

Sign the Nominating Petitions for Shachtman and Paine!

Cast Your Vote For the Anti-War Candidates!

The workers of the two New York boroughs of Manhattan and the Bronx have an exceptional opportunity of making a choice between throwing away their votes in the coming municipal election or of making effective use of them.

To vote for the Republican or the Democratic parties, is to throw away your vote. It means giving your suffrage to enemies of your class to use for their own purposes—which are not yours; to use for their own interests—which are not yours.

By voting for the ticket of either of these parties, you stand a bigger chance of electing your candidate—only he won't be YOUR candidate. You will have given your vote to the candidate of the bosses, the boodlers, the war-mongers, the strike-breakers, the protectors of the fascists, the protectors of profit and exploitation.

You will be throwing away your vote just as surely as if you threw it down the sewer.

To vote for the ticket of the Communist Party, is to throw away your vote. You will be voting for as corrupt, as reactionary and as unscrupulous a gang as ever cursed the labor movement. You will be voting for the spokesmen and attorneys of the Hitler-Stalin Pact. You will be voting to endorse the murderous tyrants of the Kremlin, for whom Browder and Co. function as agents in this country. You will be voting for people whose last thought is the labor movement, or its interests, people who are concerned only with the interests of their employers, the Stalinist bureaucracy.

But if you don't want to throw away your vote, if you want it to mean something, if your interests go beyond getting this or that individual into this or that office, then—

Vote for the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party! These candidates stand firmly committed to the program of their party.

It is the party which first organized and carried through the imposing action against the Nazis and Fascists in New York—the workers' counter-demonstration at Madison Square Garden. It is the party of struggle against fascism.

It is the only party that stands unambiguously and consistently in opposition to the Second World War and against the United States entering it.

It is the party not of despair, of exploitation, of misery and war—but the party of hope. It's the party of hope because it's the party of socialism!

Workers of New York!

Vote everywhere for the candidates of the American Labor Party—not because of its leadership, but in spite of it; not because of its wishy-washy, milk and water program, but in spite of it. Vote the A.L.P. ticket because it is the ticket of the organized labor movement of New York. Workers of Manhattan and the Bronx!

Vote the ticket of the American Labor Party, but—
GIVE YOUR NUMBER ONE VOTE ON THE BALLOT TO THE COUNCILMANIC CANDIDATES OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY!

Roll up a tremendous vote for the S.W.P. candidates! Let the ruling class see that there are thousands of workers who stand by its program of struggle against war and fascism and exploitation! Make your vote mean something. Vote for

G. Lyman Paine, candidate for Councilman from Manhattan.

Max Shachtman, candidate for Councilman from the Bronx.

Behind the Lines

By GEORGE STERN

While the war marks time on the Western front, crucial battles are being fought out bloodlessly in Washington and Moscow. The outcome of the neutrality debate in Congress will help shape the manner and tempo of American entry. The outcome of the diplomatic game in the Kremlin will determine the next stages of Russian participation in the Western Hemisphere. The other will settle the course of all the neutrals in Europe.

Such is the content of this strange interlude in this war of many paradoxes.

From all the countries of the Baltic and the Balkans diplomats are scurrying to the gates of the Kremlin and abandoning hope as they enter there. Estonia has already mutually assisted itself into becoming a

new fief of the Stalin regime. Latvia is already on the edge of the same precipice and Finland helplessly awaits its turn. Truly, the Daily Worker did not lie when it said this "is not a war for the defense or rescue of small nations."

The Stalin-Hitler "non-aggression" pact was followed by the conquest and partition of Poland. The new treaty of "friendship" signed by von Ribbentrop last week is being accompanied by the re-assertion of Russian domination in the Baltic. Not until the maneuver of Hitler's "peace offensive" runs its course will we see what other acts of loving liberation these pacts portend.

The fate of the Balkan countries and the precise position of Turkey have remained undecided pending a forced decision by Mussolini.

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WAR ENTRY MOVES STEP NEARER AS "NEUTRALITY" DEBATE OPENS

An Anti-War Candidate Speaks



Part of the large crowd which heard Max Shachtman, Bronx candidate of the Socialist Workers Party for New York City Councilman speak at Tremont and Prospect Avenues on the fight against imperialist war. Comrade Shachtman's running partner for the Council, in Manhattan, is George Lyman Paine.

Albert Goldman Begins Speaking Tour on War

Just Returned from Europe, Noted Labor Orator and Attorney Leaves on National Tour to Speak on War Crisis

Just returned from Europe where he was an eye-witness to the opening weeks of the war, Albert Goldman, well-known labor attorney and author, will make an extensive lecture tour of the Eastern States where large meetings are being scheduled to hear him speak on the Second World War.

On October 7, Goldman will speak at Fraternal Hall, 19 Elm Street, in New Haven, Conn. The meeting, scheduled to begin at 8:15 p.m., promises to be well-attended, according to advice received by the Socialist Appeal from that city.

Friday, October 6, Goldman will lecture in Philadelphia under the auspices of the Workers Educational Forum at 810 Locust Street. The meeting will begin at 8:30 p.m.

Other cities in Goldman's tour include:
Reading—Tues., Oct. 3
Allentown—Wed., Oct. 4

Newark—Thurs., Oct. 5
Boston—Sun., Oct. 8
Lynn—Mon., Oct. 9
Rochester—Wed., Oct. 11
Youngstown—Thurs., Oct. 12
Akron—Fri., Oct. 13
Cleveland—Sun., Oct. 15
Toledo—Mon., Oct. 16
Detroit—Tues., Oct. 17
Flint—Wed., Oct. 18
Readers of the Socialist Appeal will be kept informed of the progress of Comrade Goldman's tour and the meeting halls at which he will speak.

WAR PROBLEMS RAISED AT A.L.P. MEETING

Deliberate Silence of ALP Executive Broken By 2 Committeemen

By TONY CHAPMAN
NEW YORK — Although the leadership of the American Labor Party has during the past month maintained an increasingly inexplicable official silence concerning the Stalin-Hitler Alliance and has been equally reticent on the question of war, it came face to face with both these problems at the last regular meeting of the State Executive Committee, Saturday, Sept. 29, at the Hotel Commodore.

After having spent two solid hours during which speaker after speaker sang the praise of Judge Irving Lehman, the ALP (Continued on Page 2)

Aim Behind Embargo Repeal Is To Step Up Munitions Production to War-Time Speed

AFL AND CIO UNIONS JOIN FORCES AGAINST CUDAHY

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
KANSAS CITY, Kansas, September 28 — The AFL Teamsters and the CIO Packing House Workers Organizing Committee joined forces today in a 100% tie-up of the Cudahy Packing Company's plant here. Over 1,000 workers were out, with a strong picket line, manned mainly by CIO members, blocking any attempts to re-open.

The strike was called when the Company refused to deal with the Teamsters for 18 truck drivers. The Packing House Workers pulled out in sympathy, to force recognition and to secure the reinstatement of 12 men discharged for union activity.

According to E. G. Williamson, chairman of the CIO Local, his Union has been trying to settle the question of bargaining rights through an NLRB election for some time without success.

On Monday of this week, debate opened in the Senate on Roosevelt's war-promoting "Neutrality Act", with Senator Pittman leading off for the Administration, and the veteran Borah of Idaho sounding the keynote for the opponents of repeal of the arms embargo.

The two Senators, each a skillful parliamentarian, succeeded ably in exposing each other's position; and together they combined to hide from the public the real kernel of the embargo issue.

After Pittman had pointed out that an embargo merely on arms and munitions, with no restrictions on the shipment of secondary war materials and other goods, is powerless to immunize the United States from the conflict, Borah proved that the repeal of the arms embargo is nevertheless an act of direct intervention in the war and a major step toward military entry.

