in this country the chauvinist pressure for entry into the war on the side of the allied imperialists of the so-called democratic camp is the real pressure, the real danger that must be consciously resisted at every turn. The slightest concession to the bourgeois democratic ideology would spell the collapse of revolutionary opposition to the war and the doom of the party making such a concession.

The grotesque agitation of the American agents of Stalin, twisting and turning every day in accordance with the diplomatic and military maneuvers of Stalin, is a mere puff of wind in comparison with the veritable hurricane of chauvinist incitement that is being unleashed by the real masters of America. He who forgets these proportions is lost. He who, in justified rage and hatred at the perfidies of Stalin, forgets that our main enemy is at home, that it is not the pitiful American agents of Stalin and Hitler, but the real masters of the country, the industrial and financial overlords, who are beating the drums ever louder for a "democratic" war—

he who permits himself to forget this is no longer a revolutionist but a helpless tool and victim of the class enemy.

The enlightened revolutionary worker burns with hatred for Stalinism and all its works. But this attitude of the revolutionist has nothing in common with the counterfeit moral indignation currently directed against Stalin by the press of the democratic imperialists and their liberal and social-democratic satellites. The revolutionary attitude is inspired by entirely different considerations. We are against Stalin, not because he betrayed the imperialist democracies—their interests are of no concern to the workers—but because his entire course, including all his diplomatic maneuvers with the imperialist powers, the so-called democratic no less than the fascist, is a systematic betrayal of the Soviet Union and the workers and oppressed peoples of the world. It is important not to mix these things up, not to be overwhelmed by the noise of the democratic patriots and join in their ballyhoo, so as not to turn up, at the critical moment, in the wrong camp.

To be sure, there is something utterly monstrous in the spectacle of the Red Army being sent to "liberate" the Polish Ukrainians and White Russians in collaboration with the military forces of Hitler. It is revolting to hear the butchers of the Kremlin speak in the manner and tone of Goebbels about "liberating the oppressed minorities" and protecting "blood brothers." They who have massacred the flower of the revolution in Russia; they who have sold the workers and colonial peoples on the auction block to the highest bidder among the imperialists; they who have robbed the national minorities of the Soviet Union of every right and trampled them down in the blood and mud—they cannot liberate anybody and have no such intentions.

(Continued on Page 4)

Road to War Decided Behind Locked Doors

U.S. People Must Answer War Plans Of Boss Politicians by Wrestling War-Making Power from Congress

Masking his war aims and war actions beneath a cloak of pious demagoguery, Roosevelt demanded from the Special Session of Congress immediate repeal of the Arms Embargo, in order to permit unrestricted flow of munitions from this country to the Anglo-French coalition. The Roosevelt intervention in the war, already begun openly by the detention of the Bremen and the declaration that the United States will defend Canada, will thus be driven deeper, according to Roosevelt's plans, by the transformation of United States industry into the armory of British and French imperialism.

In spite of the lengthy debates which may be expected in Congress, Roosevelt had taken care to sew up the decision in

advance. On the day preceding the Special Session, he had met in the White House with

"fourteen leaders of the nation": twelve of them the chiefs of the Republican and Democratic parties in the Senate and House of Representatives, plus Alfred Landon and Frank Knox, who headed the Republican ticket in the 1936 campaign.

BOSS PARTIES SKIRT WAR IN N.Y. ELECTION

SWP Candidates Run On Clear-Cut Stand Against War

NEW YORK CITY, Sept. 20—Both the Republican and Democratic parties are experiencing an unusual lack of response from the voting population to their candidates, early returns in the New York election primaries for the office of Councilman indicated yesterday.

"The capitalist press interprets this apathy as due to the blackening shadow of war," candidates of the Socialist Workers Party, Max Shachtman and George Lyman Paine, declared today in a joint statement. "In part this is true. The espousal by both parties of the capitalist class of Wall Street's program of plunging the United States into the World War has driven away millions of workers from their platform."

"An unequivocal and fighting platform against Wall Street's war, at this time, however, would arouse the keenest interest among the voters and swing millions of voters sickened by the new blood bath into a determined opposition that would sweep these rotten parties out of office in an unprecedented landslide."

ALP Silent on War

"So far the leaders of the American Labor Party, largest working class party in the field, have not yet seen fit to clarify their stand concerning the war. If they defer making such a statement much longer, whether through cowardice or because they intend to make a

(Continued on Page 3)

Behind Locked Doors For two and a half hours these fifteen political servants of the Sixty Families conferred behind locked doors. In keeping with the ideals of this democratic war into which Roosevelt is leading the country, all present were sworn to absolute secrecy, and not one single word of the discussions was revealed to the people. The schemes of the boss politicians will not bear the light of day!

One indirect result of this conference, however, may be deduced from a sudden shift in Roosevelt's proposals. It had been his intention to call not merely for repeal of the embargo but of the entire "neutrality legislation," in favor of a return to the "traditional practices of international law."

This would have meant an end to virtually all restrictions on trade and commercial relations with the belligerent powers. The conference evidently made clear to Roosevelt that, in the face of the popular resistance to involvement in the war, he would not be able to go as far as he wished at the present time. He therefore modified his original purpose, and suggested that Congress substitute for the embargo the so-called "cash and carry plan," under which belligerent nations will—for the time being—be required to pay cash for munitions, and to transport them in their own ships.

"National Unity" The conference ended with a pledge from all hands—Roosevelt (Continued on Page 4)

Back to the Twice-Weekly

After several weeks during which our party, youth organization and their sympathizers made the noblest and most generous efforts to maintain the Socialist Appeal three-times-a-week, we are returning to our regular publication frequency of twice-a-week.

We issued the three-times-a-weekly with the aim of arousing the minds of the widest labor circles we could reach with the gravity of the world situation. We are proud of the revolutionary spirit which accomplished it while others dragged along their routine vegetable existence.

The financial difficulties created by the super-effort to get the Appeal out three times a week, are not removed now, as we return to the twice-weekly. We look forward to the same generous aid in maintaining the Socialist Appeal in the future as we received in the past.

Big Business Knows Roosevelt Prepares War Entry

(Continued from Page 1)

"to save democracy from the madman Hitler," not a war for any kind of ideal—just a merciless butchery for profit. And it hammers home to every member of the capitalist class that the entrance of the United States in the war is close at hand.

Expect only Short Interval

"(1) This 'war of nerves' results in the same political and economic alliances as does the battlefield. Real neutrality, in face of this conflict, becomes less possible the longer it continues. Which means if war breaks abroad, a shorter interval of time will elapse until the U.S. drops its mantle of benevolent neutrality and replaces it by actual participation."

There in cold italicized print is the declaration of Big Business BEFORE WAR BROKE OUT IN EUROPE, that when it did break (regardless of who was labelled the "aggressor") it would not be long until dough-boys from the farms and factories of America began crossing the Atlantic in the "old-fashioned" way to fight for the profits of Wall Street.

The second point announces the imminence of the then undeclared European hostilities and raises questions which will immediately confront the individual capitalist when the shedding of blood begins:

"(2) So long as the bloodless war rages, only the slightest unexpected spark may be required to set off the fuse. And once the fuse starts abroad, even with domestic neutrality, a host of business problems immediately arise:

"a. What happens to business even in part dependent upon foreign export?"

"b. What happens to business using imported materials?"

"c. What happens to security values on exchanges which are shaken by crises as well as by dumped, frightened funds?"

"d. What business adjustments will be made necessary by the Neutrality Act when it is for the first time widely applied?"

"e. What happens to every-day prices when warring powers really begin feeding civilian and military needs with American merchandise?"

Even the most humble housewife already knows the answer to that last question. On the day Hitler marched into Poland prices immediately began to skyrocket at the expense of the family pocketbook and to the high advantage of the vaults in Wall Street.

