

**BUILD WORKERS' DEFENSE GUARDS**

## Socialist Appeal

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

**LET THE PEOPLE VOTE ON WAR**

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# "CASH AND CARRY" SPEEDS WAR ENTRY

## Stalin Signs "Friendship Agreement" with Hitler

### Baltic Nations Slated For Axe as Carving Of Poland Is Finished

Implications of New Agreement Are More Far-Reaching Than of Non-Aggression Pact—Another Stalinist Turn Ahead

The Stalinist regime took a further step in its collaboration with Nazi imperialism this week when, following a pact which it imposed upon Estonia, it announced the signing of a new "frontier and friendship agreement" between Germany and the Soviet Union which has even more far-reaching implications than the Hitler-Stalin "non-aggression pact" signed in Moscow a month ago.

The new agreement formally establishes "the frontier of their respective spheres of interests in the region of the former Polish state" on the basis of a map jointly drawn up which gives the Nazis, in substance, the industrial west of former Poland and Stalin the agricultural east.

**No Polish Buffer**  
The carving up of the spoils conquered in the joint campaign of Hitler and Stalin, wiped out the hopes maintained to the last minute in some quarters that provision would be made for a separate Polish state over that part of the territory which was generally acknowledged as indisputably Polish by population and tradition.

Of no less importance and significance is the view set forth in the supplementary statement signed in Moscow on Sept. 28 by the plenipotentiary

#### Peace and Plenty—American Style

ST. PAUL, Mich. — While the Federal Government continues its relentless persecution of WPA workers in the Twin Cities, its program of wholesale dismissals under the new eighteen month rotation plan has already placed scores of needy families on the brink of starvation and death.

Latest victim of the WPA dismissals is Charles Reese, 41, who, deprived of an opportunity to earn even the meager WPA wage, placed his head on the Milwaukee railroad tracks as a train was passing by.

Those workers whom the Roosevelt administration cannot silence with its FBI frame-ups it condemns to suicide by denying to their wives and children the necessities of life.



### Roosevelt War Deal Resorts to Subterfuges in Face of Growing Mass Opposition to the War

By a vote of 16 to 7, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee adopted last Thursday the Pittman resolution embodying the next steps in Roosevelt's plan to involve the United States in the imperialist war raging in Europe.

The determination of the Administration to line up this country with Anglo-French imperialism has already been shown by many actions taken by the President, most spectacular of which is the pledge that the United States will defend one of the belligerent powers—Canada—in case it is attacked.

#### The First Victim of The War—Democracy

AN EDITORIAL

The Roosevelt crowd is whooping it up for another war to "make the world safe for democracy."

All the healthy, progressive feelings of the people, above all their uncompromising hatred of Hitlerism, are being cunningly exploited to promote American participation in a new slaughter.

For "democracy"?

Nonsense! Even that skimpy, limited, distorted democracy that exists in the United States will be the first victim of America's entry into the war.

Here is another proof of this, if more were needed. It comes from an "authoritative" pen—the pen of General Hugh S. Johnson. Without agreeing with him in all points, we quote excerpts from his column in the New York World-Telegram of Sept. 26, 1939, in which he deals with the question of "democracy's" fate in Canada:

"Canada today is a good pre-view of what may happen to a great American, Anglo-Saxon democracy when it goes to war. Its democracy is abandoned. It has barely sampled war, but Magna Carta is already in the ash can and the Bill of Rights is out the window.

"Freedom of speech, press and radio is gone. Canadians aren't going to bother with elections—so representative government is gone. Manufacture and selling are being put under a license system. Taxes are automatically zooming—so property rights and liberty of contract are going. The government is getting ready to regulate practically all economic relations by dictatorial decree. The appalling total of all this seems to make Hitler a piker and Mussolini a maudering monk. . . .

"And yet Canada has laid the horror in Europe on our very doorstep. She is going across the Atlantic Ocean to fight Hitler. Canada is a sovereign nation. She isn't threatened any more than we are—which is not at all. If she isn't an 'aggressor,' what is she?

"And where do we stand? If the enemy she has chosen to attack in Europe counter-attacks her here, hasn't our President said that we would not 'stand idly by'? That may not spell an 'offensive-defensive' alliance, but, from the ground of our interests, isn't it something much worse? We haven't any engagement from Canada to defend us, but this sounds like our engagement to defend her, no matter what her fault may be. The Monroe Doctrine requires no such absurdity.

"Did Canada consult us on a course of war that might thus bring us in, regardless of our wish or interest? Our people haven't heard about it if she did. But is it conceivable that she would go to war in these circumstances without consulting our government? If she did, what was the answer?

"Who makes the decisions that raise our obligation to fight? Is it Canada or the British Empire, or some impulsive promise of our President or anything at all, short of the Congress of the United States representing the will of a majority of 130,000,000 people? If we do not remain neutral, cautious and alert, it may be."

#### Pittman's Exceptions

It now seeks to lift the arms embargo and establish a fake "cash-and-carry" plan under the guise of neutrality. While even an air-tight bill providing that the warring powers can purchase goods (including arms, airplanes, etc.) only if they pay cash and transport the goods on their own ships would help the Allies—Germany neither has the cash nor can its ships break through the English blockade—the Pittman bill includes "exceptions" which further aid the Allies and threaten early American participation in the war.

In accordance with the bill, the President may extend ninety days credit to a warring power if he finds "such action will serve the commercial or other interests of the United States or its citizens. . . ."

Further the same section of the bill [section 7(a)] while prohibiting longer credits to the government of any state at war or subdivision or agent of such a government, does not exclude long term credits to private citizens or corporations of the belligerent powers.

In explaining this part of his resolution, Senator Pittman stated according to the New York Times (Sept. 29) summary:

"He said, however, that any nation in default of payment of short-term credits could continue, under the act, to buy goods for actual cash in the United States. He added, also, that the language did not cover the mat-

**'CASH AND CARRY' Means: Cash in on War Orders; Carry The American People Into the Boss War**

ter of credit arrangements between private firms or persons in the United States and private concerns in the warring countries, but only dealing between American nationals and agencies of foreign governments."

**"Cash" Aspect Phoney**  
The discretionary powers of the President to extend credit and the ability of "private" corporations in the belligerent nations to get more extended credit in this country makes a farce of the "cash" aspect of the bill.

So also, though the Pittman resolution prohibits American vessels from carrying passengers, articles or materials to the warring countries, it makes an exception of "transportation on lakes, rivers, and inland waters bordering on the United States, and as to transportation on or over lands bordering on the United States. . . ." In other words, American vehicles

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### Confidential Bulletin Shows Big Business Primed for War Profits

By JOSEPH HANSEN

ARTICLE III

The executive position scheduled for Big Business in the military dictatorship that will straitjacket the American people when Roosevelt plunges the United States into the war now raging in Europe, serves not only to give Big Business a more direct control over the military government but also assures greater freedom for each capitalist in the mad scramble for war profits.

The whole conception of Big Business concerning the participation of the United States in the bloodbath envisages a "blitzkrieg" or lightning war—a war that will permit the successful shaking down of maximum profits from the battlefields with minimum danger of revolution at home against their dictatorship.

"It [the Industrial Mobilization Plan] is based upon one primary assumption—that if the United States enters a war, this war must be terminated as quickly and as successfully as possible."

#### What Big Business Hopes for

That is one of the main reasons why Big Business, despite its explanation to the capitalist class that Roosevelt's New Deal has now been converted into a War Deal for their benefit, still desires more direct control of the government apparatus. A short, snappy war, with the slaughter of American workers not great enough to have repercussions at home beyond the scope of the police, the National Guard, and the F.B.I., and a huge shakedown of war orders and war profits at the expense of the people—that is the best variant Big Business can see and the one it is dealing its cards to secure.

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### BIG COUNCILMANIC VOTE SEEN SURE FOR SHACHTMAN AND PAINE

Anti-War Candidates Ask ALP to Make Its Position on War Clear—Drive to Get on Ballot Enters Final Lap

NEW YORK CITY, Sept. 28.—With many times the number of signatures legally required to nominate a candidate for the Councilmanic elections already secured, according to reports of canvassers in the Bronx and with Manhattan canvassers going into the last lap of their campaign with every chance to end up not far behind the Bronx campaigners, the nomination of both candidates of the Socialist Workers Party was virtually assured today.

Max Shachtman of the Bronx will begin a street by street tour of the Bronx beginning tomorrow night, presenting the anti-war program of the Socialist Workers Party before the voters of his borough. The sympathetic manner in which workers have welcomed the canvassers presages a big vote for the candidate of the Socialist Workers Party.

**War Post for Mayor?**  
Meanwhile there were indications from Washington, D.C., that Mayor LaGuardia, a member of the American Labor Party, is being groomed for the post of Secretary of War. In the eyes of Big Business LaGuardia makes an ideal candidate for the post—loyal to the marrow to Wall Street, an efficient administrator, and blessed with a liberal record that should make him more acceptable to the working class than an out and out Morgan hireling.