Borah showed that authoritative spokesmen for the Administration admit publicly that they want the embargo removed in order to aid and benefit Britain and France. "Can we," Borah asked, "under the program we are now adopting and the reasons for adopting the same, stay off the battlefields of Europe with our young men? Having changed our laws and our policies that we may, as openly and repeatedly declared, send there in aid of the

Fundamental Reason
The fundamental and chief reason is this: Repeal of the arms embargo and the flow of war orders which will follow repeal will enable the munitions industry of this country to be operating at full war speed when the United States itself declares war. There will be no "lag" between the time of the declaration of war and the day when the munitions industry is stepped up to full production for this country's own military machine.

Roosevelt has learned the lessons of the last war. He does not intend to wait around for months after war is declared, as Wilson did, until industrial plants are organized properly to turn out munitions in mass quantities. He is carrying out his major war moves now, before the formal declaration. Within a few weeks after the declaration, he will be able to have the nation deeper in the war than for a year after April, 1917.

Borah Will Go Along
The pious and pompous Borah, with all his high-sounding phrases against dealing in "the instruments of mass murder," naturally does not mention this underlying reason for repeal of the arms embargo. He does not because in reality he has no objection to instruments of mass murder other than to make sure that the best of them remain firmly in the hands of U.S. imperialism. He never objects to the armament appropriations which are used precisely to manufacture instruments of mass murder. And when the day comes, Borah will go along with Roosevelt's war just as will all the rest of the loud-mouthed Congressional "peace bloc."

On the nature and aims of the war now raging in Europe (Continued on Page 2)

Election Drive Gets Off to Flying Start

NEW YORK—Addressing a colorful, well-attended outdoor mass meeting on the corner of Prospect and Tremont Avenues last Friday, Sept. 29, Max Shachtman, Bronx candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, personally fired the opening gun in his campaign for election to the City Council.

Speaking for well over an hour, Shachtman stressed the anti-war nature of his candidacy. Dismissing the Democratic and Republican parties as agencies of the bosses whose stand on war needs no elaboration, Shachtman turned to the Stalinist party, exposing its pro-war program before the signing of the Stalin-Hitler Pact and its servile, hypocritical swing to pseudo-opposition to war in line with the exigencies of present-day Kremlin foreign policy.

Outlining the pathetic

"Let the People Vote on War!" -- Rochester Labor

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

ROCHESTER, N.Y., Sept. 28 —The Central Labor Council of this city last night unanimously passed a resolution introduced by John Niemeyer of the Teachers Union for support of the Ludlow Amendment for a People's Vote on War, and for the maintenance of the democratic rights of the workers.

Niemeyer presented his motion in a brilliant speech in which he explained in detail the Mobilization Day plans and

Roosevelt's strategy in forcing the people into the war. The anti-war sentiments were indicated by the intense interest with which they listened to Niemeyer's long speech.

He was seconded by Henry O'Connell, president of the Central Trades who, in forceful language, spoke about how the workers of this country were robbed and murdered in the last World War to make profits for the bosses. At his request, a section was added to the mo-

tion that those who vote for the war should be the first in the trenches. "If we'd take those boys in Congress," said O'Connell, "and put them in the trenches over there first they'd be damned afraid to vote for the war."

Not even the Stalinists in the Council dared oppose the resolution. One delegate presented the Northwest Organizer, organ of the Minneapolis Teamsters' Joint Council to the Council's secretary who read the Organ-

izer's description of the M-Day plans.

The resolution as adopted read:

"MOVED: that this body demand of Congress that it present to the states for adoption an amendment which would give the people of this nation the right to vote on war and requiring that those voting for war, regardless of age, be the first drafted for the front-line trenches."

"MOVED: that no dictatorial powers ever be granted to abrogate the labor laws now on the statute books or which restrict the freedom of action of the organized trade union movement of this country."

"MOVED: that copies of these motions be sent to the President and the proper Senators and Congressmen, and that resolutions based on these motions be submitted to the coming AFL convention."

WAR--WHAT FOR?

The First of a Series of Friday Night Lectures

By James P. Cannon

The Aftermath---
The Versailles Treaty
The Peace Which Prepared the New War

Friday, Oct. 6th
8:30 P.M.
Irving Plaza
(Irving Pl. & 15th St.)
ADMISSION—25c

In the Labor Unions

By B. J. WIDICK

When our movement adopted the idea of a sliding scale of wages for union contracts last year to protect the living standards of the workers from war time price boom conditions, many unionists considered it too theoretical and not practical enough.

Like many other advanced ideas, it took the hard impact of events to drive home the merits of this proposal. Yet, it was essentially a simple idea. Prices rise before and during war. Unless union contracts are signed that permit upward adjustment in wage scales in that period, the workers really take a wage cut because costs of living have increased but the amount of money the worker has with which to buy goods stood still. So part of our transitional program consisted of urging the workers to get a provision in union contracts which guaranteed a rise in wages to correspond with a rise in prices.

Prices Rise

The second world war already has brought a rapid rise in prices in America, and there seems to be no stopping. Right after Hitler marched into Poland, a sharp upward trend in the price of food became evident throughout the country. Prices increased from ten to twenty per cent on foods, etc. The pinch was felt quickly by workers. They were making the same pay, working just as hard, and yet they could buy less. The rising price level was reducing their real wages. A nation-wide cry against "war profiteering" was raised by the labor movement as part of the protest against this injustice.

Some Unions Act

More or less progressive unions, whose leadership had foresight enough to have clauses contained in the signed contracts which permit reopening of the wage questions, are using these clauses to begin negotiating along the idea of a sliding scale of wages.

Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, announced in behalf of 225,000 members that they would seek a wage increase of ten per cent soon to cover the men because of the rising price level.

The Textile Workers of America has also taken steps in this direction. David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, has advised all local unions to include provisions for cost-of-living increases in all new contracts. He proposed that wages be raised automatically when the price index figured out by the US Department of Labor goes up five points. Incidentally, the Textile Workers proposals are along these lines.

And there have been similar steps in other unions. Reports of the inclusion of the sliding scale of wages proposal in union contracts are beginning to appear in the labor press. It is entirely possible that the CIO convention will take decisive action on this question.

AFL War Stand

The AFL convention is facing an unusual resolution on the war question which was submitted to it by the executive council.

Besides the ordinary provisions about "we stand for neutrality, democracy, keep America safe and out of European wars," (which are a poor substitute for adopting a Let the People Vote on War slogan) the convention is being asked to call on the United States government to mediate in the second world war!

This section was introduced by William Green, president of the AFL, who inspired him to introduce it? Since we know through Green's long history as a labor factor that he is an agent of American capitalism, we are inclined to doubt the theory that this was introduced as part of the "Hitler peace offensive."

Did Roosevelt ask his good friend Bill to bring this matter before the AFL convention? And if so, why? Does Roosevelt want to be "forced" to try a mediation of the war which would not "succeed." Which would mean America would have to go to war to "make peace possible?" The next few days will tell.

Election Campaign Gets Off to Flying Start

Max Shachtman Fires Opening Gun at Bronx Open-Air Rally

(Continued from Page 1)

and the imminence of swift American involvement, Shachtman declared that the war is imperialist in nature and that its aim is the re-division of the world's markets. "In such a war for super-profits, the workers of the world are called upon by their masters to sacrifice their lives. That sacrifice," Shachtman declared, "is hypocritically described as a sacrifice to make the world safe for democracy. Yet it is a fact that the first victim of the war is, significantly enough, democracy itself," he went on.