All Emphasis on War Preparation

Without pausing to answer the questions it has raised, apparently considering them self-evident, the analysis rushes to the main business at hand: What is the immediate perspective for which the capitalist class must prepare and organize itself?

"(3) Most important of all among the problems imposed by today's headlines is the program for preparing American business and economic life for the possibility that America will be drawn in."

The bulletin then emphasizes with a pithy slogan the point which must be driven into the mind of every individual belonging to the capitalist class:

"The Business Man Must Not Keep His Eyes Closed Until the U. S. Declares War."

That is, don't be deluded by any statements issued for propaganda purposes that the Roosevelt government wants or intends to remain neutral.

"Among the most unfortunate business misconceptions is that the executive can remain oblivious of the need to adjust his business to war until the United States is IN."

Mobilization Already on Way

With the utmost clarity the analysis then underscores this warning to members of the capitalist class with a very concrete explanation of the "effect of today's events" and the "ostrich-like error" of not understanding that war conditions are about to envelope American industry:

"(1) The Plan for the MOBILIZATION OF AMERICAN INDUSTRY has not only been completed by the War and Navy Departments for years, but several phases of this Plan are already in operation."

Despite the delicacy in phrasing what could be more clear than that emphasized declaration: MOBILIZATION . . . already in operation?"

"(2) The recent appointment of the WAR RESOURCES BOARD is the most dramatic hint to business that the coordination of the nation's economic resources is NOT merely academic study."

In brief, before Hitler began bombing Poland, the top leaders of Big Business were notifying the capitalist class as a

whole that its executive arm in Washington, D. C., was prepared and that now it was merely a question of time.

Cold Logic of Business

Next point in the explanation about the "unfortunate" and "ostrich-like" error of not realizing what is happening, is declared by the bulletin itself as "most important of all" that is, the juicy and delectable question of WAR ORDERS:

"(3) Command performance: Most important of all is the presence of Section 120 of the National Defense Act, under which the President in time of war or when war is imminent, and he is the one to decide when war is imminent, is empowered, through the head of any Government department, to place an order with any firm for any product or material that may be necessary."

How different is this analysis presented by the leaders of the capitalist class to their membership from the propaganda they foist on the public through the daily press! None of the fevered war slogans here! None of the clarion calls to battle for God and Country! Just the hot inside tip: Roosevelt will soon plunge the United States into war, therefore PREPARE FOR PROFITS.

That is the message sent out confidentially by the Sixty Families — the Morgans, DuPonts, Mellons, Rockefellers, Girdlers—to the class they head.

(The second installment in this series of articles exposing the preparations among the capitalists for war will appear in the next issue of the Socialist Appeal.)

In the Labor Unions

By B. J. WIDICK

Here is a choice bit of information that Attorney General (I Break Strikes) Frank Murphy let slip a few days ago in Washington.

"Detective organizations set up by industrial concerns to prevent sabotage would work closely with the Federal Bureau of Investigation," Mr. Murphy explained to a New York Times reporter.

Employ Spies

What does it mean? The federal government is enlisting the services of stool-pigeons, company spies, strike-breaking organizations, to fight "sabotage."

And what is "sabotage" to a Pinkerton? Or a Tom Girdler agent? Or any stool pigeon in a union? Workers have had not a little experience with this in the last few years. "Sabotage" consists of being a good union man, fighting for rights and good conditions within the plant.

The federal government can't just jail every good union man who feels that, war or no war, workers have a right to fight for just demands. That would be too crude. It would expose the war dictatorship too much.

Frameups Ahead

So the government must now prepare the ground work for a frameup. "Sabotage by spies" becomes the theme song of the FBI. Once that is accepted, any worker in the plant who remains a union militant is branded a "saboteur." He "disrupts" national defense. Company stool pigeons will hurl the charge. The FBI is going to "work closely with them."

Yet the United Rubber Workers of America's convention, to mention the latest union convention held, went on record to support the Roosevelt administration in its war moves!

Seniority Rights!

Our prediction of last May that the question of seniority rights during war-time would become a greater issue apparently is being borne out by various information coming to the office.

Unions everywhere are beginning to ask for the continuation of seniority rights during war service. That is, if a workers is taken from the plant for army service, his seniority continues as though he remained in the plant.

What is our attitude towards this demand? We can only reiterate what was published then. "Now every unionist is in favor of seniority rights under all circumstances. What is disturbing is the calm acceptance of the idea of conscription in war-time."

Workers should never give up an inch of their rights under any conditions, if it is possible. Fight for seniority rights in event of conscription? Sure. The best way to fight against it, however, is to fight against the conscription of labor.

While on this subject, it might

be worthwhile to repeat certain other elementary strategy for unionists in this period.

War does not substitute new problems for old ones in the union movement. It adds new ones and intensifies the present problems. The rising price level makes the wage question more acute. The government demands for war production will intensify the struggle over hours of work, conditions of work and the speed-up.

What to Do

Every present headache of a shop committeeman increases. Before actual declaration of war, the bosses will give in to serious pressure because the prospect of additional profits is too tempting to permit big shutdowns.

However, the bosses hope to end all the business of making any concessions once war starts by the use of the federal machinery to hogtie labor.

The "impartial" labor boards consisting mainly of professional and business people are supposed to settle all labor disputes, backed by the US Army. What's new for the labor movement is how to fight these boards. Direct negotiations between unions and employers is the general slogan around which this struggle can be carried. The aim of progressive unionists is always the same. Get the best possible union conditions under any circumstances.

DON'T MISS 'A NIGHT IN HARLEM'

"A Night in Harlem" with dancing and entertainment, arranged for Saturday October 7 at the Mingo Club, under the auspices of the National Negro Department, will be an affair the committee in charge reports that no one will want to miss. Special entertainment to be announced later is being arranged. The proceeds from the affair will be used to carry on the activities of the National Negro Department, the printing and distribution of an anti-war manifesto to the Negro people and to aid in the publication and distribution of the pamphlet "Negro and War" by J. R. Johnson, now appearing in the Socialist Appeal.

At Your Service
THE APPEAL
POSTER SHOP

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

Progressives Make Important Gains at State Convention of Minnesota A.F.L.

Large Votes Polled by Militants on Various Issues Indicate Growing Strength Of Progressive Forces in Labor Unions

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

DULUTH, Minn.—Nearly 900 delegates from AFL unions assembled in Duluth last week to take part in the 57th state convention of the Minnesota Federation of Labor, the largest ever held.

A number of victories were chalked up by the left-wing bloc in the convention, but the three outstanding gains made were resolutions adopted unanimously for a national referendum on war; in support of the W. P. A. Strike Defense committees in Minneapolis and St. Paul; and a resolution passed by an overwhelming majority for the repeal of the Stassen slave act.

The resolution supporting the WPA strikers came towards the close of the convention and was reported on by George Murk, chairman of the defense committee, who held the complete attention of every delegate with his account of the work the defense committee had done. The report was climaxed by news that sent a thrill through everyone—that all the defendants had been released on bond that very afternoon.

Vote on Stassen Act

The vote for repealing the Stassen act against amending it was recorded after a minority report from the legislative committee was made by Gene Larson of the Minneapolis Milk Drivers. The minority position was upheld by speaker after speaker, including Miles Dunne and Ole Ogg, both from Minneapolis drivers' unions. The resounding vote to reject the majority report and accept the minority report left no doubt as to the sentiment of the delegates present on the Stassen act.

Significant in this vote was the fact that the majority report expressed the position of Robert Olson, president, and George Lawson, secretary of the state Federation and all their supporters. The attempt to put the state federation on record for amending the Stassen Act instead of repealing it is simply further indication that Lawson and his buddies have been an distill are playing along with Stassen in

their own personal interests and not in the interests of the labor movement of Minnesota. This overwhelming vote to repeal was a thorough and unquestionable victory for the militants whose attitude towards Stassen remains uncompromising.