"The American Labor Party is still silent on any declaration of opposition to the second world war and opposition to Roosevelt's and LaGuardia's plans to plunge the United States into this war," candidates Max Shachtman and

(Continued on Page 2)

#### CHRYSLER VOTE SIGNS FINISH TO MARTIN

DETROIT.—A smashing victory for the CIO Auto Workers union against the Homer Martin AFL outfit was recorded this week in the National Labor Relations Board elections of the Chrysler Corp. employees.

The CIO union was chosen by 40,564 out of 50,504 workers who voted to represent them through exclusive bargaining rights.

This practically finishes off the dual union of the AFL in this field under the direction of Homer Martin.

#### NOTICE

The "Night in Harlem" under the auspices of the National Negro Department has been postponed from Saturday, October 7th until October 14th. Tickets are available at the National Office, and through the party branches. Tickets already purchased will be honored on the 14th.

### TWO LEADING CP MILITANTS JOIN THE SWP

Leroy and Rice Denounce Stalinism For Reactionary Role

Two more leading militants of the Communist Party have broken with Stalinism and joined the Socialist Workers Party. Both have been active in the Yorkville (N.Y.) C.P. for many years. Comrade Sidney LeRoy was the Yorkville section organizer of the party, taught for a few years in the Workers' School and was a National Organizer and member of the National Committee of the American Friends of the Soviet Union. He had also been a candidate of the party for local offices in 1933 and 1934.

Comrade Sarah Rice, member of the party since 1926, was organization secretary of its Yorkville section, organizer and member of the Joint Board of the Workers Alliance, national organizer and member of the American Friends of the Soviet Union. In the city and state elections of 1933 to 1936 inclusive she was a party candidate for various offices.

We welcome these comrades into our ranks and join with them in the appeal to all militants of the Communist Party to repudiate Stalinism and join the ranks of the genuine fighters against imperialist war and capitalism, the Socialist Workers Party.

(The statement of Comrades Rice and LeRoy appears on page 3 of this issue.)



# Big Business Primes Itself for War Profits

(Continued from Page 1)

The confidential report of the Tax Research Institute devotes considerable space to the analysis of price control under the military dictatorship and the ways and means for those on the inside to avoid those controls.

"Certain conditions in war, particularly in the early stages, disturb the price structure. Among the things which contribute to this are unusual Government demands, diminished available supply for civilian use, reckless Government buying, high cost production because of the employment of unskilled workers, increased insurance, interest and tax rates, restriction of essential imports, and inflation of the currency."

## Right Kind of "Price Control"

This paragraph was written evidently in the light of the experience of the last World War. Huge government orders were given out at enormous profit to individual capitalists; colossal fortunes were made on shoe-string investments by members of the Sixty Families; billions in profits were rolled up by the giant corporations. Some of the scandals that were uncovered after the war censorship had been lifted rocked the entire nation.

"The exact method of price control has not yet been determined; this is one of the problems now before the recently appointed War Resources Board."

And since this Board is composed of high-paid agents of Wall Street closely connected with the Morgan interests, the members of the capitalist class are assured of just the

kind of "price control" that will dovetail most nicely with the profit side of the ledger.

The confidential report analyzes the various means of price control now being considered by the War Resources Board and comments as follows:

"Uniform unit prices, slightly above the bulk line of cost, will be prescribed for basic commodities and raw materials, except where it is manifestly to the national interest [That is, Wall Street's interest—J.H.] to prescribe a graded scale of prices based on differences in most. A graded scale of prices if carried out in full detail, is practically a cost-plus system and gives an incentive to wasteful and inefficient management. Moreover, this method involves laborious investigations, is difficult to apply, and provides opportunities for fraud and evasion. [There it is, in black and white!—J.H.] The single-price policy, allowing differentials for quality, transportation, and margins between producers and dealers, makes less of a departure from normal business conditions and is less complex in its administration. [Requires less complicated bookkeeping to cover up the abnormal take in profits.—J.H.]"

## Bosses Guaranteed THEIR Cut

But whatever the system employed in the light of propaganda needs, the capitalist is guaranteed his cut in the lucrative flow of war profits:

"In the determination of prices, a Commission to be appointed in the event of war, will be guided by the fact that just compensation must be allowed. [Must be!—J.H.]

With this in view, the Commission may base its decisions as to price or profits on whichever of the following it deems to be most desirable in each case:

"(a) Profits earned by the industry or the commercial activity concerned over a pre-war period to be specified by the Commission.

"(b) The cost of producing the last unit of the indispensable amount of the commodity required by the war programs, either throughout the industry as a whole or upon a regional or territorial basis.

"(c) Prevailing market prices.

"(d) Actual cost of production plus a reasonable return on capital."

The meat of this juicy capitalist nut can be extracted merely by understanding one basic fact: the Commission to decide on the control will be Wall Street appointees; Wall Street will decide what constitutes "reasonable return on capital"; and Wall Street will define what it means by "cost." (Items such as rent paid oneself, salaries to vice-presidents, interest on "loans," etc., or fake costs paid a holding company, give complete license in this field.)

Under the heading: "The Safeguards Assured Business in Price Control," the confidential bulletin remarks that "Government contractual relations are to be so administered as to insure the contractor against undue risks incident to war-time production."

Wall Street will be insured by the government against war-time risks! Its profits will be guaranteed! As for the workers herded into the Army and shipped over to Europe

to do the "insuring," their lives, wounds, and suffering can be counted as no more than the usual premium necessary for that insurance.

## War Hysteria First, Profits Next

"All Prices Can't Be Fixed," remarks the confidential bulletin, and it adds the following inside tip for the better understanding of the members of the capitalist class:

"T.R.I. Observation: One of the important observations that the Army and Navy Munitions Board has made in its study of prices control is that prices cannot be controlled, except where there exists physical control over the goods or services. The problem of enforcement is the one greatest obstacle to the imposition of a ceiling over all prices. The Board concedes that there probably never can be established a sufficiently powerful body to control all prices, even if it were desired."

There is the nub of the whole "price control" system. Wall Street does not desire to control prices or profits. If public opinion makes necessary a certain smoke-screen called "government control," every capitalist is assured that it won't hinder his profit-taking in the slightest. In fact, on the contrary, the government will guarantee his profits.

Small wonder that Roosevelt is working day and night to whip up the war hysteria that will plunge the United States into this second World War and give the itching fingers of Wall Street as soon as possible the golden feel of WAR PROFITS!

(The last of the series of four articles on the subject will appear in the next issue of the Socialist Appeal.)

## In the Labor Unions

By B. J. WIDICK

Until recently, British labor leaders were recognized universally as peers in the fine art of selling out the interests of the workers under the guise of obtaining a victory. Cooperating with the "enlightened" British ruling class, the labor leaders did quite splendidly. Rewards of knighthood and baronetcy testified to that fact.

However, we are willing to risk the charge of chauvinism and state plainly that in this art the American labor bureaucracy, assisted by the clever Mr. Roosevelt, is now surpassing its British prototype.

In England, the labor leaders and their masters slipped up badly in chaining the union movement to the war machine. His Majesty's Minister of Supply, Leslie Burgin, advised poorly by dull labor leaders, forgot to consult officially with the trade union movement on war production.

## Roosevelt Strategy

Meeting only with big business representatives, the Minister of Supply ignored certain inevitable problems which arise in war production; maladjustments, unemployment in some industries, speed-up, working hours, etc. The result was widespread dissatisfaction among union men, and this week the General Council of the Trades Union Congress is conferring to handle the problem. Labor representation will be demanded and probably granted. But the seeds of dissent have been sown.

In America, some naive people have been quite concerned that President Roosevelt would make the similar "mistake." Mr. Roosevelt recently appointed a War Resources Board, which was ballyhooed as the controlling body of American industry for war.

Liberals were shocked by the composition of this Board. Four men from the House of Morgan, including Edward Stettinius, president of U.S. Steel, were selected. And no representative of the labor movement was among the committee of seven.

Both the CIO and the AFL top leaders worked up a righteous indignation over this omission. John L. Lewis thundered forth in his Olympian fashion. William Green preached his usual sermon on democracy and labor's rights.

Friendly correspondents, sympathetic columnists, and "left-wing" New Dealers kept a steady barrage of criticism against the personnel of the War Resources Board.

Victory or Fake? This week Roosevelt announced that the Board would make a report and then go out of existence in a few weeks. WAR INDUSTRIES BOARD TO GO! UNDER FIRE AS REACTIONARY! said the headlines.