Calling upon the workers to fight against the war, Shachtman stated that his candidacy made it possible for all working men and women to register their opposition to war at the polls this Fall and to support and join the Socialist Workers Party, the only working class anti-war party with a program to end the war.

In the coming four weeks before the election, the Bronx Party is planning to hold two or three outdoor meetings nightly to bring the anti-war and anti-Fascist message of the S.W.P. before thousands of workers. The party is also planning legal action to force the police department to grant it loud speaker permits for its outdoor meetings.

In addition to the outdoor rallies, the party is planning to cover every section of the Bronx with large indoor rallies. These rallies will be addressed by candidate Shachtman together with other prominent party speakers.

Among the meetings already scheduled are: a meeting this Friday night in P.S. 87 at 178th Street and Mohegan Avenue, a meeting next Wednesday night in Elmsmere Hall at 170th Street and Morris Avenue and meetings in the following halls: Bronx Terrace, Ward Manor, Hollywood Gardens, P.S. 98, Wilkins Hall. The last meeting will be a special youth meeting for Shachtman. The areas in which these indoor meetings will be held are to be "warmed up" by intensive outdoor activities during the week before.

Among the other plans that the Bronx party has for the election campaign are: (1) the publication of a special 4-page paper which will give the workers of the Bronx a full statement of the anti-war principles of the party; (2) the publication of special "Shachtman for Councilman" placards.

The party is also planning a special mass meeting on October 13 in the Fordham area, which has been the scene of frequent Coughlinite and Fascist gatherings. James P. Cannon, national secretary of the party, is scheduled to address the meeting.

Despite the fact that the campaign is proceeding at a quick-

pace in the Bronx, the New York party intends to take the next week out and concentrate on finishing the drive in Manhattan to secure well over the number of signatures that is legally necessary to get candidate Paine on the ballot.

What the party requires most now is funds to make sure that all the projects outlined above are made certain. All sympathizers and members of the party are requested to chip in to the limit. The party is rarin' to go. A whirlwind campaign is planned—and has begun. All we need now is cold cash. If the party gets that, then New York will see a working class campaign such as it has not seen for a long time.

Join the SWP, Party of Revolution, Says Spain Veteran, Quitting the CP

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

TOLEDO, Ohio—Six years a member of the Communist Party, before that a member of the Y.P.S.L., a veteran of the Spanish Civil War, John Kendzierski last week resigned from the Communist Party and joined the party of revolutionary action, the Socialist Workers Party.

Active in the labor movement for the greater part of his life, Comrade Kendzierski is well known among Toledo's workers. On his return from Spain, the local C.P. tried him at meetings held in his honor. In Spain he saw the line of Stalinism in practice—how at every stage it violated the interests of the workers. With the added evidence of the Stalin-Hitler pact, Comrade Kendzierski came to the realization that the only way in which the October Revolution, and the interests of the world's workers could be defended was to break with the Stalinist party of lies and betrayal. His message to all members of the Communist Party is: Join the Socialist Workers Party.

Comrade Kendzierski's statement is here printed in full: TO THE MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY

Dear Comrades: For six years I have been a member of the Communist Party and the Y.C.L. You all know that I am loyal to the working class and a militant anti-fascist. I have fought for the freedom of the international working class on the battlefields of Spain and against the volves of fascist reaction.

While thousands of the best revolutionary workers of America fought with courage for what we believed would be the socialist revolutionary victory in Spain, we all saw many things in the policy of the C.P. in Spain which made us wonder. Being disciplined revolutionists, we placed our trust in our leaders of the CP and said nothing. We did not wish to cause dissension in our ranks before the enemy.

Now I for one cannot be silent. The signing of the pact between Stalin and Hitler, the most bitter enemy of the workers, at a time when Hitler was on the brink of an Imperialist War, forces me to speak. We must face the truth, so that we can continue to build on the basis of a real International Revolutionary program to crush capitalism, be it German fascism or English imperialism, by destroying the cause of fascism and imperialism, our class enemy—the bourgeoisie.

In Spain I saw how the C.I., with its policy of the support of "democratic" capitalism against fascist capitalism, led to the destruction of the Spanish workers and peasants revolution and to the victory of fascism. We saw how in the name of democracy the Communists

the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by him.

5. That the average number of copies of each issue of this publication sold or distributed through the mails or otherwise, to paid subscribers during the twelve months preceding the date shown above is: (This information is required from daily publications only.)

SHERMAN STANLEY (Signature of editor, publisher, business manager, or owner, sworn to and subscribed before me this 22 day of Sept. 1939. Irving Scher, Notary Public.

WELL, WOLL FOR ONE HAS FAITH IN ROOSEVELT

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) ST. LOUIS, Missouri, Sept. 27.—Matthew Woll, arch-reactionary Vice-President of the AFL, in an address to the National Association of Life Underwriters today at the swanky Jefferson Hotel, placed his hope in keeping America out of war in our Congress and President.

While recognizing that the workers have everything to lose in the war, Woll placed absolutely no faith in any direct action by labor to keep us at peace, but placed his sole hope in our notoriously "neutral" War Deal government.

By now Woll will be expounding his misplaced hope from the tribune of the American Federation of Labor's 1939 convention.

Figures Reveal Scandal In St. Louis Relief

\$7 a Person Is Average Relief Allotment In Seventh Largest U.S. City

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

ST. LOUIS, Missouri, Sept. 27.—According to the Federal Social Security Board figures just released the skimpy relief allotments in St. Louis are so low as to approximate a national scandal if generally known.

In this seventh largest of American cities, 7500 cases in August exhausted the local fund, a miserable \$120,000, an average of \$16 a case.

Other cities' expenditures are:

Duluth, Minn.	\$152,000
San Diego, Cal.	175,000
Reading, Pa.	152,000
Milwaukee, Wis.	462,000
Boston, Mass.	451,000
Newark, N. J.	475,000

The family payment in New

York City in June was \$45.14, \$22.84 in St. Louis. Single cases in New York City were paid \$27. Many other cities were low with \$15 to \$20, but St. Louis with \$8.32 topped them all in meagerness.

The August average in St. Louis dropped to \$20.59 per family and \$7.17 per single person.

This crisis has been brought about because the State Legislature appropriated but \$6,000,000 for the entire state of Missouri for the years 1939 and 1940. Governor Stark, New Dealer, held out for slightly larger appropriations of \$9,000,000, which would still not solve the problem.

In the weeks ahead the St. Louis area is faced with one of the most serious relief crises in the country.

WAR PROBLEMS RAISED AT A.L.P. MEETING

(Continued from Page 1)

P's choice for the Court of Appeals, the meeting of the State Committee was about to adjourn when a lone Committee member arose to offer a resolution on the Stalin-Hitler rapprochement.

Text of Resolution The resolution, submitted by William Schaeffer of Local 155, ILGWU, declares:

"As a worker and a member of the New York State Committee of the American Labor Party, I want to take this opportunity to express my opinion and also to ask the State Committee to go on record in expressing its opinion on the present international situation.

"1. That we go on record condemning Stalin and the present Soviet Government for the pact between Hitler and Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union. This pact has brought about a war which has resulted in the destruction of millions of lives, especially in the disruption of the Polish working class as a whole. As a Labor Party, we cannot remain silent in the face of the betrayal of the international working class by Stalin.

"2. That the American Labor Party go on record as in favor of requesting the President and the Congress of the United States to declare the Soviet Union a belligerent nation and that the embargo be applied to the Soviet Government as well as to the other belligerents on the European Continent.

"3. That the American Labor Party go on record condemning the Communist Party of the United States as an agency of the Soviet Union and as an advocate of policies detrimental to the American labor movement."