Discuss Political Activity

The other high spot of the convention was the fight over the resolution introduced by the Executive Council of the state Federation, recommending an amendment to the constitution banning endorsements of political candidates by the state body. The resolution was adopted, but not until blow after blow had been struck at it.

Henry Schultz, International representative of the Electrical Workers, made the outstanding speech in opposition, pointing out that only through political action can the unions safeguard what they have won through economic action. He called to mind the experiences of organized labor during the world war and warned that these things would be repeated if the workers relaxed their political vigilance.

Lawson was the most vociferous defender of this proposal, and for good reasons. Opposed to the Farmer-Labor party in Minnesota, wishing to free himself from any restrictions that might be placed on him by the state Federation as a body, and seizing upon the opportunity to administer a severe blow to the progressives in the Minnesota labor movement, Lawson spoke out with great heat against political endorsements.

Following the discussion, a motion was made to refer the resolution to the 1940 convention. In a rising vote, the motion was lost. Following this, a demand was made by ten or more unions for a roll-call vote and the motion was declared lost 342 to 223.

Chairman Bureaucratic

The high-handed methods of President Olson who chaired the meeting were displayed even before the rising vote was taken when, in true bureaucratic fashion, he took a yeas vote on the motion to refer but did not take a no vote. It was obvious to everyone present that, had the vote been completed, the motion to refer would have carried by a real majority.

But even this was not the extent of Olson's contemptuous disregard for democratic procedure. In a rising vote, the recommendation for the amendment was won by a slim margin of nine votes over the required two-thirds majority. And the clamorous demand for a roll-call vote by many more than ten unions was denied! The convention became an uproar. Almost every delegate was on his feet calling for a roll-call vote. So President Olson declared the convention adjourned for the day.

On Wednesday morning John Boscoe, president of the Minneapolis Central Labor Union, asked for a recount. Olson re-

ANTI-WAR RESOLUTION

WHEREAS war brings death, suffering and misery to millions of working people and profits to the employers, and WHEREAS the present war crisis has raised the prices of the necessities of life, and WHEREAS William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, in his Labor Day address, expressed the sentiments of the workers of this country by taking a stand against war, and WHEREAS the Railway Executives of the 21 railroad craft unions have gone on record for a referendum of the people on war, therefore

BE IT RESOLVED that we, the Minnesota State Federation of Labor, reaffirm the stand of the labor movement against war, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that we demand the adoption of a constitutional amendment that would take the war-making power out of the hands of Congress and refer it to a vote of the people.

Adopted by the Minnesota State Federation of Labor in convention assembled at Duluth, Minnesota, on September 13, 1939.

NEWARK SWP PRESSES ANTI-WAR ACTIVITY

NEWARK, Sept. 18.—A week of anti-war activity in which the program of the party was carried into every workingclass district of the city culminated in a mass meeting last night at which over 200 workers heard Comrade Max Shachtman at Krueger's Auditorium.

The anti-war program of the party won enthusiastic approval from the hundreds who were reached during the week by party propaganda. During the week three street rallies were held, attended by hundreds of workers in each case. Thousands of anti-war leaflets were distributed, and many copies of the Socialist Appeal and other literature were sold and distributed.

A novel feature of the party activities was the appearance of a horse-drawn wagon carrying huge signs bearing the anti-war slogans: THIS IS NOT OUR WAR! THIS IS A WAR FOR BOSSES PROFITS! FIGHT AGAINST WAR!, which was driven all over the city advertising the various street meetings and the mass meeting. This was seen by thousands of workers and everywhere it went it won favorable comment from those who saw it.

Many valuable party and YP-SL contacts were made as well as several new members, as several new members.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

WANTED

5 BICYCLES to help build up the Socialist Appeal newsstand routes. Anyone willing to loan or donate a bicycle should get in touch immediately with the Labor Bookshop, 116 University Place.

THE GENERAL FUND RIDES AGAIN!!!

Two solid hours of uproarious, side-splitting entertainment. Also "How the People Can Win in 1939" and the new tableau "Get the Rope," among other sketches to be presented by the G. F. Newcomers will be initiated into the G. F. at this session. Perpetrated by the

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Form Picket Line Around Pennsylvania Cigar Plant

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

ALLENTOWN, Pa., Sept. 19.—Picket lines were again established in front of the General Cigar Co., when the 735 workers who have been out on strike since August 18, voted on Saturday morning to remain out until a contract is signed.

This action was a reversal of their previous vote, taken last Thursday to return to work while negotiations were being conducted between the factory owner and the union, Local 91, AFL, of the International Cigarmakers Union.

The union membership voted to continue the strike because they felt that the bosses' promises to negotiate their differences "in the near future" might mean sometime next year.

Resent "Expert"

Organization started in the factory about three months ago, when, workers who had been with the company from 10 to 15 years were fired to make room for "loyal" scabs that were without work when the General Cigar Co. closed its Detroit plant rather than pay union wages.

An "efficiency expert" by the name of Walton was brought in to the plant. He made the women's blood boil by trying to make a showgirl palace out of the factory. Stout women were told that they have to wear girdles. All women were told to use lipstick, powder, and rouge and orders went out to the factory superintendent that he was not to hire any one who wears eyeglasses.

Walton got under everyone's skin, and one young worker, Louis Segati, called a meeting of the factory workers. About 250 came to the meeting and discussed ways and means of organizing.

Fire Organizer

The next day Segati received his dismissal notice from the boss. One half hour later the entire plant walked out as one man in demonstration of their solidarity with Segati. The 735 workers set up their picket lines. Nothing moved in or out of the factory.

The picket lines held firm throughout. Last week the boss met with Kennedy of the Inter-

national, and the result was a "paper" which stated that the boss was willing to negotiate some time in the future.

A meeting was called and the workers voted to accept the bosses' offer to negotiate and return to work. After the vote was taken it was learned that the boss had not even signed the paper or stated when he was going to carry on negotiations with the union.

Last Saturday's meeting of the strikers took up the entire question again. By an overwhelming vote they decided to go back on the picket line until a written contract is signed.

Union Demands
Among the demands of the union are closed shop contract, grievance committees operating in the plant, and one contract to cover all the workers in the shop.

Today, with the picket line resumed, the determination to hold out for victory is greater than ever. About 50 scabs who are working in the plant were "educated" about 11 this morning amid a shower of tomatoes, flour bags, and other missiles. Traffic was tied up along Highway 22 where the plant is located and about 2,000 spectators and sympathizers cheered the pickets on.

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

THE NEGRO QUESTION

By J. R. JOHNSON

The Negro and the War

VII

No, it is not Negroes alone who recognize that a war for democracy is a fraud, a deception, and a trap for the workers. Many workers in England, in France, in Belgium, and in America are daily becoming more clear in their minds about this war for democracy.

Negroes can hear many a white worker say: "What is this democracy that I must shed my blood for? It is true I have a vote. And I elect representatives to Congress. But what control have I really got over this country? When the capitalists want to go to war, the President decides. Representative Ludlow brings in an amendment to the Constitution which would give me the right to say a word on going to war. Let the people vote on war. By all means. But the president and Congress, both of them refuse. They are not going to have any consultation of the people by referendum vote to decide this question of life and death. So much for this fraud of democracy."

Many a white worker says, "Most of the people of this country would have been willing to allow the Spanish workers and peasants to buy arms from America in their fight against Franco. But the President who, like all capitalists, wanted to see Franco win, refused to allow this and showed that in any matter of importance it is the wish of the capitalists, the landlords, and the bankers which decides, and not the wishes of the large majority of the people."

Why Die for Capitalism?

More and more, white workers are beginning to say things like this.