What a "victory" for labor and the true democrats! This will be the theme of every

speech for the next few weeks in the camp of Roosevelt supporters. Labor probably will get a representative on a new board. Maybe two, one from the CIO and one from the AFL. No British muddling through in the Roosevelt strategy. It's as slick as a whistle. For Roosevelt kills two birds with one stone. General Hugh Johnson, who had a little experience in these matters during the world war, let the cat out of the bag before Roosevelt finished his magic act.

## Road to War

The selection of the Morgan men was a deliberate move, calculated to arouse antagonism against the present War Industries Board. Taint it with Morgan-British world war infamy! Keep labor off. Give the liberals and labor fakers a phony issue to howl about. "This isn't democracy. Labor isn't represented."

The pillow fight rages. Then Roosevelt calmly announces the dismissal of the Board. He retreats before "progressive" pressure. A new board is chosen. Labor is represented! Lewis and Green claim a big "victory." Liberals cry that this proves America is really fighting a war for democracy.

And labor's rights are strangled by this "victory." For this very victory spells the road to war, with Lewis and Green showing the way.

## JOHNSON ARTICLES ON THE NEGRO AND THE WAR IN PAMPHLET FORM

The pamphlet is entitled "Why the Negroes should Oppose the War."

This pamphlet consists of the articles that appeared in the Appeal under the heading of "The Negro and the War" by J. R. Johnson. It has been revised for pamphlet publication. It is to be published by Pioneer Publishers and will contain 32 pages, at 5 cents a copy.

### For Mass Sale

The pamphlet is admirably suited for mass distribution. In very straightforward and simple language, it details the crimes of American "democracy" against the Negro people. It shows that the Negroes have all do not need much agitation to understand that, at least as far as they are concerned, any war that Roosevelt drags America into will not be for democracy, because over 90% of them enjoy no democracy of any kind.

To the Negroes, however, it would seem that although they are very clear in their own minds about the fraud of a war for democracy, their situation as a minority makes it difficult for them to struggle adequately against the war. The pamphlet shows that millions of Africans in Africa, Indians in India, Indo-Chinese, and the other oppressed colonial peoples, are for the most part subjects of "democracies," e.g., Britain and France. Comprising hundreds of millions of people in the world today these colonials have even less cause than the American Negroes to support Britain and France in a so-called war for "democracy," which in reality will mean their further enslavement.

But the American Negro has allies, not only among the colo-

## Stalin Signs "Friendship Agreement" with Hitler

(Continued from Page 1) representatives of the two governments. Although the new Stalinist line in this and other countries declares that the war is an imperialist struggle on both sides and should not therefore be supported by the workers in any of the belligerent countries, the protocol statement lays the basis for a new turn-about-face. It states textually:

### New Statement

"After the German Reich government and the Government of the Soviet Russian Republic have definitely settled by the treaty signed today the question resulting from disintegration of the Polish State, thus creating a safe foundation for lasting peace in Eastern Europe, they unanimously express the opinion that it would correspond to the true interests of all peoples and make and end to the war existing between Germany on the one hand and England and France on the other hand. Therefore, both governments, if necessary in conjunction with one of the befriended nations,

will direct their joint efforts toward searching this aim as soon as possible. But should the efforts of both governments fall then the fact would be established that England and France are responsible for the continuation of the war, and in case of continuation of the war the Governments of Germany and Soviet Russia will consult each other regarding the necessary measures."

In a brief period of time, therefore, the Stalinist line has passed through two breath-taking changes. Less than two months ago, it was announced that the world was divided into two groups, one composed of the "peace-loving" powers like England and France, and the other composed of the "war-loving aggressors" like Germany. The Stalinists of course favored the former and called for war against the latter.

Following the Hitler-Stalin pact, this point of view was dumped out of the window and a new one proclaimed which is still advocated in the local Stalinist press, namely, that England and France on the one side, and Germany on the other, are both imperialist warmongers and that democracy versus fascism is not in any way the issue involved in the war.

### Germany—"Peace Lover"

Now, with the new Ribbentrop-Molotov statement, dictated entirely by Hitler, the line is that Germany is the "peace-loving" power and that England and France are the "war-loving aggressors" who have no good and sufficient reason now that Poland has been carved up!—to continue the war against Germany.

From which the conclusion is to be drawn that if England and France refuse to make peace on Hitler's terms—which they surely will refuse to do, in view of their determination to scotch their now menacing imperialist rival—it is they alone who are responsible for the continuation of the war, whereas Hitler's skirts are clear of any such responsibility.

How speedily the local Stalinist press will adjust itself to the new commandment of Hitler-Stalin and begin shouting that the Hitler "peace" program deserves the support of all the friends of democracy and freedom, remains to be seen. In any case, their latest line that the war is imperialist on both sides, can not be seriously maintained by them any longer. This is so not because the war is a war for "democracy," as the professional patriots and liberal war-mongers in this country and elsewhere contend, but because the Ribbentrop-Molotov pronouncement makes it impossible for the Stalinists to carry their brief "revolutionary" pretenses any further.

Estonia Forced in Line Coincident with the second trip of Ribbentrop to Moscow, the Stalin clique proceeded to clamp down on Estonia and to

make threatening gestures in the direction of Rumania. A number of the most bare-faced pretenses were cooked up by the Moscow bureaucracy for intimidating the petty Estonian ruling class into submission to Stalin's demands. After the invention of a few classic "incidents" about "attacks" on the Soviet fleet and "threats" to Russia's security, the Kremlin forced Estonian Foreign Minister Karl Selter to capitulate.

Stalin obtained naval and air bases for Soviet military forces at Paldiski and on the islands of Oesel and Dagoo, as well as the right to keep a standing Red Army of 25,000 men on Estonian territory.

The tiny Baltic republic, hitherto a vassal of British or French imperialism, or both, has thus passed under what amounts to the effective domination of the Stalinist bureaucracy. It is expected that steps will be taken in the near future by Hitler and Stalin to divide the rest of the Baltic countries between them, with Latvia in all likelihood passing to Stalin and Lithuania, which has been more or less under Hitlerite tutelage since the seizure of Memel, passing more openly under the dominion of the Third Reich.

## OCTOBER NEW INTERNATIONAL DISCUSSES SECOND WORLD WAR

"The Second World War" is the feature article of the October number of *The New International*, now off the press and on sale. The Editors enter into an examination of the imperialist war and pose several problems, among them: "What is the War About?", "Who Is Responsible for It?", "Why Must the United States Enter the Conflict?", "Is This a War for Democracy?", and "How Will the War End?"

A second feature article is by Leon Trotsky, entitled, "Trotskyism and the P.S.O.P. (Workers and Peasants Party of France)," an answer to Marcieu Pivert, Secretary of the P.S.O.P.

Other significant articles concern themselves with the War Referendum, the Negro Question, Palestine, Bolivia, India, etc. The complete table of contents of this very fine number of *The New International* is as follows:

1. Let the Readers Decide.
2. The Second World War, by the Editors.
3. "Trotskyism" and the P.S.O.P., by Leon Trotsky.
4. The Friends of the War Referendum, by Hal Draper.
5. Negro Slavery in North America, by George Novack.
6. British Imperialism in India: A Chart of the Exploitation of 375,000,000 People, by Sherman Stanley.
7. The Socialist Crisis in France.
8. Rebuttal on the Palestine Question.
9. A Letter from Bolivia.
10. Kronstadt Again.
11. Whitewashing the P.O.U.-M., by Douglas Conley and Mary Willis.
12. Organizing Negro Labor, by B. J. Widick.

## SEE BIG VOTE AHEAD FOR SWP CANDIDATES

### Anti-War Candidates Ask ALP to Make Its War Position Clear

(Continued from Page 1) George Lyman Paine of the Socialist Workers Party declared today in a joint statement.

Clear Stand Needed "Officials of a labor party who attempt to support this imperialist war may enjoy a brief and fleeting popularity as part of a wave of war hysteria, but when that wave passes it will leave all those parties who supported the war stranded, and faced with certain disintegration."

"Uncompromising opposition to the imperialist war, not only in words but in action, and especially after the United States is in, is the only possible platform a political party of the working class can take. That is the position of the Socialist Workers Party. It is high time that the American Labor Party came out in the open and declared publicly that it opposes LaGuardia, the new candidate for Secretary of War, and Roosevelt and the war-mongering policies of both of them."

## APPEAL ARMY

### NEWSSTAND SALES WEEK'S HIGHLIGHT

New York's efforts to stimulate the circulation of the *Socialist Appeal* on newsstands is the main development of the past week. Abe Miller, City Literature Agent, has laid out the following steps to insure the development of this work, and particularly during the period of the election campaign in which the local Party is participating. As evidence of the improvement in some sections in newsstand sales, the Bronx Borough reports that one newsstand sold 38 copies of an issue, and one Brownsville, Brooklyn, newsstand sold 17 copies on the second day the paper was placed. The methods being utilized in New York are:

1. Bicycles wherever feasible on route work.
2. Utilization of a car in the mid-town and Lower East Side areas.
3. A leaflet each week issued in conjunction with newsstand work.
4. Assignment of conscientious comrades to build up newsstand circulation in their neighborhoods.