Immediately upon concluding the reading of his resolution, in which are mingled an attack on the pact as well as a lot of patriotic nonsense, Committeeman Schaeffer received the almost unanimous applause of the body. Although the State Committee includes not a small group of Stalinists, there was none in the hall who arose to oppose or to argue against either the resolution or its language. The only opposition came from the dais; from State Chairman Luigi Antonini and State Secretary Alex Rose.

Declaring himself in sympathy with the resolution, Antonini pleaded with the State Committee to refuse to consider it. The body relented when Antonini gave the assurance that the ALP is preparing a similar resolution which it will submit at the Party's Citywide Conference this Wednesday.

Big Guns Fall Flat

Although the big guns of the Labor Party had popped off in order to force a retreat upon other Committee members with similar resolutions and in order to clear the way for the introduction of officially approved statements at a later date, one of the committeewomen offered a resolution on the war danger. She had spoken only a few moments when Antonini declared her out of order on the grounds that the Executive of the Labor Party would present a resolution on war at the Wednesday night Citywide Conference.

WAR DEAL

By DWIGHT MACDONALD

This week I should like to develop a little further the theme of my last column: that modern war is so vast a social undertaking and the capitalism it expresses is by now so closely integrated with the bourgeois state, as to make it impossible for old-style "private enterprise" either to fight a war or even to meet the problems of neutrality. The state simply must step in and handle matters.

In 1914-1917 the dynamic leadership of the war drive came from Wall Street, with the Wilson Administration up to the last putting on at least an appearance of opposition. This time the Roosevelt Administration is openly playing a war game, with Wall Street rather inclined to keep in the background. This is by no means to imply that this war is not, like the last one, Wall Street's war. The basic motivation of Roosevelt's war drive is to protect the interests and profits of American big business. And the final, fateful decision as to the time and conditions of our entry into the war will be determined in Wall Street and not in the White House.

Instrument of Big Business

The Roosevelt Administration is as much the instrument of the big bourgeoisie as was that of Woodrow Wilson. Even more so, indeed, in the last two decades there has taken place a gradual coalescence of big business and the government. This means that the relationship of Wall Street and Washington in this war is far more subtle and complicated than it was in the last war. It is not enough to perceive the basic fact that the country is being dragged into a second world slaughter in the interests of American capitalism. We must also understand just how this is being done this time. We must be aware of certain differences in technique which in turn reflect twenty-five years of development of our monopoly capitalism.

The other day the U.S. Chamber of Commerce reported to its members on the outlook for foreign trade. This report was a sermon in caution and skepticism, warning that war booms produce bad economic hangovers, and advising its members against "over-confidence." This tone of moderation and wariness is characteristic these days of the whole financial press. On the other hand, the President whips up the war spirit with ever-increasing abandon, the current climax being his personal announcement—such dirty jobs are usually left to minor officials—that submarines "of unknown nationality" had been sighted off our coast. This bit of frank war-mongering, released just as the Congress was about to start debating neutrality legislation, got the front-page scareheads it was intended to.

The Morgan Myth

There is a widespread illusion, sometimes to be found even in the pages of the Appeal, that J. P. Morgan & Co. is playing exactly the same role in maneuvering America into this war it did in the last. This emphasis does not correspond with the known facts.

When the last world war hit the American economic system, no governmental measures whatever had been taken to cope with it. The financial community was hastily mobilized by the Governors of the N.Y. Stock Exchange and by the leading Wall Street bankers, headed by Mr. Morgan. But this mobilization was insufficient. The impact of war abroad and the hasty selling of large blocks of American securities by foreign holders, these caused a temporary financial panic. The Stock Exchange had to be closed for several months. There was an industrial slump before the Allies began to buy over here in big quantities.

This time, J. P. Morgan, symbolically enough, happened to be on the high seas when the war began. It would have made little difference if he had been on the spot, as he was in 1914. For one thing, the present Morgan is rather stupid, carries little weight in Wall Street, and for many years has had very little to do with running the House of Morgan. But even if he possessed the brains and the influence his father had in his day, the present J. P. Morgan would have played a rather small part in the drama. Months ago the arrangements to meet the impact of a European war on our financial system had been made, and when war actually came they were merely put into effect. This job was done neither by the Stock Exchange governors nor by the big bankers of Wall Street, but rather by the Federal agencies which now dominate the nation's financial system: the Securities & Exchange Commission, the Federal Reserve Board, and the U.S. Treasury Department. Working in close collaboration with the British Exchequer and the Bank of England, these powerful state agencies drew up plans so effectively that from the firing of the first gun in Poland, stocks began to soar, and an uninterrupted war boom began over here.

So it has been also with two other functions which the House of Morgan fulfilled for the Allies in the last war: the raising of credits over here, and the purchase of American war materials. In the first week of the war, Administration officials announced they were prepared to extend credits to the Allied nations through two governmental agencies: the Reconstruction Finance Corp. and the Export-Import Bank.

It is true that when J. P. Morgan got off the boat the other day, he said something about it being "reasonable" to assume that the Allies would call on his firm "to repeat our performance." But this remark, which caused a great flutter in left-wing journals, turned out to be merely an indication of how much out of touch with things Mr. Morgan is these days. His partners promptly denied any such possibility, and so did the British and French governments. Officials of the War Deal disclosed that Roosevelt had advised the British government against allowing the House of Morgan to give an encore of its famous 1914 performance. As T.R.B. cynically notes in the Sept. 27 New Republic: "The advice was sensible. To create pro-English sentiment among the mass of voters here, the House of Morgan should be kept out of sight. . . . In 1914-1917, the English government had Ambassador Page to help them influence American opinion: in this war they seem to have done much better."

A Matter of Scale

But it is not only for propagandistic reasons that the House of Morgan is not being called in again by the Allies. The main reason is that today Government agencies rather than Wall Street bankers control the technical workings of our financial system. (The basic control of the system, of course, remains in the hands of big business. It has merely been found advisable, for the benefit not of "the people" but of business interests, to centralize technical management in Washington.) This is true in times of peace, and it is truer than ever now that war has enlarged the problems of capitalism to abnormal size.

An anonymous "financier" put the essence of the matter pretty well when he was quoted in the N.Y. World-Telegram of Sept. 14 as follows: "Buying materials is not a banking firm's function anyway. When J. P. Morgan & Co. went into it in the last war, everyone thought the fight would be over quickly and he work could be done. Then it turned out to be a gigantic undertaking. It expanded tremendously. Buying for this war is expected to begin at the same scale and may go on from there to something which would dwarf the imagination."

The French have already announced that all their purchases will, for the time being, clear through the commercial attaché of their embassy in Washington. There is also a semi-official report that a Franco-British joint purchasing agency will be set up in Canada to arrange all purchases in North America. This agency, it is expected, will work closely with the procurement division of the U.S. Treasury.

War today is just too vast an enterprise for even the most powerful private bankers to handle. If war hasn't been exactly socialized, it has at least reached the stage of government ownership. It goes without saying that, as in the case of other forms of government ownership under capitalism, the change is made in the general interests of monopoly capitalism.

MASS MEETING

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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Auspices:

National Negro Department,
Socialist Workers Party

THE NEGRO QUESTION

By J. R. JOHNSON

The place of the Negro is in the very vanguard of the revolutionary movement for socialism. That is the major theoretical contribution which the Fourth International and the Socialist Workers Party have made towards a clear and precise understanding of the role of the Negro in the solution of the difficulties now facing humanity.