"These capitalists keep babbling about this democracy. They say that if war comes I have to go and die for my country. But I have no country to die for. The only part of this country that is certainly mine is the 6 ft. by 2 ft. which will enclose me when I am dead. Morgan, DuPont, Rockefeller, Ford, the owners of big factories, the owners of big firms, the great landlords in the South, all these people have some of the country. They have something to die for. But what have I got for which I must shed my blood?"

"I am a working man. During the last ten years sometimes ten million, sometimes 20 million of us have been unemployed. When you add our dependents to this number, it means that thirty or forty million people have been living in misery and starvation for ten years. When will this crisis stop? This continuous crisis, this poverty, is not necessary. There is food enough for everyone. And the factories, if they worked, could supply clothes enough for everyone. And the building trade could build enough houses for everyone to live decently. But, no. This system under which we live cannot employ the people and cannot use the great factories, the mines, and all the means of production which are now available. The system, this capitalist system, is obviously bankrupt. If it were not bankrupt, if it could work anymore, you would not have these millions of idle men on the one hand, and on the other this vast amount of idle capital. What the devil is the use of this democracy if it has always a quarter and sometimes one-third of the population starving.

"Before I die for my country, I must have a country to live for. I am not a coward. I am prepared to fight for my country, but it is not Hitler or Mussolini who have this country in which I live. I know well enough the people who have it and who mismanage it in such a way that one small section of the population is rolling in wealth while most of the others can barely live on what they earn and still another section earns nothing at all, and has to spend many hours hanging around relief bureaus begging for a few cents. If anybody is prepared to fight, to put an end to this state of affairs, I am ready to go along with them and shed my blood for that. But why the devil should I go to fight so that Roosevelt and the capitalists should dominate Latin America or China and make still more money for themselves? That is their capitalist war. This is not my war."

For a Workers' War

It is white workers today, not Negroes, who say all this. For instance, the Socialist Workers Party members, most of whom are white, for years have said as follows: "The capitalists talk about democracy. In Germany there was this same democracy, and as soon as the capitalists found that the workers were mobilizing to put an end to the injustices and crimes of capitalism, they subsidized Hitler, that gangster, they destroyed democracy, and installed fascism in its place. They did the same thing in Italy. They did the same thing in Spain. We know these fellows here well enough to know that all the time they are talking about democracy they are thinking of all the property which they own. And as soon as ever they feel that their property is in danger they are going to subsidize their fascist bands and treat me no better than the workers in Germany, Italy, and Spain. So that I shall oppose this war of theirs as best I can, and when I get the chance I shall abolish this unjust bankrupt system and change things. My war is a war to help the workers and farmers of this country take it over from those who have it. Our enemy is not in foreign countries but is here in this very country. And to my fellow workers in Germany, in Italy, in Britain, in Japan, in China, we say this: "We have no enmity against you. You don't want to shoot me and I don't want to shoot you. I am going to try to change this bankrupt system in my country and I recommend to you to do the same."

"Many years ago Karl Marx, the great leader and teacher of the workers, said 'Workers of the world, unite!' That is the only doctrine for the workers. We have to unite today to destroy this system which causes so much unemployment

The Economic Consequence of the Stalin-Hitler Pact in the U. S. S. R.

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

The ratification of the Stalin-Hitler pact at the fourth session of the Supreme Council in Moscow was accompanied by the passage of two laws, one extending the conscription age and the other levying a stiff tax on collective and individual farmers. The connection between the extension of the military term of service and the Stalin-Hitler alliance is self-evident. But it does seem at first sight surprising that Stalin and his clique should have chosen the moment when they are faced with their first major historical test—war—to introduce the severest legislation in recent years against that section of the population to whom they have been catering the most, that is, the peasantry.

The new agricultural tax supersedes the law passed on May 31, 1934, the primary intent of which was to assuage the peasantry, and which placed a relatively light burden on them. The new law more than doubles the tax hitherto paid by collective farmers whose income is 2,000 rubles a year. Those whose income is higher will pay three, four, five and even six times the previous amount. Furthermore, the tax falls most heavily on income derived from "privately operated holdings, handicraft enterprises, and all other income derived outside the collectives." (Pravda, August 28.)

WHY THE LEGISLATION AT THIS TIME

Whereas the tax on collectives grades from 5% to 13.5% of the total, all income from other sources is subject to 11%—25% tax, and in some cases it is as high as 30%.

If I am not mistaken, it is the sharpest legislation enacted against the peasantry since the days of enforced collectivization. Legislation of this nature will hardly meet with the approval of the peasants, and Stalin knows it. Why then the law?

Is it because the kulak danger is abroad again? It is unquestionable that this danger exists. But even though the term "kulak" and "speculator" has reappeared in the Soviet

press, that is not the reason for Stalin's law. He has relied most heavily in recent years on the well-to-do peasant.

But the peasants, both in the collectives and outside, have again been accumulating grain and the flow of commodities from the city to the village has been far from adequate to impel the peasants to disgorge their grain hoards. There have been periodic shortages in the cities, but these have been winked at from above. Now Stalin must have foodstuffs not only for the cities but also to supply Hitler. Hence the sudden squeeze on the peasantry. Otherwise the Kremlin would be unable to live up to the terms of its agreement with Adolf Hitler, and assure the flow of foodstuffs into Germany. But to meet his obligations to Hitler, Stalin has had to deal his regime a blow internally, by alienating the peasantry.

STALIN MOVING TOWARD COLLISIONS WITH PEASANTS

It remains to be seen whether this initial law will produce the desired results. Whatever its effects, it can only act as a stop-gap. More and more grain will be required. The vast army already mobilized by Stalin will drain the accumulated grain reserves and place an additional strain on agriculture. Stalin has no other measures than administrative ones to rely upon for obtaining the foodstuffs for the cities, for the Red Army and for Hitler. We can therefore forecast with certainty not only that increasingly harsh administrative measures will be applied but also that the Stalin regime is moving towards a head-on collision with the peasantry.

Will Stalin perhaps be able to lean on the proletariat? It is noteworthy that in recent days there has been no mention in the official press of the stringent labor laws passed last December. The Pravda no longer speaks of the need of enforcing them in order to bolster up industrial production, as was the case a few months ago. Early this year, the lag in production was explained above all by the laxity of factory managements in enforcing these laws.

Not that production has improved. Just the contrary. If in 1938 the output lagged some 33% behind the plan as compared with 1937, the production for the first 8 months in the current year has lagged almost as much behind the plan.

The failure to accomplish the plan for 1939 is openly admitted. One week prior to the con-

JUDAS GOAT

"Of course, there are those who counsel us to sit idly in the stupefying sun of our complacency while the Nazi armies, fed by Russian resources, overrun London and Paris. Those who denounce America's possible participation in the war are Earl Browder, Fritz Kuhn and the Trotskyists. . . . I grant that the problem which faces the American people is not an easy one. Still the question may almost be reduced to a formula: "While the things we are asked to defend are far from perfect, that which we are called upon to attack is well worth attacking." — Charles Yale Harrison, in the New Leader, Sept. 9, 1939.

and misery, and leads the workers every few years into the self-destruction of imperialist war."

Side by Side with the White Worker

Now, this is what a certain number of workers are saying and what still more are thinking, though they are not very clear about it. And the vast majority of Negroes in this country who have still less cause than these whites to love democracy, should realize clearly that their allies are not only the oppressed Negroes and the oppressed colonial peoples, but these white workers who are as fed up with capitalist democracy as any Negro is.

The white workers joined up with the Negroes to fight in the C.I.O. Some in the C.I.O. are still prejudiced. Prejudice does not end in a day, but Negroes in the union know how much better things are for them now that the C.I.O. is enrolling both whites and Negroes without discrimination. But the fight against war is a hundred times as serious as the fight that was fought by the C.I.O. workers, and in this fight Negroes and whites will work together more closely and with more real equality than ever before. That is the lesson of history. In his determination not to be bamboozled into a war for democracy the Negro will find many true and firm allies among the whites—far more than he dreams of.