### SUBSCRIPTIONS ARE WEAK SPOT

A weak spot in New York, as in many other localities, remains, however, subscriptions. This applies also to the failure to secure new and renewal subscriptions sufficiently for *The New International*.

In the past week 32 new subscriptions were obtained and 13 renewal subscriptions in various parts of the country. Henry Schnautz of Evansville, Indiana, made good on his promise by sending in 6 new subscriptions, while Chicago added another 4. The subscription record for the past week is as follows:

	New	Renewal
New York City	5	6
Stillwater, Minn.	1	
Columbus	1	
Worcester	2	
Chicago	4	1
Plentywood	1	1
Evansville	6	
Baltimore	2	
Boston	1	
Washington, D. C.	1	
Fitchburg	2	
Philadelphia	2	
Detroit	1	1
St. Louis	1	
St. Paul	2	
Youngstown	1	
Paterson	1	
Houston	1	
Miscellaneous	1	
	32	13

It will be noted in these columns that the smaller cities, such as Worcester, Baltimore, Fitchburg and Washington, D.C., have systematically sent in subscriptions weekly. Of the stronger Party locals, St. Paul and St. Louis have done the best job.

### BUNDLE ORDER SITUATION VARIES

New Castle, Pennsylvania has increased its bundle order to 10 copies.

Fresno, California, too, has made another advance, increasing its bundle order to 10.

Also in Gloversville, New York, where several members of the Communist Party resigned from the party, a bundle order has been placed for the paper.

In the Akron and Barberton, Ohio area systematic efforts to stimulate circulation have gone forward apace. The new agent in Akron is Anthony Carlyle.

In the bundle orders Oakland, California has reduced its order from 40 to 30, while undergoing a reorganization of its literature department; but under Comrade E. M., the nominal reduction actually is an improvement in the real sales and circulation of the paper, and increases can be expected soon again.

Toledo, Ohio, has increased its bundle order from 20 to 25 copies per issue.

Los Angeles, finding it necessary to reorganize its literature department, has reduced its regular bundle order for a few weeks from 200 to 100 and has placed Comrade Glover in charge of the work as full-time literature agent. The section Executive Committee is hopeful of mobilizing the membership more frequently in Red Sundays, as well as week night mobilizations for house to house sales in various territories and also to place the paper on newsstands and special street sales, etc. The *New International* circulation appears to have been stabilized and subscriptions consistently improved under the direction of Harry Baker.

### Minimum Guaranteed Earnings!!

WANTED—Men, Women and Students to sell the *Socialist Appeal* as a part time job. *Socialist Appeal* now selling very fast on the streets. One dollar a day guaranteed. Possible to make much more. Apply all day from 12 o'clock on at 116 University Pl., Abe Miller.

### JUST OUT!!

"Why Negroes Should Oppose the War" By J. R. Johnson

A message that affects the life of every Negro!

ORDER NOW!

Price—5c per copy. Bundle rates—10 to 50—3c per copy. 50 or more—2½c per copy

SPECIAL RATES TO ORGANIZATIONS

PIONEER PUBLISHERS  
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Workers' Educational Forum presents  
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# THE NEGRO QUESTION

By J. R. JOHNSON

## The Negro and the War

IX

But suppose the war does begin. What do we do then? WE CARRY ON THE STRUGGLE RELENTLESSLY THAN BEFORE. For capitalism here in America will still be the chief enemy. Naturally we shall not be able to fight in the same open manner as before. We will not be able for instance, to hold an anti-war meeting. But in a factory some militant workers may propose a strike against wage-cuts or oppressive conditions.

There will be traitors who will join the government and capitalists in saying: "Now that there is a war we must sacrifice for victory." But all true fighters against the war will refuse to accept this treacherous advice and will fight as bitterly for the rights of the workers during the war as before it. That is the way to fight against war.

## Many Ways to Fight War

There are many other ways which we cannot discuss in detail here. For instance, the Negroes can form small groups who will discuss the anti-war struggle, distribute leaflets against the war among themselves and their fellow workers and friends, and cooperate with all others who are doing the same important work. Some cowards will say that this is against the law. Of course it is against the law. But it is the capitalists who make the law. And he is a great fool who obeys the capitalist law when he realizes the necessity of fighting against capitalism.

The result of all this will be, that when the great bulk of the people, black and white, begin to feel the strain of the war and begin to revolt against it, they will have leaders and people who are well prepared. They will have organizations ready to lead the great masses in their assault against the chief enemy, the enemy who is at home.

The workers and farmers, white and black, must never forget this important fact. The statesmen and the politicians did not stop the last war. It was the workers of Russia who brought Russia out, by the great revolution of October, 1917. And in November, 1918, it was the workers of Germany who chased the Kaiser and his government out of the country and brought the war to an end. That is what we have to aim at. Fighting against the capitalists to prevent them going into war, and if we fail to stop them, carrying on the fight to bring the war to a close as quickly as possible. And not only bring it to a close, but sweep away capitalism altogether if we get the chance, and so prevent this mass slaughter which is inseparable from the cursed capitalist system.

If America is dragged into the war, during the early days the struggle against war will be difficult. It will seem hopeless. But in Germany, in December 1914, only one man, Karl Liebknecht, raised his voice against the war. Four years after, the great masses in Germany were following the advice of Liebknecht and bringing the war to a close by dealing with the enemy at home. At the beginning those who oppose may be few, but the masses will come to us in time as they came to Liebknecht. The mistake that the German workers made in 1918 was to change one capitalist government for another capitalist government, instead of sweeping away capitalism and establishing a workers' government instead.

## We Are International

In all this difficult work, the Negroes of America must take the lead. They have most to win. Similar work is going on in every country at the present time, though naturally the capitalist press does not publish it. The Socialist Workers Party has brother parties in England, in France, in Poland, in India, in Africa, in China, all over the world who are carrying on this work. We recognize that this is an international struggle and therefore, our organization is international in scope.

Lenin and Trotsky formed the Third International to assist the workers, particularly in crises of this kind.

But today Stalin has the Third International working only to serve him in the bargains that he makes with imperialist governments like Hitler. One day the Stalinists say to fight for democracy. That is because Stalin wanted an alliance with Britain. When Stalin joins with Hitler, the Stalinists begin to say that the war is not a war for democracy any longer, that it is a war between imperialist countries. That may sound alright but if Stalin changes tomorrow, they will change again. They are not leaders of the working class but agents of Stalin. They are particularly dangerous because they use revolutionary words and have a lot of money. That must be avoided like poison.

It is because of the treachery of the Third International that genuinely revolutionary workers everywhere have formed the Fourth International. Negroes who see the situation clearly should join this party. The workers can never succeed without a powerful and clear-thinking revolutionary party. But if a Negro does not feel that he wants to join a revolutionary party today, that does not prevent him from joining or from forming an organization of Negroes to fight against war. Such Negro organizations will work side by side with all other groups who are fighting against war in the only way this can be done, by fighting against capitalism.

## Real Enemy Is at Home

Negro men and women in every country, in America, in the West Indies, in Africa; the Fourth International summons you to fight for your own liberation, for full social, political and economic rights in America, for the independence of Africa and the formation of Negro states in that continent so long oppressed. The enemy of your freedom and of your independence is capitalism. Do not support the capitalist war. Fight the capitalists in peace, and fight them

# 'Cash and Carry' Plan Speeds U. S. War Entry

(Continued from Page 1)

may transport arms and airplanes to Canada under the act. And this is called a cash and carry neutrality measure!

The subterfuges employed by Roosevelt and his office boys in the Senate are made necessary by the existing overwhelming sentiment of the masses against involving the United States in the war. They must proceed under the slogans of keeping America out of war, for neutrality.

Roosevelt's Plan Roosevelt expects that the adoption of the Pittman bill will lead to a big boom in industry engendered by large orders from Canada, England and France. That the available cash and restricted credits of the Allies will soon be used up, and that they will then ask for more extended credits. The alternative would then be a crisis in industry as a result of the cessation of orders from abroad or the extension of large-scale, long-term credits. Roosevelt feels confident that at such a moment the sentiment of the masses can be changed into support of the Allies, including American military intervention in the war to guarantee payment of the credits.

In the coming period there will be heated debates in Congress between the isolationist forces and the Administration supporters. Borah and his friends will oppose the lifting of the arms embargo. But they are unable to rally the people against the plans of Wall Street and their agents in Washington. They are for the defense of the system of capitalist imperialism, for increased armaments and for "continental defense."

The pro-war forces know that the opposition of the isolationists will collapse like a house of cards if they succeed in dragging the U.S. into the war. They know that these gentlemen will be invaluable recruiting sergeants under such conditions.