Whereas even the Communist Party in its revolutionary days saw the Negroes essentially as an appendage, however valuable, to the revolutionary movement, we on the other hand, see the Negroes as foremost among those who will struggle against the crimes and barbarities of the capitalist system. The reason for this lies in the very nature of the Negro's position in capitalist society. The most exploited, the most oppressed, the most discriminated against, Negroes are the ones who experience most acutely and most unbearably the overwhelming burdens which capitalism places upon the masses in every country. Negroes haven't to read in books about the fraud of capitalist democracy. Karl Marx and Lenin have little to teach them about the fact.

Prejudices Must Be Overcome

This conception of the role of the Negro has hitherto been obscured by the racial prejudices instilled into the different sections of the working class by American capitalism. The revolutionary party therefore is faced with the tremendous difficulty of overcoming this division. Yet difficult as this task is, it is a difficulty of tactics and not of strategy. The important question is not so much that of winning the Negroes for the revolution, but of instilling the Negro masses with the conviction that they can place their trust and confidence in a revolutionary party composed largely of white workers, as is inevitable in American society. That task successfully accomplished, the Fourth International is confident that the large masses of the Negroes will fight against imperialism of all kinds with a bravery and endurance that will be surpassed by no other section of the population.

Such a generalization, of such profound importance for the American revolution, and the world revolution as a whole, is best tested by the reaction of Negroes to great events such as for instance the present war. Anyone who has contacts of any kind with Negroes will know that they have been profoundly stirred by the outbreak of war in Europe. In a series of articles in this column, we shall examine the attitude to the war taken by various groups of Negroes. This attitude is in many respects confused and in some dangerous. What has been most striking, however, is that of all political and social groups in America, they have been the least bamboozled by the thesis that the imperialist war is a war for democracy against fascism. From the harsh experiences of their own lives and their knowledge of the exploitation and indignities endured by their brothers in Africa, they see the realities of the imperialist conflict much more clearly than many other sections of the American workers who are better organized and have more education and experience in the day to day politics of America. What is true of the American Negro is also true of Negroes everywhere.

A general mass sentiment of this kind inevitably produces at one stage or another some political organization, some political expression which points the road by which the confused but revolutionary instincts of great masses can be transformed into effective political reality. Such an organization already exists in the Fourth International and its sections in America, Great Britain, Africa, etc. The Fourth International, in its call for the revolutionary struggle against imperialism, expresses the aspirations and shows the future road for all the workers, white, Negro, Indian, whatever color, whatever race, whatever creed.

Int'l African Service Bureau

But there are Negroes, not affiliated to the Fourth International, who have arrived at a political position which places them side by side with the Fourth International on the war question. They are conscious that nothing but the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism can give any final solution to the permanent burdens, and additional sufferings placed upon Negroes everywhere by the imperialist war. In Great Britain, an organization of Negroes known as the International African Service Bureau, during the last few years has carried on a wide propaganda for African independence and Negro emancipation. This propaganda has not been confined to Great Britain, but has been spread in all parts of the world where Negroes live and suffer. These Negroes have seen that the colonial masses of the East are allies of the Negro and contacts have been made with organizations in India and in Ceylon. The work of the bureau has been assisted by various industrial and political organizations of the British workers, which to a smaller or greater degree, recognize how vital to their own emancipation is the emancipation of the Negro people all over the world. In the crisis over Czechoslovakia, the Bureau issued a call to the Africans and to the British workers, to fight in unity against the imperialist lie of "war for democracy." And with the approach of this war, the Bureau issued another manifesto, "A Warning to the Colonial Peoples" which is published in another column. The manifesto calls upon the colonial masses in Africa, in India, in Burma, in Ceylon, to struggle against the war-mongers both fascist and "democratic." It appeals to the British workers to do the same against the common enemy—imperialism.

Struggle against War Is International

This manifesto is of enormous importance, and must be closely studied and assimilated by all the workers in America, Negro and white. The Negroes in particular must realize that it is their duty to follow the lead so clearly and courageously given by a group of their brothers operating in Great Britain, the heart of the British Empire and of world imperialist reaction. Today the struggle against war is international and the Bureau manifesto has appealed not only to Negroes but to all workers, in the colonies and in Europe. It is impossible to have an equivocal position on war. One must be either with the imperialists and for the war, or against the imperialists and against the continuance of their system which inevitably breeds war. The manifesto says clearly and simply: Colonial and white workers, oppose the war.

It is of great significance that this manifesto comes into our hands just at the moment that our series of articles on the Negro and War in this column of the *Socialist Appeal* have come to a conclusion. That series will be published in a few days as a pamphlet of 32 pages under the title of "Why Negroes Should Oppose the War". Negroes of all shades of political opinion must study this pamphlet carefully, compare it with the manifesto issued by the International African Service Bureau, and realize how the consciousness of oppression and an insight into the mechanism of modern society lead inevitably to the one conclusion: that all the workers, of whatever race, must unite in revolutionary struggle against the imperialist war-mongers, whether fascist or "democratic". The pamphlet "Why Negroes Should Oppose the War" and the manifesto "A Warning to the Colonial Peoples" are events of major importance in the political crystallization of the Negro instinct for revolutionary struggle.

Socialist Appeal
116 University Place
New York City.

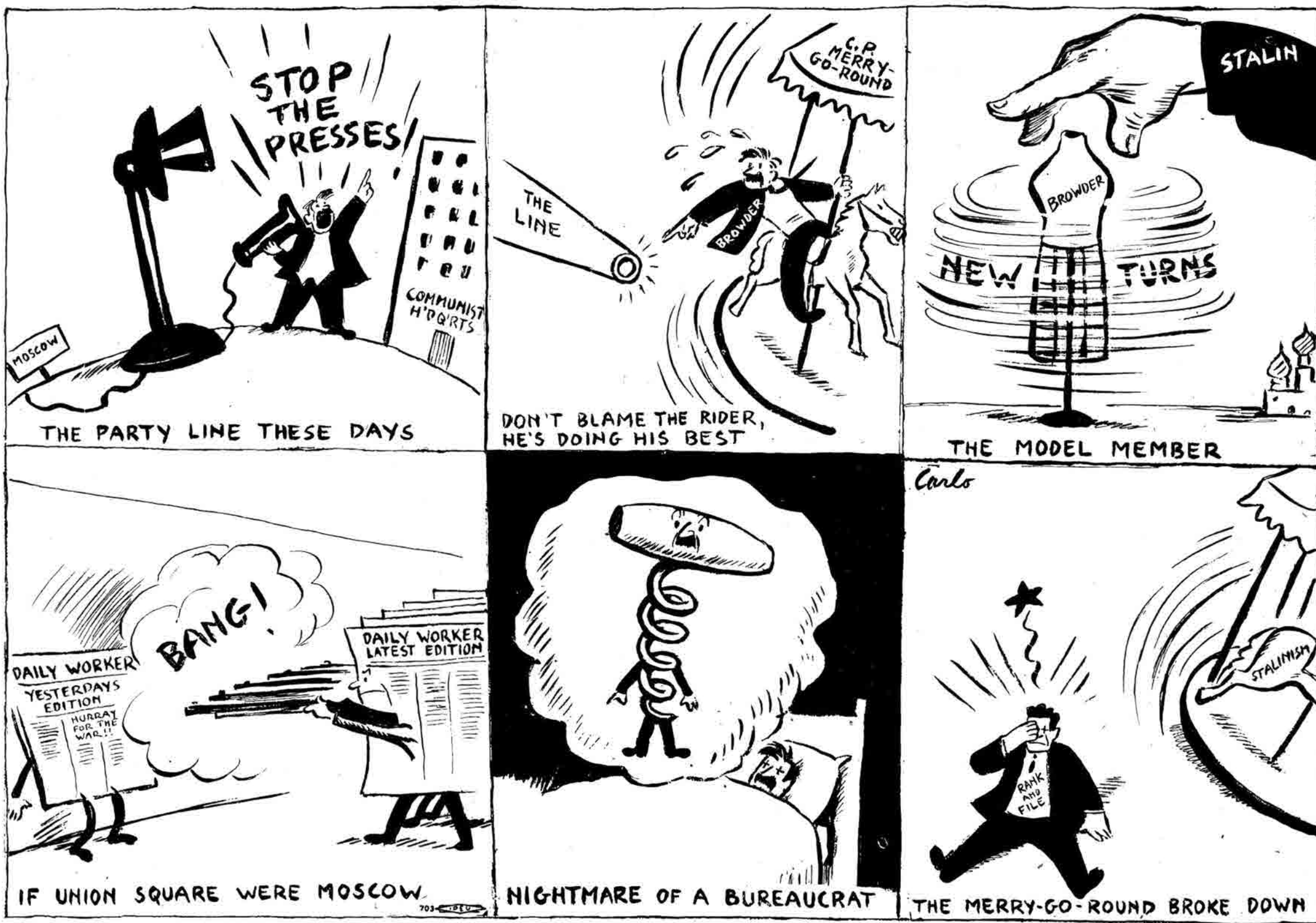
I would like to get better acquainted with your paper, the *Socialist Appeal*. Please send me sample copies for the next few weeks.