Continued in Next Issue

Union-Busters Return 50 New Indictments Against WPA Strikers

(Continued from Page 1)

The Northwest Organizer, official organ of the Teamsters Joint Council, points out that, "it becomes clearer than ever that the national administration is seizing upon the WPA strike in Minneapolis as a pretext for crippling the powerful local labor movement in preparation for America's entry into war." The WPA Defense Committee had already obtained the release of 85 of the 92 victims so far arrested, 34 of whom were released on their own recognition. Only seven strikers remain in jail, all of them members of the Workers Alliance who rejected the defense services of the AFL committee, and chose to be defended by a CIO defense committee which so far has failed to function.

These facts answered the arrogant pretensions of the so-called CIO committee which whined that the AFL wasn't doing it right.

Among the actions of the jury this week was the grilling for hours of officials of the Central Labor Union and the Federal Workers Section on the Minneapolis portion of the nationwide WPA strike, and the structure of the local labor movement.

TOM GADDIS ARRESTED FOR STRIKE ROLE

An outstanding example of the vindictiveness of the federal government was the arrest this week of Tom Gaddis, managing editor of the Farmer-Labor Press of the Omaha General Drivers Union. He was arrested there for participation in the Minneapolis strike.

Boss Parties Skirt War Issue in N. Y. Election

(Continued from Page 1)

and support Wall Street's war, they court disaster.

"On the most burning issue of the day—WAR—they are as silent as if their tongues had been glued by direct bribery from Wall Street.

"They have not even decided to take up the cudgels against one of the most scandalous frauds perpetrated by any political machine in New York—

the LaGuardia fraud of paying Wall Street \$326,000,000 for subways already owned by the city.

Subway Scandal

"A party that is a working class party would espouse any reform movement, such as cleaning up this outrageous subway fraud.

"More than a month ago the Socialist Workers Party denounced this subway fraud in the following unequivocal language:

"On top of food-profiteering by the Wall Street war-mongers, these same sharks have now concocted a gigantic fraud by which they hope to raise the five-cent subway fare to the profit of Wall Street and at the expense of the people.

"LaGuardia has agreed to pay Wall Street \$326,000,000 for the subways which are already city-owned property!

Against Wall Street

"The Socialist Workers Party demands that the IRT and the BMT subway and elevated lines be turned over to the city without paying one more cent to the Wall Street sharks who have already bled HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS OF DOLLARS out of these subway and elevated systems. Only in this way can the five-cent fare be guaranteed.

EXPROPRIATE THE SUBWAYS! KEEP THE FIVE CENT FARE!

"Does the silence of the leaders of the American Labor Party indicate that they are in favor of raising subway fares?

"One thing is absolutely clear, and that is the necessity of assuring the appearance on the ballot of a 100 per cent anti-war party, a party that will fight tooth and nail against every attempt of the Wall Street sharks to gouge the public.

"We are pledged to fight war and fascism without quarter. We intend to launch that fight if elected with a struggle to lop off the siphon with which Wall Street has been draining the profits from the subway system since 1894.

"An end to imperialist war! Break Wall Street's stranglehold on public utilities!"

SEAMEN TIE-UP SHIPS IN PARTS ALL OVER WORLD

Seamen's strikes for war bonuses and insurance continued to spread throughout the world, according to press reports. Three liners were tied up in Holland because operators failed to concede these demands. American, Irish, British sailors already have participated in such walk-outs.

CANADA ARRESTS WAR OPPONENT

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) TORONTO, Sept. 21. — Frank Watson, Canadian anti-war militant, was arrested earlier this week following a street corner speech he made denouncing Canada's participation in the imperialist war. Legal defense has been secured in his behalf.

vacation of the Supreme Council, on August 22nd, Pravda stated editorially, "Despite the colossal assistance rendered by the party and the Government to the All-Union coal-bins—the Donbas—and other coal regions, they still function unsatisfactorily: the metallurgists fail systematically (sic) to fulfill the plan and in the oilfields the tempos of oil production have been lowered." Such is the condition in coal, oil and metal—the key industries!

Yet faced with this critical situation, the bureaucracy for the time being does not dare to apply the measures which were enacted only a few months ago and which were designed to overcome this very situation. Instead they have resurrected the old slogan of "Socialist Competition," which is being supplemented by feeble attempts to revive the ballyhoo about Stakhanovism. Failure to produce is nowadays being explained as due to the failure of the management to introduce Stakhanovist methods in the plants, mills and mines. This change of tone can be due only to sharp resistance by the workers to the labor laws and their enforcement. These laws have not stopped the enormous turnover of labor.

The People's Commissar of Heavy Machine Industry admitted that his particular branch was practically crippled by this turnover. "From January to May of the current year," states Commissar Malyshev, "the enterprises in our commissariat lost more than 3,000 workers a month." (Izvestiya, August 24.)

WAR INCREASES CONFLICT IN INDUSTRY

The army mobilization is not going to improve the condi-

tions in labor supply. Furthermore, the few production indices that are still made public show that a sharp decline is again beginning to evince itself in industry. Now that the war has added its gigantic link to the developments and placed an ever-increasing burden on the country's productive machinery, the crisis in industry can only be aggravated.

If today the output in coal and oil is dropping, how will Stalin be able to supply Hitler with these items? He can do so only to the further damage of internal economic life.

Finally, the transport system, which collapsed so catastrophically last winter, is giving signs that it is about to fold up again. The railroads will hardly bear up under the additional demands of troop movements, army supplies, traffic to Germany, etc. Waterway transport, especially sea routes, have become indispensable to Stalin above all to meet his obligations to Hitler. The Baltic is the one avenue still open. Thus the fate of Estonia and other border countries with outlets to the Baltic becomes bound up with the inextricable web of the bureaucracy's difficulties. An assault upon Estonia is indicated by the traffic emergency.

It may well be asked: How much of a load can Stalin place on the shoulders of the Russian masses in order to fulfill his pledges to his latest imperialist ally, Nazi Germany?

At the very outbreak of the war, the Stalin regime finds itself in a blind alley. From every standpoint it is the weakest and most unstable regime in the world today.

Denouncing Stalin-Nazi Pact, Group Quits Communist Party

Disgusted with the reactionary role of Stalinism, a group of Communist Party members in Fulton County, New York, last week resigned from the Party. We print below a statement to us by a spokesman for the group.

We wish to utilize the Socialist Appeal with the hope that we may reach some Communist Party members with our message.

Among those who commissioned me to write this letter are the Educational Director and the Membership Director of the Communist Party Branch of Fulton County, N.Y. (I was the Organizer of the Branch and the Literature Agent.) These are the people who only yesterday were acknowledged as being the backbone of the movement here, people who gave most of their spare time to the Party, exposed themselves and built patiently a movement here which the reactionaries had to acknowledge and deal with.

Thunderbolt

Then the Soviet-German non-aggression pact was signed. This pact came as a thunderbolt to some of us, as a revelation and confirmation of doubts to others of us.

As the awful meaning of the pact began to seep into our minds and hearts, we became confused. Eagerly we read and re-read the Daily Worker, the

New Masses for reasonable explanations. But the unjustifiable cannot be justified. All the sophisms — for I refuse to call them arguments — of Browder & Co. appeared to us very shallow and funny.

Questions Not Answered

A meeting was called to discuss the pact. An important leader from New York happened to be in Gloversville to "enlighten" us poor provincials. Believing that there was still a little democracy left in the Party we asked embarrassing questions, which were never answered—instead we were told to have faith in the leadership of our "wise" Stalin, Molotov & Co. and be satisfied with the past record of our leaders. Some of us, too sincere for our own good, would not be satisfied with that. Immediately the scene changed. We were told that we had become the victims of those "rotten, degenerate, fascist enemies of the workers," the Trotskyites.