A third force must intervene to stop Roosevelt's dastardly scheme: the organized might of the working class and genuinely anti-war elements of the country.

Broderick and his stooges stand exposed before the masses of America as the Number One traitors to the American working class. I shall do everything in my power to unmask and expose these enemies of the toiling masses. It is the duty of every sincere rank and file

still more in war. Do not join with one group of capitalists against another. Fight against both. The real enemy is at home.

In Britain, in France, in Germany, in India, in China, everywhere workers who do not see this today will see it tomorrow. The united workers and farmers of the world will oppose this bloody imperialist war to the bitter end. We will seek to build the new society, in which all men irrespective of color or race, will be able to work in security and peace, and with full enjoyment of the good things of the earth.

THE END

MAX SHACHTMAN

Editor of the "Socialist Appeal"

speaks on

WAR & THE STALIN-HITLER PACT

at the

PARK PLAZA

1530 PITKIN AVENUE, BROOKLYN

FRIDAY EVE.—OCTOBER 6th, at 8:00 P.M.

ADMISSION 15c

Auspices: Socialist Workers Party of Brooklyn

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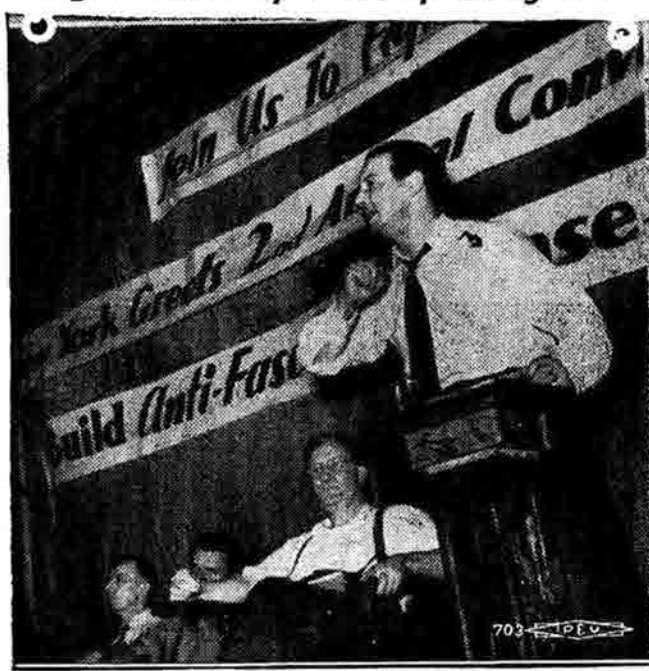
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## Begins Bronx Open-Air Speaking Tour



MAX SHACHTMAN

# Leading Militants of Communist Party Resign to Join the S. W. P.

We who have been for many years active members of the Communist Party, after long and careful analysis, have come to the conclusion that the CP has abandoned the revolutionary positions based on Marx and Lenin. We, therefore, resigned from the CP on September 11. After an equally careful examination of the program of the Socialist Workers Party we feel satisfied that it is the only party adhering to the class struggle program of Marxism-Leninism. We therefore announce our agreement and support of the program of the Fourth International.

For the past few years we have witnessed the shameful and open support by the CP of the capitalist New Deal — the blanket endorsement of the Roosevelt strikebreaking policies that led to the sellout of hundreds of thousands of WPA workers who were ready for militant strike action. While the AFL members were on strike against wage cuts and the Woodrum Relief Bill signed by the President which called for the firing of 1,000,000 WPA workers—the Workers Alliance, through Herbert Benjamin, a member of the National Committee of the CP, sent a declaration to President Roosevelt in which he stated: "The Workers Alliance of America has a fixed policy with regard to

strikes and has not departed from this policy in this instance. We have not called any strike and are not now calling strikes of WPA workers." (Daily Worker, July 18, 1939). In our opinion, by this statement the CP, through the action of its responsible representatives in the Workers Alliance, stands condemned as a strikebreaker and a tool of the Roosevelt Administration.

As far back as May 1937, we had an experience in the Yorkville section of the CP which served as an example—an eye-opener—of the sabotaging tactics with regard to strikes of the CP. We refer to the well-known sitdown strike of 130 cigarmakers of the Auton-Bock Cigar Co., located in the Yorkville district. When the strike was brought to the attention of the Section Bureau by one of us, the shop work director and the section organizer remarked that it involved only a few workers and therefore did not require discussion or action.

For taking the initiative in mobilizing support for the strike and for reporting the attitude of the section organizer, one of us was framed by the N.Y. District Committee of the CP as a factionalist, removed as organizer of the Workers Alliance, and "deported" to a different section.

These policies which were a brake upon revolutionary action were explained by the CP as a necessity in order to facilitate the struggle against fascism. Actually, in practice the CP has been not merely passive but an active collaborator with the ruling class in paying the way toward fascism in the U.S. This can be seen by the action of the CP on February 20 when it ordered all its members and sympathizers to stay away from the counter-demonstration called by the Socialist Workers Party. By calling this counter-demonstration the SWP showed the correct way to struggle against fascism. The "democratic" LaGuardia police, while protecting Fritz Kuhn and his followers, brutally attacked the anti-fascists. This police brutality received the praise of the CP. The Daily Worker of February 22 last printed a statement from Mayor LaGuardia: "I think the police did a very splendid job. The meeting was held and that's that."

That the CP and the CI had no intention of fighting fascism or putting up a real struggle against war became clear with the signing of the Hitler-Stalin pact. We had always, and still do, recognize the right of the Soviet Union to make pacts

with capitalist powers, including Hitler Germany. But we refuse to accept a Stalin-Hitler pact which means joint military actions and joint "communiques" about how Stalin's troops will mop up what Hitler's troops have not yet finished. Above all we refuse to accept the latest turn in the policies of the American CP as a result of the pact. The American CP has suddenly come out for "neutrality" because it realizes that the Soviet Union is today allied with Nazi Germany. We refuse to belong to a party which bases its policies on the maneuvers of the Kremlin foreign office, instead of the legitimate interests of the world working class itself.

We came to realize that our place was no longer in the CP. We therefore took the first occasion to express our disagreement at a membership meeting. At that meeting the pact was hailed as a great victory for peace, as having strengthened the defense of the Soviet Union. In our criticism we pointed out that the pact encouraged Hitler to make war on Poland and was a guarantee from Stalin to supply Hitler with raw materials necessary to carry on the imperialist war. We also stated that defense of the Soviet Union is not guaranteed by a pact with Hitler or with the so-called democratic governments of Britain, France and the U.S. but by the international solidarity of the working class. By this we meant not defense of Stalin and his bureaucracy but defense of the workers state in the Soviet Union. The section organizer, the fuhrer of Yorkville, not having any convincing arguments in defense of the infamous Stalin-Hitler pact, indulged in the most contemptible slanders and cheap name-calling, such as "fascist scum."

Only yesterday rumors of any pact between Germany and the Soviet Union were denounced as fascist lies. Today when the pact is a reality anyone who does not applaud is called fascist scum. This is Stalinist logic.

These tactics indicate the complete lack of democracy that exists in the CP. The party maintains its rule over the membership through a Tammany-like bureaucratic machine which is more and more being exposed to the honest members and sympathizers. To those honest and intelligent members who wish to emancipate the working class, we appeal to repudiate the CP and join the Fourth International to fight for Socialism.

SIDNEY LEROY  
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# The Balance Sheet of Stalinist Bonapartism

J. G. WRIGHT

In January 1935, Leon Trotsky, analyzing the degeneration of the Stalin regime, wrote:

"A diplomatic retreat before the world bourgeoisie and before reformism; an economic retreat before the petty bourgeois tendencies within the country; a political offensive against the proletarian vanguard—this is the three-fold formula of the new chapter in the development of Stalinist Bonapartism."

This chapter, approximately from 1934 to August 1939, has come to a close, punctuated, so to speak, by the outbreak of war, which in its turn opens a new page not only in the degeneration of Stalinism but in the history of mankind.

In the light of the foregoing formula, I propose to draw a preliminary balance sheet.

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In the light of the foregoing formula, I propose to draw a preliminary balance sheet.

## PURGES CRIPPLE ECONOMIC LIFE

Little need be said of the Stalinist offensive against the proletarian vanguard, which unfolded in this period in a series of persecutions, frame-ups, and murders unmatched in the annals of history. The facts are still fresh in the minds of all. With the turn in diplomacy, the bureaucratic terror was immediately intensified. After the assassination of Kirov, the terror was unleashed, culminating in the Moscow Trials, the massacre of the generations of October at home, and assassinations abroad (murder of Ignace Reiss, Leon Sedov, R. Klement, thousands of militants in Spain, etc.).