Name

Address

City

Our Line's Been Changed Again!



Bosses Get Inside Tip on Labor Control

By JOSEPH HANSEN
ARTICLE IV

The greatest worry confronting the individual capitalist at the brink of American participation in the second World War is the lack of certainty about the most powerful factor involved in both prosecuting the war and in producing the desired flow of profits—the labor movement.

Will each capitalist be assured of an adequate labor supply? Of a low level of wages? Of an efficient blacklisting system which will permit the weeding out of all those who might interrupt the lucrative harvest of war profits? And above all, will the nightmare that preys upon the mind of every capitalist—working class revolution—end this slaughter as it did the last one?

Big Business wishes to allay the fears of the capitalist class as it plunges the country into war—any group entering a struggle without complete confidence in itself is beaten before the battle starts. Big Business as the leading section of the capitalist class wishes to impress every capitalist with a sense of its authority, strength, and complete awareness that the real enemy from their point of view is the working class here in the United States.

Tightening Grip on Government

In the most authoritative tones, Big Business is tightening its grip as ruler and informing all factions of the capitalist class that it has prepared for the labor factor with detailed blue prints drawn up by the best brains that could be purchased on the market.

Stifling of the labor movement, suppression of all civil liberties is assured—this is the inside tip passed out by Big Business through the confidential bulletin issued by the Tax Research Institute. Forget your fears about labor. The road is clear for WAR PROFITS; open up the throttle!

"Labor: The assurance to industry of an adequate labor supply, both in numbers and by occupational qualification, will require the organization of a labor administration with an Administrator of Labor appointed by and directly responsible to the President. Among the more important problems to be considered are the minimizing of excessive migrations of labor; the prevention of unethical competition for labor by war industries; compilation, for the information of the President, of lists of industrial deferments from the draft of individuals required for efficient operations of war industries; the avoidance and settlement of labor problems; and the coordination of employment services."

Guaranteeing War-Time Profits

This paragraph is one of the most important in the whole bulletin from the viewpoint of labor. It reveals exactly what is in store for the working man upon the entry of the United States into the war:

(1) "Assurance of . . . adequate labor supply." Wall Street cannot be assured of its profits if there are not enough hands to keep up with the war expansion of its machine and factories and to turn out the necessary goods, or if the labor supply becomes so scarce that the demand for it acts to raise wages and so cut into profits.

(2) "Administrator of Labor appointed. . . ." Like Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany, the trade unions must become government-controlled, regimented in order not to disrupt the steady flow of profits into Wall Street's vaults.

(3) "Minimizing of excessive migrations of labor. . . ." Again like Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany, laws will be passed preventing a working man from leaving his job to go to another one at a higher rate of pay. Mussolini and Hitler require a labor passport for every working man in order to enforce this provision, the passport being held by the employer. Without the passport a man cannot get a job. Roosevelt may extend the use of a fink book such as the one he attempted to foist on the seamen, or he may use the Social Security card, the possession of which is already required in order to obtain a job.

(4) "Prevention of unethical competition of labor. . . ." If one industry sees a chance to make greater profits by a sudden expansion and in order to obtain the necessary manpower offers lucrative wages, this would be considered "unethical" and the military dictatorship would cancel these higher wages in favor of the lower level.

Blacklist Arranged for

(5) "Compilation . . . of lists . . . of individuals required for efficient operations. . . ." This is nothing less than a blacklist. If the colonels and Wall Street henchmen at the head of the military dictatorship decide a given individual is not "efficient" he may be shipped to the front in order to help "make the world safe for democracy" by dying on a bayonet, or he may be simply jailed for the duration of the war.

(6) "Avoidance and settlement of labor problems. . . ." Wall Street will decide such questions as hours, wages, and working conditions and whether or not a man may be permitted to belong to a union. Violations of Wall Street's decisions will receive the appropriate punishment at the hands of the Wall Street henchman who head the military dictatorship.

(7) "Coordination of employment services. . . ." This means the end of union control of hiring and even the end of separate employment agencies. All hiring, all black-listing will be done through one Wall-Street-controlled agency. This agency will extend its tentacles across the whole nation and strangle the labor movement in its grasp.

Methods of "Controlling" Labor

The confidential bulletin describes the concrete methods that will be used against labor in the following section:

"The Labor Controls to Be Used"

"One of the major problems the War Labor Administration must face is the one which caused greatest dissatisfaction during the World War on all sides—labor migration.

"T.R.I. Observation: Solution of the labor problem, particularly that of migration, may be attempted by the use of four means. These are:

"(1) Control of the cost of living and the keying of the real wages to that of living cost for all workers. [Just as W.P.A. wages in the North have been slashed to correspond to a slight raise in the South.—J.H.]

"(2) A single unified employment service for prevention of competition for labor. [Competition for labor would tend to raise wages.—J.H.]

"(3) The development of public opinion. [That is, flooding the public with skillful propaganda fed through the press, the pulpit, the radio, whispering campaigns, etc.—J.H.]

"(4) Compulsory arbitration of disputes after all means of conciliation and mediation have been exhausted. [The old system of the boss sitting tight, mediators lying to workers, and then cracking down with National Guard.—J.H.]

"The methods which will be used to cope with the labor problem will involve direct and indirect contact and co-operation with other government agencies. [Labor spies, police, propaganda department, social security department, labor administration will all work together.—J.H.] Thus, the division entrusted with the labor problem, the War Labor Administration, will:

"(a) Foresee and forestall, wherever possible, and in other cases take prompt action, to adjust labor difficulties in industrial facilities producing the Army's requirements.

"(b) Maintain liaison with any interested Federal and state labor agencies in order to advise them of the labor needs of facilities producing Army requirements.

"(c) Maintain close liaison with the Director of Selective Service and with industrial management in order to insure the deferments of such workmen as are vitally essential to the munitions producing program.

"(d) Maintain liaison with national labor organizations and with agencies having to do with labor welfare."

Sixty Families Fear Labor

This entire plan to regiment labor under the bayonet, from the viewpoint of the Big Business men sitting in luxurious Wall Street office suites look foolproof. But the very detailed minuteness of these blue prints shows that there is a profound basis for the fears of the capitalist class.

It is one thing to draw up complicated blueprints with which to straitjacket and slaughter the tens of millions who constitute the working population of the country. But these prints have an entirely different color when it comes to imposing them successfully.