The Chairman who had told me, the Organizer, time and time again that I would some day become "another Lenin or Stalin" and that he would trust me even with his life, looked at me in such a way I shall not forget, then looked at the other questioners and said significantly that he was waiting eagerly for the day of the Revolution when he could himself shoot

those "Goddamn Trotskyite traitors." (When asked if he had ever read Trotsky, he said No!) Another rock-ribbed Stalinist even mentioned a comrade by name and remarked that he would himself shoot him when the time comes as he had been responsible for the shooting of two Trotskyites in Spain.

Understand Trials

From that moment we were through with Stalinism. Immediately it dawned upon us that it must be destroyed.

We had not been working to bring about such fascist philosophy of ignorant hatred, which is Stalinism, the very antithesis of socialist freedom.

So we began to see things in a different light. We began to realize what cruel frame-ups must have been those infamous trials, in which the majority of the leaders who brought about the Russian Revolution were shot as "mad dogs, Nazi traitors, Trotskyite vipers, snakes," etc.

The defeat of the heroic Spanish workers, the miserable failure of the Front Populaire in France, had always worried us; now we see the reason.

Studying Trotskyism

In the next meeting, Sept. 13, we, a sizeable minority, handed in our books and resigned. We were told we cannot resign, that we must be expelled. We left and the meeting continued. As soon as we left immediate precautions were decided on to protect the headquarters from the counter-revolutionary Trotskyites! The Chairman declared we would soon join a fascist group in town known as The Patriots! (A comrade told this to us.)

Such is the result of Stalinist education. In Fulton County, thousands of miles away from Moscow, the same miserable and degrading spectacle of hatred and mud-slinging against idealistic young people who formerly were so much trusted by their Party comrades.

We knew very little of Trotskyism. So we decided that it was about time to investigate. We are doing this. In the meantime we are calling upon all sincere comrades who are working so hard in the Communist Party to think seriously and ask themselves this question: What are we giving our time and energy for? Is it to bring about a socialist republic where all the people can live decently and free, or are we actually helping to bring about a fascist — like dictatorship of lies, hatred and ignorance?

Fraternally yours,
FRED KELLER

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SOCIALIST APPEAL

VOL. III, No. 73 Tuesday, September 26, 1939

Published Twice-Weekly by the
SOCIALIST APPEAL PUBLISHING ASS'N.
at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.
Telephone: ALgonquin 4-8547

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for six months. Foreign: \$3.00 per year; \$1.50 for six months. Single copies: 3 cents per copy in the United States; 3 cents per copy in all foreign countries. Single copies: 3 cents.
Bronx and Manhattan subscriptions are: \$1.50 for six months; \$3.00 for one year.
"Reentered as second class matter February 16, 1939, at the post office at New York, N.Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879."

Editor: MAX SHACHTMAN
Associate Editors: EMANUEL GARRETT
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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.

Stalin's Invasion of Polish Ukraine

(Continued from Page 1)

The secret motives which prompted this immediate military action are not known to us. Whether there was a secret agreement with Hitler for the partition of Poland; whether Hitler's army advanced further than Stalin anticipated and the invasion of the Red Army was hastily decided as a protection of the Soviet border from the fascist "partner"; whether a re-shuffling of the diplomatic and military alliances is already anticipated or feared, with Hitler, bought off by France and England with backing for an attack on the Soviet Union from the vantage ground of conquered Poland—the secret moves and the hidden cards are not known to us.

Real Road to "Liberation"

But we do know that Stalin's military invasion of Eastern Poland is inspired solely by the one motive that inspires all the actions and policies of the Stalinists—the self-preservation of the bureaucratic caste. The Ukrainian and White Russian people were not consulted; their rights and desires are of no more concern to Stalin than to the Polish masters who ruled and oppressed them up to yesterday.

The unhappy people who suddenly find themselves under the gruesome "protection" of Stalin will find the road to their true liberation only when they unite with their brothers on the Russian side of the border in a determined struggle for an independent Soviet Ukraine, a stage in the revolutionary struggle for the re-constitution of a Soviet federation of free peoples purged of the treacherous parasitic caste of bureaucrats whose name is Stalinism.

This idea, advanced with remarkable foresight by Comrade Trotsky some months ago, reveals itself already as the great illuminating slogan of the peoples caught in the three-sided trap of Stalin, Hitler and the allied imperialists. This slogan of self-determination, penetrating deeply into the mass of Ukrainian people can fuse them together across all the artificial national borders and inspire them with the hope of salvation.

The Need Is Social Revolution

The defense of the Soviet Union, i.e., the defense of the great conquests of the October revolution in the field of economy, will not be weakened, but on the contrary would receive a mighty reinforcement by the revolutionary overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Ukraine and the construction of an independent Soviet republic there. Such a free republic would unquestionably, and of necessity, turn immediately to the masses of Great Russia with the proposal of economic, political and military cooperation in a reconstituted Soviet federation, rouse them to their feet and aid them in a revolutionary fight to wipe the accused bureaucracy off the face of the earth.

By the inspiration of this example the incalculable revolutionary energies of the German proletariat, dammed up so long by the combination of fascist terror and Stalinist betrayal, could again find release and sweep through Germany and all Europe in a mighty, irresistible flood. Humanity, trapped in the bloody shambles of another war, would find the way out on the road of social revolution. The war, in fact, so far from sounding the death knell of revolution, as philistines, pessimists, skeptics and cowards imagine, has put the social revolution on the order of the day. The slogan of an independent

Ukraine is at this moment one of the most important strategic slogans to set in motion the new revolutionary upsurge.

It is primarily from this point of view that revolutionary workers should view the present events in the eastern section of the old Polish imperialist state.

No Faith in Shibboleths

Let philistines and muddle-headed dupes discuss these events in terms of the abstractions and shibboleths coined by the different imperialist camps for purposes of deception. "Defense" and "Aggression," the inviolability of artificial national borders established by previous military force, the struggle of "ideologies," the "right" of one gang of imperialist robbers to what they have previously stolen and the "right" of another gang to regain what it has lost and conquer more—all this kind of talk is conscious deception to fool the people. Whoever permits himself to be swayed or influenced in his judgments by such considerations, whoever indulges in this kind of chatter, thereby takes his place either as a conscious agent or a helpless dupe of one imperialist camp or another. The revolutionary movement, under penalty of annihilation, must rigorously quarantine its ranks against these infections.

On exactly the same order is the "democratic" clap-trap about the identity of bolshevism and fascism, and about the Soviet Union and Hitler's Germany being one and the same thing. This "idea"—to dignify a stupid fraud with a designation it does not deserve—is only the "ideological" justification for the advocacy of a war of "democracy versus totalitarianism," and is almost invariably followed by it. That is all right for imperialists and their social-democratic lackeys. They need deception, they need to muddle things up in order to lure the worker into a war against his own interests. But it is shameful and impermissible for a revolutionary worker to toy with these false and treacherous formulations. Those who do so have already put one foot in the camp of the class enemy.

Stalinist Bureaucracy Doomed

The nationalized economy established by the October revolution has shown its vitality and superiority under every test over a period of more than twenty years of world crisis and internal convulsions. It survived the early wars of intervention and a great civil war in a country already devastated by the ravages of Russia's participation in the world war. It has survived over an agonizing period of fifteen years of the Thermidorian reaction of Stalin. Stalin could physically destroy a whole generation of the men who made the revolution, but he could not destroy its fruit—the new system of nationalized economy. He could undermine it, weaken it, choke its development and reduce it in many respects to a frightful caricature of its natural operation under a truly revolutionary regime. But up to the present he has not been able to overthrow it.