Purge upon purge followed which beheaded the Red Army, and crippled every sphere of Soviet social, political and economic life. Those executed numbered tens of thousands; those jailed, hundreds of thousands, while not less than four million were herded into GPU barracks and concentration camps. Far from insuring the regime at home, this purge only added so much tinder for the explosive forces that have accumulated under the leaden lid of Bonapartist oppression.

On the world arena, Stalin's retreat led swiftly to a capitulation to the fascist wing of the world bourgeoisie (the Stalin-Hitler Alliance). It was preceded by a capitulation to the "democratic" wing of imperialism (the Franco-Soviet Pact, the Stalin-Laval Communiqué, the entry into the League of Nations, the defense of the Versailles Treaty, the policy of the People's Fronts).

Thus, in a strictly limited sense, it may be said that in the political sphere Stalin was able to draw his work to a conclusion.

## THE COURSE OF ECONOMIC RETREAT

But the economic retreat at home has far from followed this rectilinear course. If the capitulation to the democratic wing of the world bourgeoisie was accompanied internally by the return to the market, the introduction of Stakhanovism (1935), the New Constitution (1936), concessions to the peasantry (the right to trade, privately cultivated "farm" strips, ownership of land in perpetuity, mild tax laws, etc.), and rigid legislation against labor (December, 1938)—that is, if Stalin retreated hitherto before the petty bourgeois tendencies within the country, then the immediate effect of the Stalin-Hitler pact has been to halt this retreat.

In a preceding article, the main features of this new development were outlined. With the belated arrival of Moscow papers to this country, additional data is now available on the economic blind-alley of the Stalin regime, and the mechanism whereby it seeks to overcome its newest crisis. The full text of the new agricultural law is not yet available—if it ever will be!—neither are any reports of the "discussion" that took place at the sessions of the Supreme Council. But we do have now the text of the report delivered by A. G. Zverev, People's Commissar of Finance, on this law.

The report is very brief, and sets a new mark for evasiveness. Only from the Pravda editorial do we glean the fact that the tax "for privately run enterprises amounts to 11-25% of their income." (Pravda, August 29).

Zverev's report, which carefully circumnavigates this aspect of the new legislation, nevertheless clearly indicates that the actual tax is higher by as much as one-third. The corresponding passage from Zverev's report touching on this point reads as follows:

"I shall not go into detail on all these norms, but I must say that this question—the question of fixing the norms on various staple crops demands exceptional attention and commensurate discussion on the part of the Deputies of the Supreme Council of the USSR. . . . The law gives the People's Commissariats of the Federated Republics the right to fix different norms of (calculating) revenue in various branches of agriculture and various forms of staple crops with a view to increasing or lowering the norms envisaged by the law — up to 30% of these norms." There is internal evidence that the form-

ula "increasing or lowering" is purely rhetorical. The stress is on the increase. This is proved, among other things, by the extremely brief interval set for the collection of the tax, which immediately goes into effect.

## BUREAUCRACY EXEMPT FROM TAXATION

The deadline set for the payment of the new tax is: October 1, November 1, and December 1, that is to say, from 60 to 90 days, and even less. On this point Zverev is categorical. He said: "The People's Commissariats of the Federated Republics have the right to speed up the time set for collection of payments . . . but by not more than one month." (Pravda, August 29).

Furthermore, the law provides for the taxation not only of well-to-do peasants but even "the income of (agricultural) laborers and employes" hitherto exempt.

What social prop has the regime to lean upon against the inevitable reaction of the peasantry? The answer is supplied by the exemption clauses in the law. Apart from the aged, the only ones exempt are, and we cite Zverev verbatim:

"Not subject to the agricultural tax are teachers and agronomists, zootechnicians, veterinarians, doctors and barbersurgeons, fertilizer specialists and agricultural technicians, engineers, chief mechanics, directors of the Mechanical Tractor Stations, directors of mechanical tractor shops and directors of Sovkhozes; together with the leading personnel of the district—the number of not more than 30 persons to a district. . . ." (idem).

In other words, Zverev merely lists the recently constituted bureaucracy in the rural areas. Such is the composition of the new tops in Soviet Society.

## A CLUE TO THE BUREAUCRACY'S SIZE

How reliable is this layer? It has all the vices of the classic petty bourgeoisie and none of its virtues, especially in terms of training, efficiency and loyalty to the ruling regime that characterizes the petty bourgeoisie in capitalist countries.

In subservience alone do Stalin's petty bourgeois cohorts match their prototypes elsewhere. The numerical strength of the bureaucracy has been one of the most jealously guarded secrets of the regime. But the official press now supplies us with a clue even in this sphere. In an editorial devoted to the preparations for the coming elections to the local Soviets, Pravda for August 27 states the following: "1,300,000 Deputies will be elected to the local Soviets of toilers' deputies. Millions of toilers in the city and country have been drawn into the preparations for the elections to the local Soviets. Suffice it to adduce a single fact: According to factual reports, in the whole of the US SR there will be approximately 7-million people involved in (the work of) the electoral commissions."

The regime boasts of a supporting army of 7 million. Perhaps that is not exaggerated. One thing is certain, while the bulk of the Deputies (1,300,000) will be composed of "teachers, agronomists, doctors, etc., etc.", the majority of the 7 million must fall into a somewhat different category. The lower tiers of this young bureaucratic army have their roots in and are subject to the pressure of the working class on the one hand and the peasantry on the other.

The actual course of the struggle alone will determine which of these two camps will prevail. An important indication of the actual trends in these two camps, as well as their relative strength, will perhaps be demonstrated in the very next days ahead, specifically, in the elections to the local Soviets which will coincide with the deadline for tax collections.



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## FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY FOR:

1. A job and a decent living for every worker.
2. Open the idle factories—operate them under workers' control.
3. A Twenty-Billion dollar Federal public works and housing program.
4. Thirty-thirty! \$30-weekly minimum wage—30-hour weekly maximum for all workers on all jobs.
5. Thirty dollar weekly old-age and disability pension.
6. Expropriate the Sixty Families.
7. All war funds to the unemployed.
8. A people's referendum on any and all wars.
9. No secret diplomacy.
10. An independent Labor Party.
11. Workers' Defense Guards against vigilante and Fascist attacks.
12. Full social, political and economic equality for the Negro people.

## A Step Forward

The candidates of the American Labor Party for the coming election have been announced by the State Secretary of the American Labor Party—and although this announcement came before the meeting of the Executive Committee which was supposed to select them at its meeting next Saturday, the fact that so far as is known they have made no deals with either Republicans or Democrats makes it possible to support them as working class candidates.

The support of the Socialist Workers Party for these candidates is based on their independence as working class candidates and the urgent need of the working class for political action on its own program independent of the capitalist parties.

But while the Socialist Workers Party can support these candidates because of the independent stand they have taken, the silence of the State Executive Committee of the American Labor Party in regard to war policy, unless rectified immediately, can negate this independence and in fact chain the American Labor Party to the war machine.

The war issue now constitutes the dividing line between capitalist parties and working class parties. It is a dividing line that cannot be straddled.

A political party is of value to the working class only in so far as it espouses the cause of the working class; and the next step in the direction of independence from the capitalist parties is the formulation of a fighting program.

War and fascism—these are the burning issues upon which the political parties of the workers must take a stand in this period. The fight against war and fascism together with the fight for the most elementary reforms such as lower prices of food, lower rents, must be espoused by the American Labor Party. Only the most temporary successes can accrue to it if it takes any other course.

When the people have learned the meaning of the present imperialist war through the intense suffering that the military dictatorship will entail, they will turn to those parties which fought their battles from the beginning of the war.

A progressive step has been taken by the American Labor Party in refraining from the kind of deals with the capitalist parties it made in the past. Now it is necessary to take another step forward by formulating a clear program against war and fascism.

## Making New Friends

A Washington dispatch by the Associated Press tells the following touching story of the reconciliation between President Roosevelt and Senator Carter Glass of Virginia:

"When the 81-year-old legislator went to see the chief executive a few hours after that address was delivered, it was said that Mr. Roosevelt slapped him on the back and exclaimed:

"Well, it took a war to get us together again. I hope it will take an earthquake to separate us."

An interesting and symbolical story. Glass has always represented arch-reaction in the Senate. Southern Bourbon to the marrow of his bones, he violently attacked Roosevelt on more than one occasion, seeing in the President's mild and queasy reforms—never made in anything

but the interests of preserving American capitalism—something suspiciously approaching mayhem and revolution.

What brings them together—the darling of the Economic Royalists and their pretended enemy? The war!

As he drives the United States closer and closer to participation in the mad world slaughter out of which he hopes American imperialism will emerge the master of the wealth and power of the globe, Roosevelt will most certainly find more and more new friends of the Carter Glass type. At bottom, they never had divided loyalties. They differed only in having two varying conceptions of how best to preserve the sick and rotting body of American capitalism, of how best to prevent the working class from removing from the scene the decaying mess that is poisoning all social life.