One thing is absolutely certain: when the working population of the United States understands as a whole that the Wall Street dictatorship is composed of only a handful of men whose numbers are in inverse proportion to their wealth and greed, and when the working population understands that this war is being conducted for nothing but the insurance of capitalist profits, they will rise in consuming wrath and wipe capitalism from the face of the earth, blueprints, greed, military dictatorship and all.

In place of capitalist minority rule, they will construct socialism, and through socialism the working man will gain peace, decent living conditions, and a new era that will relegate war to the museum beside the dusty bones of the dinosaur and the capitalist.

THE END

SOCIALIST APPEAL

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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.

Danger Signal

The Dies Committee, operating with the aid of Federal agents, has raided the offices of the Communist Party in Chicago, and of several other organizations which are not named in the newspaper accounts.

The attitude of every revolutionary worker, of every honest progressive worker, for that matter, towards the Stalinists, is pretty well known. We consider Stalinism a poisonous influence in the labor movement and we have not been in the last ranks of the struggle to eliminate that influence. But everyone who is concerned with the interests of the working class, and who reflects seriously on the problem, will share our position on the Dies Committee attack upon the Stalinist party.

In our fight against Stalin, Browder & Co., we not only proceed from certain unshakeable principles, but we are very careful—doubly careful nowadays, in the conditions of the war crisis—about WHO it is that is fighting the Stalinists and what AIMS he pursues in the fight.

In our fight against Hitlerism, we are not prepared to turn to the imperialist murderers of the "democracies" for leadership and cooperation. Similarly, in our fight against Stalinism, we are not prepared to turn to the labor-hating, red-baiting gang of Bourbons who guide and run the Dies Committee. Reaction, whatever it may seem to be doing at a given moment, cannot and does not serve the interests of progress.

Only shortsighted people, fools and scoundrels can take any comfort in the thought that "regardless of his real aims," Dies is striking a blow at Stalinism. Only turncoats without principles or scruples—people like Ben Gitlow and Joseph Zack—can cooperate with outfits run by Dies. For our part, we condemn the Chicago raids with all our strength, just as we condemn the whole conception and course and aims of the Dies Committee.

The raids, like the rest of the Dies Committee's activities, are part and parcel of a national anti-labor and pro-war movement. Today it is the Stalinists who are the victims of the government at whose heels they trotted for many years and which they have not yet really abandoned. Tomorrow, on much the same pretext, Dies and Murphy and the whole governmental machinery will be swung into action against all labor and militant elements who refuse to come to heel under the orders of the war dictatorship.

Unless the labor movement promptly takes measures to put a stop to the activities of the Dies Committee, it will find tomorrow that the Dies Committee will have taken the measures needed to put a stop to the labor movement.

J. P. Morgan has turned over his Scottish estate to the British government as a war hospital. Well, he should; he helps get 'em shot.

Green's Speech

The opening address of President William Green at the Cincinnati convention of the American Federation of Labor puts him as squarely behind the War Deal government in Washington as Roosevelt would desire.

The leadership in the movement to drag the United States into the Second World War is in the hands of Roosevelt. He has made no bones about the fact that he has already decided which

camp in the war he favors. The new "neutrality" legislation proposed by him is calculated to bring the country two or three steps closer to the "democratic" empires in the war than did the present "neutrality" legislation he sponsored in its time.

The fight to keep the United States out of the war is primarily a fight against the Roosevelt regime. That fight cannot be led by any other force than the independent labor movement— independent from all capitalist parties, capitalist politicians and capitalist governments. Only such independence can make the anti-war fight a serious one.

Green, however, true labor lieutenant of capitalism, uses the occasion of the AFL convention to endorse Roosevelt, to cover up his hypocritical "peace" assurances, to get behind his war program, the program of armaments expansion included. All he asks is that he be "fully represented on any and all government boards engaged in preparing plans for industrial mobilization. . . ." His only beef is, you see, that he hasn't been given enough recognition as part of the war machine.

How illusory, in the light of this, is the hope expressed by many workers that the Greens and the Lewises are going to stand up against the capitalist war-mongers—an illusion expressed only recently at the Duluth convention of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor which, in its anti-war resolution, mistakenly hailed William Green as an opponent of the war.

Green and Lewis and their similars in the trade union bureaucracy can no more be relied upon to fight war than can Roosevelt. They are the agents or servants of the war-mongers.

In Washington, D.C., the wage-hour administration granted the lumber industry in Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota partial exemption from the fair labor standards act for the spring freshet driving. This will permit employment of workers for as much as 56 hours a week for 14 weeks without paying overtime. Ordinarily, overtime is paid after 44 hours a week. The administration also granted exemption to the sugar beet industry, affecting thousands of sugar beet workers. It's strange, but it looks like the workers who most need this act, with its minimum wage of two bits an hour, are the very ones who are always being "exempted".

Thomas vs. Browder

Norman Thomas has worked himself up in more than one speech and article during the past few weeks against the Hitler-Stalin pact and in particular against its defense by Earl Browder.

In the past, Thomas often condemned Browder and Co. for pursuing a pro-war policy in this country calculated to bring the United States into the camp of the "democratic" imperialist pirates with whom Stalin was allied or hoping to be allied. Now, and not without justice, Thomas condemns the new line of Browder, which is calculated to alter the position of American capitalism in such a way as to facilitate the work of the fascist imperialist pirates with whom Stalin is at present allied.

Yet the position that Thomas has taken towards Stalin and the Soviet Union place him essentially on the same plane as Browder. As Chairman of the Socialist Party, Thomas has called upon President Roosevelt "that the arms embargo against belligerent powers in Europe be extended to include Stalin's government."

Thomas and Browder are on the same political plane because both of them take an essentially pro-war position and because both of them call upon capitalist governments to fulfill their missions.

Browder, up to yesterday, wanted the Roosevelt government to save Stalin from Hitler by plunging the United States into an imperialist war on the side of the "democracies." Browder now wants the Roosevelt government to help Stalin by keeping hands off Hitler and refraining from taking sides with England and France because—Browder has discovered this now that the Hitler-Stalin pact is in force—the war is imperialistic. At bottom, Browder, in the interests of his paymaster, wants to sub-contract the job of the working class to the imperialist governments, or to one of them.

Thomas too has no faith in the working class and in its ability to act as an independent and decisive force in society. He is opposed to Stalin. But he calls upon the American imperialist government to do the job of crushing or "stopping" Stalinism. At bottom, he also wants to turn over the task of the working class to a sub-contractor.

Imperialism and imperialist war are a plague. Stalinism is a poison. But neither one of them can be combatted by subjugating the working class, intellectually, physically and politically, to a capitalist government.

With all their differences and disputes, that is precisely what Browder and Thomas, each in his own way, are trying to do.

COMMENT SUPERFLUOUS

From an item on the International Youth Day parade in Moscow, in the Manchester Guardian Weekly of September 8:

"Two German newspaper correspondents sprang to attention and clicked their heels when an O.G.P.U. (Secret Police) band began to play the 'Internationale' . . . Thaelmann's picture was not to be seen."

Danish Fourth International Issues Revolutionary Call for a United Scandinavian Socialist Federation

Everywhere in this war-ridden world the voice of the Fourth International is making itself heard as the only voice of hope. Several weeks ago we published the manifesto of our British comrades of the Militant Labour League. In this issue we are reprinting a leaflet issued by the Danish Fourth Internationalists. In subsequent issues we shall make public the anti-war declarations of our French and Canadian comrades, copies of which have only just reached our office.