The mission of the reactionary Stalinist bureaucracy was to destroy all the conquests of the October revolution and transform the Soviet Union into a colony of world imperialism. But, after fifteen years, the Stalinist bureaucracy enters the period of the new World War, which spells its doom in any case, with its reactionary mission uncompleted. The nationalized economy, distorted and twisted out of shape in many respects, still retains its basic features. That is the great difference between the Soviet Union and all the capitalist states, including the fascist.

The war will prove which is the stronger. If the Stalinist bureaucracy is not overthrown by the Russian masses, the Soviet economy will surely go down in ruins and be superseded by the restoration of capitalist private property and a genuine fascist counter-revolution. On the other hand, if the Soviet masses overthrow the bureaucracy, they will be able, thanks to the economic system inherited from the October revolution, to overcome all adversaries, and the Soviet system will conquer all of Europe in a revolutionary solution of the war.

They lie who say that the Soviet Union and the fascist countries are the same. They lie who say there is nothing left of the social conquests of the revolution worth fighting for. The issue is not yet decided. We know that Stalin is capable of any treachery. But Stalinism, by its very nature, is a *transitional regime*. It is incompatible with the further existence and development of the Soviet economy. It is incapable of conducting a war. The war, which it fears above all because it necessarily arms the masses and sets them in motion, draws its bloody days to an end.

Will the Soviet Union itself, will the nationalized economy perish with the perfidious regime of the bureaucracy, or will the Soviet Union, purged of the bureaucracy by a victorious political revolution, surge up with a new invincible power?—that is the question to which the further development of the war will indubitably give an answer.

Let those predict the worst disaster who will; an identification of the Soviet Union with fascist capitalism is a renunciation of the struggle in advance. There is not a trace of revolutionary will in such an attitude. But the revolutionary worker will cling to the end to everything that remains of the great conquests of October and defend it, arms in hand, against all enemies. That is the way matters stand in all events affecting the Soviet Union in these fateful days.

C.P. Ordered to Work for Victory Of Stalin-Hitler War Alliance

Browder and Company, in a Breath-taking Political Somersault, Drop the Cause of the So-Called Democracies In Order to Espouse the Cause of the New War Alliance

By JOSEPH CARTER
The Communist Party has just announced its new line on the war situation in a Declaration to the American People. (Daily Worker, Sept. 19.)

I. THE CHARACTER OF THE WAR

1. "The war that has broken out in Europe is the Second Imperialist War. The ruling capitalist and landlord classes of all the belligerent countries are equally guilty for this war," it declares.

But . . . the day after England and France declared war on Germany, following the latter's invasion of Poland, the Daily Worker wrote:

2. "There are, broadly speaking, three fronts: the front of fascist aggressive imperialism which has been waging the war for the past two and a half years. There is the camp of bourgeois democracy, against which this war is directed, but had been retreating. And then there is the third front, the real peace front, which, so far, includes the Soviet Union as its main country along with the many forces and peoples throughout the world who support it." (Daily Worker, Sept. 4. Questions and Answers.)

II. WHAT SHOULD THE MASS-ES IN THE BELLIGERENT COUNTRIES DO?

1. The recent Declaration of the C.P. states:

"Communists in all the belligerent countries are exposing the imperialist and predatory character of the war, they will vote against war credits, they go among the soldiers at the fronts and the masses at home explaining that this war will bring the people nothing but misery, burdens, destruction and death."

But . . . the Communist Parties of France and England voted for the same war, told the soldiers at the fronts and the masses at home that the war is for "national security" and "against fascist aggression!"

2. The Daily Worker endorsed these treacherous actions of their colleagues: "Maurice Thorez, general secretary of the great French Communist Party, has presented himself for military service with the army of France. . . . 'Now that Munich has led to war, Thorez, the Communist leader beloved of the French people, offers his life to defend the national security of France.'" (Daily Worker Editorial, Sept. 6.)

The next day its London correspondent reported that the Communist Party of England "vigorously proclaimed that it continues to work more actively than ever to help win the war against fascist aggression." (Sept. 7.)

III. WHAT SHOULD THE AMERICAN PEOPLE DO?

1. The latest line states: "First, allow no single meas-

ure to be taken for purposes of giving American help to either side of the imperialist conflict; second, find the most effective means of keeping the U.S. out of war, without any regard to whether these means incidentally happen to confer some small advantage to one side or the other."

It finds peace and pro-war forces on "both sides" of the dispute on raising the arms embargo and condemns those "who demand the repeal or revision of the Act for the purpose of U.S. help to British and French imperialism, and thereby drawing America into the war."

2. Two weeks ago, during the present war, the Daily Worker declared in a leading editorial: "In his radio speech to the nation following the outbreak of war in Europe, President Roosevelt voiced sentiments which it seems to us have the approval of the majority of the American people. . . .

"When the President spoke of a 'true neutrality' for America we feel that American interest demands the repeal of the false 'Neutrality Act' which now stands exposed as being the opposite of a 'true neutrality.' It is obviously not in America's interest, not in the interest of 'true neutrality' that America shut off its trade with Poland, England, France, Canada and Australia." (Sept. 5.)

The "slogans of action" adopted by the national committee of the Communist Party on Sept. 4 include:

"Full moral, diplomatic and economic help for the Polish people and those who help Poland defend its national independence. "Embargo Japan and Germany for the defeat of fascist aggression and for establishing a democratic peace." (Sept. 5.)

So that on the question of the character of the war, the measures that the workers in the belligerent countries should take, and what the American people should do, the Communist Party has renounced the position which they defended in the first days of the war (to say nothing of the pre-war Stalinist program).

KREMLIN AUTOCRATS DICTATE C.P. LINE

The zig-zag course of the Communist Party cannot be understood unless one all-important fact is kept in mind: the policy of the communist parties in every country is determined at each stage by the dictates of the autocracy of the Kremlin. An occasional misunderstanding of the Master's orders may exist or the orders may be carried out clumsily by bewildered henchmen—particularly when they are changed so suddenly!

Browder, Thorez and Pollitt received their line of yesterday and of today from Moscow.

Their change of policy corresponds to the shifting needs and tactics of Stalin.

The first phase of the second world war opened with the German invasion of Poland immediately following the signing of the Hitler-Stalin Pact.

Stalin desired a prolonged war between Anglo-French imperialism and German Fascism. Even after he signed the pact with Hitler, probably including secret terms for joint division of Poland, the Baltic countries, etc., he feared above all, a quick victory of Hitler in Poland, and a reconciliation of the hostile camps by a German march into the Russian Ukraine, that is, a "new Munich."

That is why at this stage Stalin assigned to his agents in the "democratic" countries the task of arousing mass movements of pressure on the respective governments for the most vigorous prosecution of the war by Anglo-French imperialism against Hitler. They were instructed to attack the alleged indecisiveness of Chamberlain and Daladier and to warn against their betrayal of "independent Poland" by a new Munich.

However, events move with lightning rapidity. Hitler conquered the western sections of Poland, and Stalin decided to invade the eastern regions of Poland. The second phase of the war was thus opened by Russia's open military alliance with Germany for the partition of Poland.

Stalin sent out new instructions. The Poland of Beck and Smigly-Ridz, which yesterday was to be defended by the people of the world, suddenly became a fascist and imperialist country. The support of Anglo-French imperialism by the Communist parties in the first stage, is now to be converted into an opposition to the war as a robber war of conquest. Browder's support to Roosevelt's program of lining up the United States in support of England and France is now changed into an opposition to the President's proposal to lift the embargo and a campaign against those who seek to drag the United States into the war.

The Communist parties have been ordered to do all in their power to help the victory of the Stalin-Hitler alliance. As agents of these dictators naturally they speak against the opponents of their masters, that is, against English, French and American imperialism. These unscrupulous tools seek to utilize the militant traditions of the working class against all imperialism and against war for the reactionary purpose of serving their bosses. That is the real meaning of the new line of the Communist parties.