Imperialist war is the great solvent of their differences. On that score, all sections of the capitalist class are united. Into the war! "Making the world safe for democracy" is even better business now than it was in 1917. Profit, and more profit, and still more profit—that's the outlook for American capitalism in the war.

Old friends of Wall Street and reaction as well as new friends—on to the fight under Generalissimo Roosevelt!

## A New Dilemma

Life is certainly no bowl of cherries for the leaders of the Stalinist party, and the sickly green look on their faces as they sink down the side streets to reach the headquarters of the *Daily Worker* should prove it to anybody.

Just a few days ago, they were given the dirty job of whitewashing the Hitler-Stalin pact. They finally got around to a limping explanation of it and if it wasn't any good, at least they did the best they could with the instructions from Moscow. The world war for which they were clamoring in every key and language suddenly turned out to be, in their new analysis, an imperialist war. For saying no more than this, we were savagely denounced as agents of Hitler only a few days earlier.

No sooner had they got this off their chests, than the new Ribbentrop-Molotov statement was made public. It doesn't say anything about an imperialist war—that goes without saying. It does, however, give an analysis of the war which is identical, thought for thought and even word for word, with that given by Hitler, Goebbels, Goering & Co. since the war broke out.

Poland? A bag of shells. Not worth fighting over, and anyway, it's all finished. Now that Hitler has his belly full of conquered Poland, he'd like to rest a bit until he has it fully digested, and he naturally doesn't want his repose disturbed by a war on the western front. Virtually since the war began, the Hitler mob has therefore been proposing an imperialist peace to England and France and, when rejected, to throw the onus of the continuation of the war exclusively on the shoulders of the "democratic" pirates.

Now Stalin-Molotov join in the Hitler chorus. Accept Hitler's peace, or we denounce you as the war-mongers, the aggressors, and take "necessary measures" to support Hitler the peace-lover.

Do not imagine for a moment that the belly-grinders of the Stalinist leadership will hesitate to swallow the new line. As stooges of the Kremlin, they are the faithful spokesmen in this country for the Hitler-Stalin alliance. If Hitler has to be pictured as an aggrieved angel of peace in order to continue in Stalin's graces, Browder and Co. will picture him just that way.

The new dilemma created by Ribbentrop-Molotov will be resolved by the Communist Party leadership by wrapping their tongues just a little more firmly around Stalin's boots.

## The French C. P.

With the dissolution of the Communist Party in France by the Daladier regime, the Stalinists are having jammed down their throats the last and the bitterest fruit of the treacherous policy of "popular frontism" they followed in years past.

The "popular front" initiated by the Stalinists in France was going to bring about, so they guaranteed, peace, prosperity and democracy. It brought about war, misery, and arbitrary, dictatorial rule by Daladier's decree-cabinet.

The Daladier government, it is interesting to recall, was voted into office as a "popular front" government. It came into power with the solid 72 votes of the Communist Party deputies in the Chamber of Commerce. Daladier now repays them for their activity in the brutal and annihilating manner that was inevitable. The Blum-Faure social-democracy, it goes without saying, continues to support the same Daladier regime.

Years ago, Leon Trotsky designated the Stalinist machine as the Great Organizer of Defeats. That is all it ever accomplished since it usurped power in the Soviet Union. The smashing of the French Stalinist organization, in which so many militants were duped into placing their hopes, is only another inevitable result of the criminal course imposed upon the Comintern by the Kremlin autocracy.

## Unemployment, Deeper Misery—A Picture of British "Democracy" As It Operates Under War-Rule

By BRITANNICUS

The bitterness of war already has penetrated into the consciousness of the masses of the people in Great Britain. No amount of censorship can prevent isolated items getting into the press which show the situation after less than a month of war. Thus Hannen Swaffer, in the *Daily Herald* of September 13, reports that all the plans for slum clearance in London, which were being carried out by Herbert Morrison, labor leader, were stopped on the instructions of the Cabinet. And if any town in the world needs slum clearance, it is London.

Walter Elliot, Minister of Health, informed local housing authorities in England and Wales, of the suspension of all slum-clearance and redevelopment schemes after living conditions, wages. The Ministry of Transport has suspended Section 19 of the Road Traffic Act limiting the working hours of truck drivers. The Edinburgh Scotsman of September 9 stated that the West of Scotland miners are in danger of wage cuts.

## MILLIONS ADDED TO UNEMPLOYED

In the N. Y. Post of September 25, Oswald Garrison Villard, one of the great defenders of democracy, paints a dismal picture of England after three weeks of war. Despite the numbers of men drawn off for the army, navy, and air force and the enormous expansion of the clerical services in Government ministries "The first result of the war here has been to add millions to the unemployed, millions who do not yet know what is going to happen to them and where they will find something else to do."

"When to this is added the wholesale migration that is taking place from the cities in fear of air-raids, it is possible to get some idea of the completeness of the dislocation of British life, even in families that have no sons or husbands going to the front."

The white-collar workers have suffered most. Thousands of clerks have been dismissed from advertising agencies, tourist offices, etc. The transport workers have suffered through thousands of buses, taxi-cabs and passenger trains being used for war work, and this has not been compensated for by the transport of troops and military freight. The collapse of the en-

tertainment, book-publishing, and the newspaper business contribute to the growth of the numbers of unemployed.

## "FIGHTING HITLER"—BY EXPLOITING LABOR

And what of our doughty warriors for democracy, the employers? How have they been faring? Mr. Villard need not have told us that, "some employers who are doing well are utilizing the opportunity to work the employees they retain harder by lengthening their hours and the number of work-days a week." Naturally all this is to win the victory over Hitlerism and the employer does not regret that this places fat profits into his pockets.

Why this disorder, this dislocation of the life of the workers? Wasn't Britain prepared? Of course Britain was thoroughly prepared for the war. The Scotsman of September 9, states of the iron and steel industry, that production is now on a high level, with plans to increase output to the maximum. At the outbreak of war, every blast furnace, every rolling mill and production unit had already been listed with its exact capabilities. Stocks of raw and finished material were known to the last pound.

The transport of the British Expeditionary force was carried out without a hitch. Why then this apparent neglect of the working class and this misery among the workers? At the beginning of the last war the Government deliberately encouraged dismissals to drive men into the army. But this time there is conscription. The reason is that the British government, like the American, is determined that this time there shall be no high wages in the munition factories as were paid during the last war. If any profits are going to be made, the capitalists alone will make them. A bill has been passed giving the government control over the dismissal, employment, or transfer of workers. It is quite useless. The penalty is a fine of 100 pounds (\$500) and five pounds (\$25) for each day on which someone illegally employed, works. With the thousands of pounds that are being made in profits every day such fines are trifles and well-worth the risk.

The labor leaders are as usual doing the major share of this work, which the capitalists could never do by themselves. Liaison Officer for Labor with

the Admiralty is the Right Honorable A. V. Alexander. Contact with the Air Ministry for Labor is Mr. Hugh Dalton, son of a Chaplain to Queen Victoria; educated at Eton and Oxford; and one of the greatest misleaders of the British working class. Contact with the war-ministry is Mr. H. B. Lee Smith, one of whose important contributions to the struggles of the workers was to teach the Labor Party M.P.'s and their wives how to curtsy and deport themselves, when they went to court. Contact with the Ministry of Information is Mr. Noel Baker.

The Times of Sept. 26 tells us that Major Clement Atlee, leader of His Majesty's Opposition, (at \$10,000 a year paid by the British Government) and Arthur Greenwood, his lieutenant, visited the Prime Minister on September 25. These Labor leaders had a complaint. They complained that Mr. Burgin, the Minister of Supply, in organizing his Ministry had failed to avail himself of offers of help from labor, but had established instead a bureaucracy of "admirals, generals, and civil servants." The Labor leaders' grievance is that there is no direct contact with the Supply Ministry. "This implies in minds of Labor leaders, a feeling on the government's part, that the only interest the unions have in the struggle is the adjustment of hours, wages, and similar matters." We can take it as certain that the millions of workers are very much concerned with hours, wages, and similar matters." We can take the labor bureaucrats who are begging for the opportunity to tie the working class movement up with the government Supply Ministry which consists of "industrialists, financiers, and business men."

In the minds of capitalists, what else has labor to do with this war but to make better slaves in factories and to provide cannon fodder for German bullets? More sensitive to the real feelings of the workers than the capitalists, and aware of the danger to their own position, these labor fakery are pestering the British Government to bring labor, by which they mean themselves, more closely into the war machine. A more despicable role for so-called labor leaders can hardly be imagined.

## The Wall Street Boys Know What Is Behind the "Cash and Carry" Plan

By SHERMAN STANLEY

(Concluded from last issue)

The Presidential fight for repeal of the Arms Embargo Act is scarcely a week old and already F.D.R. and his fellow war mongers have met a bitter opposition from the masses of American people.