(The Socialist Appeal will continue the analysis of the new C. P. line in coming issues.—Ed)

Roosevelt Message to Congress Session Speeds War Intervention

(Continued from Page 1)

velt to London—"national unity," "patriotism," and "non-partisanship" in the crisis. In other words, the authoritative spokesmen of both boss parties pledged that in relation to the war no personal or factional differences will interfere with their united defense of the interests of United States imperialism.

As the Special Session opened, seventeen members of the impotent isolationist bloc, headed by Senators Borah, Vandenberg, Hiram Johnson, Clark and LaFollette, held their own opposition conference to map parliamentary strategy. This conference was equally secretive and equally pledged to unity, patriotism and non-partisanship.

More and more the fight opening up in the Special Session takes on the character of a farce. Both groups are striving to appear to the public as the defenders of peace and the champions of the "battle to keep America out of the war." At

the same time both call for ever bigger armaments, and both want legislation which will enable the Sixty Families to gain a maximum of war profits.

At the same time, by the smokescreen of a bitter-end fight over the arms embargo, both groups aim to suppress the democratic demand for a popular referendum to decide the question of entry into the war. If either of them actually were serious about keeping this country out of the war, how could they argue against the popular referendum?

While Congress was opening, the delegates to the special Pan-American conference were gathered under the guns of the coast artillery at Panama. This meeting, designed to complete the work of the Lima Conference in bringing all of Latin America under the firm domination of Washington, is to be supervised by the reactionary under-Secretary of State, Sumner Welles.

Roosevelt has asked the Special Session to confine its work exclusively to revision of the Neutrality Act. Insofar as this means paying not the slightest attention to the terrible condition of the unemployed, left stranded by the Roosevelt-Woodrow relief bill, which has sent WPA rolls down to a new low of 1,600,000, insofar as it means no measures whatever that would be of benefit to the workers of the country, he will undoubtedly have his way.

Nevertheless, it is quite probable that the war measures to be taken by the Special Session will not be limited to repeal of the embargo. New armament appropriations, new bills aimed at civil rights, new legislation preparing for conscription and M-Day may well reach the floor before the session adjourns.

Roosevelt ended his speech on an ominous note:

"I should like to be able to offer the hope that the shadow over the world might swiftly pass. I cannot. The facts compel my stating, with candor, that darker periods may lie ahead. . . .

"Further, in the event of any future danger to the security of the United States or in the event of need for any new legislation of importance, I will immediately reconvene the Congress in another extraordinary session."

Let no one be under any illusions about the "new legislation of importance" which Roosevelt had in mind when he spoke: He meant, simply and flatly, the declaration of war.

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IN THIS CORNER

By Max Shachtman

The military alliance between Hitler and Stalin, cruelly attested by the partition of Poland, undoubtedly has deeper implications than appear on the surface. We do not refer to the latest discoveries about the Soviet Union and the Stalinist regime made by the Serious Thinkers of the "democratic front." When it appeared that Stalin would enter the war against Hitler on the side of England and France, these Thinkers were magnanimously willing to paste the label of democracy on the Moscow autocrats. Fundamentally imperialist patriots, both before the Stalinist pact and after it, they are now just as lightmindedly declaring that there is not, after all, a particle of difference between Hitler and Stalin, between Fascist Germany and the Soviet Union.

They never understood the first thing about the Soviet Union, its regime and its foreign policy, and they don't understand it now. That—in the best case; quite often, however, they understand well enough but are interested for good and patriotic reasons in not having anyone else understand.

The New Bureaucracy

Among the forces that impelled Stalin to make the pact with Hitler, there is one that has received no treatment in the general press: the new bureaucracy that has developed in Russia in the recent years.

Before his saddening capitulation to the Stalinist clique, Christian Rakovsky wrote in exile one of the most interesting and penetrating analyses of the transformation of the Soviet ruling circles we have ever seen. He traced the profound changes that had taken place in the leading staff of the Bolsheviks after more than a decade of the revolution. Most of those who had gone through the rigors of the fight against czarism, of the world war, of the two revolutions and the civil war and intervention that followed, had grown tired. World revolution? Perhaps, but not in our time; so why waste efforts on promoting it. Faith in the vast resources that had brought them to power, gave way to cynicism. The isolation of the country was taken for granted, and with it the perpetuation of inequality. Stalin? A scoundrel, but a brutal one you couldn't afford to antagonize until he broke his own neck. Meanwhile, hold fast to everything you can, including the not inconsiderable and not uncomfortable privileges of the bureaucratic hierarchy.

And these privileges, which gave the party functionary a decent apartment in town and perhaps a country house, with a servant or two, an office car at his disposal, plus, perhaps, one of his own, a better and then a much better gown for his wife, plus a bit of finery—all these contributed to the general atmosphere that imperceptibly but inexorably washed out of his consciousness all the revolutionary feeling and spirit that made possible the great working class triumph in November 1917.

Since Rakovsky made this study, which we reprinted some time ago in the *New Internationalist*, the transformation has proceeded at a terrific pace. The decisive element in the Soviet bureaucracy is no longer the degenerated old Bolshevik. In fact, his whole generation has been wiped out physically—ex-oppositionists and capitulators along with real oppositionists. Its place has been taken by a new generation which now makes up the bulk of the bureaucratic apparatus.

No Ties With the Revolution

The new bureaucracy has no real ties with the grand revolutionary tradition. The tradition is either horribly distorted or else looked upon with the upstart's contempt. The socialist foundations upon which the life even of a man like, let us say, Zinoviev, was built and maintained, at least to one degree or another, are entirely absent in the new bureaucratic layers. To the latter, socialist terminology and slogans play about the same role as did the anti-capitalist slogans of the Nazi machine a few years ago: a means of duping the contemptible masses.

All of them, of course, are ardent champions of the theory of "socialism in a single country," which, as Trotsky pointed out in 1928, gives them a feeling of Messianic Russian superiority. This feeling has been fostered systematically by the purely Great Russian patriotic propaganda of the past years, the glorification of most of the despots of czarist times, of victorious reactionary generals, and the like. It is not by accident that the newly-appointed official, equipped with plenipotentiary powers by the Kremlin, operates in the provinces, and especially in the national republic of the Soviet Union, in the spirit of imperial arrogance so characteristic of the czar's chinovniks.

Is it inconceivable that this bureaucratic layer, entirely devoid of the spirit of socialism and internationalism, is playing with grandiose ideas of imitating the "successes" of Hitler, for whom ever so many have a feeling of purely totalitarian admiration? Far from being inconceivable, it is more than likely. A gang that was able to frame-up and destroy the whole leading staff of the Bolshevik revolution on the most infamous of charges, is capable of anything. They are far from having reached the boundaries of their degeneration; they still have more than one "surprise" in store for us.

How much pressure does this layer exert upon the formation of official Kremlin policy? Far more than most people imagine—both direct and indirect pressure. There is no doubt in our mind that their influence will be even more openly revealed in the period ahead. A little thing like a military alliance with Hitler, another detail like partitioning Poland, or the Baltic or the Balkans, with Hitler, still another detail like carving up China between Russia and Japan—all these are trifles in the mind of an eager and rapacious bureaucracy which is interested entirely and exclusively in keeping itself in power.

And if its self-preservation means the radical alteration of the foundation of present-day Soviet economy, it will not hesitate too long before making that alteration, even if it means the restoration of capitalist private ownership of the means of production and exchange. "During the war," Trotsky said two years ago, "the allies can impose on the Soviet Union such concessions that the Soviet state can become a bourgeois state."

What percentage or section of the bureaucracy will be the victim of such concessions, and what percentage the beneficiaries, may soon be seen. In any case, it is not decisive. Decisive for the salvation of the remaining conquests of the Russian Revolution is the position and the action that will be taken by those numerous millions in whose hands lies Russia's future—the now gagged and fettered workers and peasants.

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