With instinctive understanding, the American workers have grasped this simple fact: repeal of the Embargo Act and "Cash and Carry" are new major steps on the road to war. The flooding of Washington with protests is the outspoken voice of working class men and women.

But F.D.R. has taken the war road and, if he has his way, will not listen to these voices. Instead, while pursuing the same aims, he will advance new arguments, attempt new persuasions. But all will have the same war aims!

## LIPPMAN RAISES A FEW BUGABOOS

Walter Lippman, authentic spokesman of American financial and banking interests whose views on the Embargo problem were discussed in the last issue of the *Appeal*, has already given us an advance look into the new arguments certain to be advanced by F.D.R.

(1) If the Allies cannot purchase arms, Hitlerism will triumph and Western Democratic civilization is lost. This is the first bugaboo raised by Lippman.

Unfortunately for him, there is today not the slightest vestige of "democracy" remaining in a single one of the Allied countries. Chamberlain and Daladier are the first to admit this. To prove this point, all that one must do is to compare, point by point, the laws governing the Allied powers with the laws governing Hitler's Germany. They differ not in the slightest because they are mod-

eled on the same general rule: the suppression of democratic rights and liberties for the sake of preserving the rule of a small capitalist minority.

(2) But, adds Lippman, even if we retain the Embargo, the "democracies" can still get arms and munitions. They will build factories in Canada and elsewhere and will utilize American raw and semi-finished products. "Even with the embargo on arms, this country will develop a great war trade. . . . Such products as wheat and flour; semi-fabricated steel; sugar; horses; dressed meats; metals; ores; tools; machinery, etc., are totally unaffected by the Embargo."

To Lippman, the question of the Embargo struggle is simply shall American capitalism join forces now, or wait a little longer. "The Embargo merely lengthens the period in which the war industry would operate by the time needed to organize abroad the plans which pass semi-finished goods through the final stages of manufacture." In other words, whether or not the Embargo is retained makes small difference—merely a matter of inconvenience.

But in the first place, there is quite a good deal of excitement about such a small thing. So much excitement that the American press, and Mr. Lippman, are set to call those who oppose removal of the Embargo "Nazi agents." Actually, Lippman fully realizes the significance of the forces that are opposing change.

And if the "democracies" do not really need American help, then how explain their hesitations and vacillations? The answer is plain. British imperialism will not really begin to fight until it has American supplies, wealth, and manpower—lined up solidly behind her. Lippman lies when

he says the "democracies" can build factories in Canada and elsewhere. England and France are in such financial straits that they find it difficult to finance their immediate war needs.

## SUGGESTS A WAY OF FINANCING

(3) But Lippman has a way of financing to suggest. If the Allies cannot get help from America and find it necessary to build factories in Canada, they can get the finances from their Empires! Here is an admission of what England and France really are and what the war is really all about. If money is needed, turn to the hundreds of millions of colonial slaves in Africa and Asia—they will supply us! Increase our exploitation of the Negroes, Indians and yellow races so that we can build munition factories. Here is an admission of the completely imperialist character of the present war.

To sum up: Mr. Lippman would have the Embargo lifted because to retain it would mean the end of Western "democracy"; because the "democracies" can get needed supplies anyway (then what's the excitement all about?) and because it means larger war orders, profits and boom.

A good beginning has been made in answering these war mongering statements by the flood of protests deluging Congress. Defeat of F.D.R.'s "Cash and Carry" proposal, and of his efforts to repeal the Embargo—and this is decidedly possible if American labor speaks out loudly and boldly—would be a blow at the war maker's camp. True, by itself, this would far from end the danger of America being plunged into the war. But the next step after that would be clearer than ever: take the war making power out of the hands of F.D.R. and the Congress.

## The American Legionnaires Go To Town

By EVELYN SHERWOOD

Blowing their tin whistles and wearing their bright new uniforms the American Legion swarmed into Chicago 250,000 strong for a five-day session on peace, love of country, and the American Way.

They were loudly greeted by every bar and liquor store in town. State Street merchants presented them with a key to the city—and boarded up the store windows. Loop hotels prepared for a ten million dollar volume of business, but removed all the rugs and furniture from their lobbies. They knew what to expect when the defenders of American morality poured into the city for a middle-west bacchanal.

The boys—whose average age is 47—lost no time in getting to work. Within twenty-four hours the loop was a bedlam. Traffic was hopelessly disrupted as Legionnaires staged swing jamborees in the middle of Michigan Boulevard, set off false fire alarms, and exploded one-pound cannon at regular intervals. They threw water in paper bags from hotel windows. The streets were littered with fragments of telephone directories. They smacked pretty girls soundly across the rump with their canes, and squirted passers-by with water, paint, and ink. They had a barrel of fun.

## Serious Business

Frank E. Samuel, national adjutant, forecasted that this year's convention would be more serious than the sprees of the past. The Legion had important work to consider—like maintaining law and order. "The wild conventions of the past," he said, "are gone forever."

But his buddies didn't seem to know it. Returning from a religious-patriotic ceremony in Grant Park, they stopped to pitch horse-shoes in the center of the boulevard. They dragged an ash-can into the street to use as a table for a friendly game of poker. Surrounding cars stalled in the traffic jam, they deflated the tires and reached under the hood for a handful of spark plugs. Boys, you know, will be boys.

They brought their women—that is, one third of them did. One Legionnaire had his wife anchored to him by a four-foot chain. Another tenderly kissed his wife goodnight on Sunday and said, "So long, toots. See you Thursday." The women with their reeled down the streets with lamp-shades perched coyly on their heads. Open, co-educational drinking took place on every corner.

The defenders of the sanctity of American womanhood blocked a corner with construction horses and made the girls step over them in order to pass. They rigged up a device that shot sprays of water up women's skirts as they walked by. Swaying mellowly on replicas of "40 and 8" railroad cars, they serenaded the crowd with the choicer verses of "Mademoiselle from Armentieres."

## "Good, Clean Fun"

One Legionnaire stood at a street crossing with an old-fashioned chamber-pot and offered Curb Service; Paper Free. Scott tissue was in fact at a premium, with buddies rushing in and out of restaurants, hawking rolls of it as the latest "war extra" or the "morning paper." Some enterprising mountaineers led a portable privy through the streets. Other delegates had a pet skunk on a leash. All in the spirit of good clean fun.

Impromptu parades of the drum and bugle corps floated down the trees. One of them was led by two clowns and a Nazi caricature of a Jew, his enormous putty nose moulded into a grotesque curve. Another squad carried a coffin marked for the spreaders of "alien isms." A truck carrying an anti-aircraft gun caused a traffic jam on La Salle Street. This, presumably, to demonstrate their policy of Arm America First.

By Monday morning a police siren had ceased to mean anything but a bunch of Legionnaires and visiting state troopers having themselves a hell of a time. A traffic accident was narrowly averted when members of the Austin post went shrieking at high speed through a red light. A Chicago fire engine, returning from answering a false alarm, was stuck in the loop for a half hour because people refused to heed the siren. They'd been hearing them all day.

The municipal judges authorized a special court to take care of cases involving visiting Legionnaires, "trivial cases" to be weeded out before they reach court. Maybe these included the bright boys who derailed a Madison street car full of passengers, or the buddies who switched a Clark street car, so that it went back on the wrong track. Or the ones who tied up traffic for six blocks behind by sitting on the roof of a bus and blocking the doors so that the passengers couldn't leave.

Two thousand extra police were detailed to the downtown force, and all leaves of absence were cancelled. But they stood by good-naturedly while the upholders of law and order littered the streets, (disorderly conduct), sabotaged transportation, revolutionized Chicago's traffic system, and incited the hilarious crowds to riot.

## Colossal Nonsense

At every intersection self-appointed traffic regulators blew their whistles and sounded their sirens. One pajama-clad Legionnaire directed traffic for seven hours, then staggered into a police station and asked for a whistle, because he was hoarse from shouting. They cornered a cop at a busy downtown crossing, stripped him, and sent him home in a taxi. Then thoughtfully sent his uniform after him in another cab. Five pie-eyed Legionnaires pulled a mounted policeman off his horse and rode the animal into a hotel lobby.

At night-fall the revelry reached an unbelievable level of hilarity. "Forty and eight" floats and dilapidated Fords clanged down the sidewalks, pushing the pedestrian crowds into the streets. Motor traffic was impossible. Bands of Legionnaires prevented any movement by perching on the bumpers of stalled cars. Fortified with an electric suitcase, they blocked the entrance to one loop hotel for an hour. They staged unrequested concerts in hotel dining rooms. They stopped busses on the streets and polished the windshields with their handkerchiefs before allowing them to proceed. It was colossal. It was pandemonium.