The Danish manifesto is signed by the International Communists. This group has since merged with the Leninist group and formed a united section of the Fourth International in Denmark under the name Revolutionary Socialists. In a note to us the comrades explain that the change in name was made necessary by the discredit of the word "communist" which after the Stalin-Hitler pact reached such a point that workers drove the Stalinists off the streets wherever they showed their heads.

Seven thousand copies of the stirring appeal of our Danish friends were distributed in Copenhagen. Two comrades were arrested in the process. The Revolutionary Socialists answered the arrests with an intensified campaign of anti-war work.

TO THE DANISH WORKING CLASS!

The war has come! Millions of people are about to fight and die—not for any ideas or views, not for democracy or fascism, but for the maintenance and expansion of the imperialist terrain, for the exploitation and redivision of colonies, for interest paid on capital exports.

That is what this war is being conducted for. None of the belligerent parties have any concern over moral or historic "rights."

This war is an imperialist war, an inevitable catastrophe in the epoch of imperialism. From the moral point of view, this war is a gigantic crime on the part of the ruling classes which have no other means of securing, maintaining and expanding the conditions of their existence.

Only Way Out
Lenin and Trotsky, Liebknecht and Luxemburg showed, in the last war, the only way out for the working class: Down with the governments of all the belligerent states! Turn this war into a civil war! Seize power for yourselves! That still remains today the only way—out of war and fascism, out of chaos and barbarism!

Where are the parties of the Second International? Where is the social democracy? Ever since 1914 the history of the social democracy has been the history of its betrayal of the revolutionary tasks of the labor movement and the working class. Wells, Blum, Attlee and the Stalinists of all the parties of the Second International bear the responsibility for making possible that another imperialist war can flare up in Europe at this late date. Hitler and Mussolini, Daladier and Chamberlain, capitalist "democracy" and fascism—that is the way out, that is the handiwork, created by the Second International.

A Tool of the G.P.U.

Where is the Third International? Out of the banner-bearer of the world revolution, out of the hope of the oppressed in the whole world, Stalin has debased the Third International into a propaganda agency for his counter-revolutionary foreign policy, into a tool of the G.P.U. in the struggle against Trotskyism and revolution. These last few days Stalin has entrusted the fate of the Comintern into Hitler's hands. Morally and politically destroyed by the enormities of Stalinism, the Comintern apparatus which still remains is naturally attempting to falsify the German-Russian "non-aggression" pact as a victory for socialism. But only the conclusion of this pact, only the direct war aid of the Soviet Union initiated by the trade agreement allows Hitler to launch his war with confidence!

Danish Workers! What shall you do?

Workers' Educational Forum presents
ALBERT GOLDMAN
on
"EUROPE IN FLAMES"
Friday, Oct. 6—8:30 p.m.
at 810 Locust St., Philadelphia, Pa.

In all the belligerent countries, in all the countries more or less directly dragged into this war, the "neutral" states, parties and groups of the Fourth International, and only these parties, fight against the war and for the social revolution, for socialism. Do not permit the catastrophes of the Second and Third Internationals to cast you into despair and apathy. Take the revolutionary road. Do not lose courage! Believe in the future of the revolutionary movement!

Support the Fourth!

War and blockade will place Danish capitalism and its social democratic government before heavy tasks, which they can solve only at the expense of the working class. The Danish bourgeoisie is attempting to remain out of the war. But it is not the Danish bourgeoisie—it is the General Staffs in Berlin and London which will decide in the last instance whether Denmark is to participate actively or passively in the war.

Will you, can you, leave the struggle against war to Stauning and Aksel Larsen? Never! At the end of this war, victor and vanquished will stand at the precipice faced by social

revolution. If socialism can be victorious in Germany, in France or in England, then the working class can also conquer in Denmark and all of Scandinavia. Even today the united working classes of Scandinavia could give an example of the seizure of power to the workers of the world, if there were revolutionary parties in these countries.

Distrust S.P., C.P.

Do you believe that Stauning and Larsen will take this road? Stauning and the social democracy, upholding their tradition, will fight on the side of the bourgeoisie in the future also. And the Danish Communist Party will always adopt any counter-revolutionary position ordered by Stalin at any given moment.

War is sharpening all class contradictions. All the questions of the daily class struggle are being placed on a high plane. The war places you directly and immediately before your historic tasks: Overthrow of the rule of capitalism—proletarian dictatorship!

Only a Marxist-Leninist party, which must grow out of your ranks, can enable the Danish working class of fulfilling these tasks.

International Communists
(Affiliated to the 4th Intl.)

Injunction Fails to Halt Calif. Sports Wear Strike

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
LOS ANGELES, Sept. 29 — Entering the eighth week of its strike against the Billy Biller Sports Wear Mfg. in Los Angeles, local 266 of the ILGWU continues to hold firm despite the arrest of several of its militants and a court injunction restricting picketing.

The strike was called August 22 when the union protested the employer's violation of the state minimum wage law and demanded a union shop. At the refusal of the employer to grant any of their demands an overwhelming majority of the employee walked out of the shop and established a picket line.

In the fifth week of the strike five of the union leaders were arrested for their activity on the picket line and charged with five counts including

blocking pedestrian traffic, and battery. Alice Ingram, business agent of the local, and Paula among the arrested. All of the union members were found guilty and fined twenty-five dollars each. The day of the arrests, the employer found further assistance from the courts when an injunction was issued restricting the picket line to three people.

During the strike the employer was hauled into court and charged with criminal violation of the state minimum wage law. Although his trial was set for the 26th of Sept. he secured a continuance until Oct. 19. However, as a result of the strike and the work of the union the boss has already been compelled to raise wages to conform to the state law.

WORKERS' FORUM

USING SPIES AGAINST LABOR

Dear Comrade Editor:

The newspapers recently said that "detective organizations set up by industrial concerns to prevent sabotage would work closely with the FBI." My memory recalls that the Senate Committee on labor spies in 1937 reviewed how the "detective" organizations functioned against union organizing. My memory also recalls that I never read or heard of any labor spies being discharged after the Senate Committee ended.

Behind the Lines

(Continued from Page 1)

It was to place the issue squarely before his wavering axis-partner that Hitler summoned Ciano to Berlin. It is not difficult to guess that Hitler was offering his pompous, frightened ally in the Palazzo Venezia his last chance to get in on the Balkan ground floor before Stalin occupies it all.

It is now the favorite pastime of Anglo-French statesmen and their journalistic echoes to gamble on the early break-up of the new Moscow-Berlin axis. Even Winston Churchill did his part in his radio speech to throw a little oil on the fire he fondly hopes is burning under the camp of his adversaries.

Russia is not really helping Hitler so much as helping itself and in the process is barring the Nazi drive from southeastern Europe, according to this theory. This is true enough, up to a certain point. But those who calculate that for this reason Stalin and Hitler will oblige Britain and France by flying prematurely at each other's throats are doomed to sorry disappointment.

For Stalin right now it is of the essence that Hitler remain capable of draining the strength of the Western powers in an exhausting war.

ed. So I must believe that the labor spies are yet in the employment of the corporations.

Of course this is not modern. In the last war labor detective agencies worked with the federal government against unions organizing. I can just picture how a labor spy will get even with the union leaders that made life so miserable for them the last few years. The fallacy of misleaders of the labor movement will fall on their thick heads like a ton of bricks.

For years they have been telling the workers what a great friend of labor Frank Murphy is. Soon "I Break Strikes" Murphy will be working hand and glove with the stool-pigeons, company spies, strikebreakers, and finks. They are in the same spot that the Stalinists are in now, so clear that even dyed-in-the-wool Stalinists can understand. Martin Dies made a press statement on the 26 of September that "CIO soon would announce dismissal of all known Communists from its ranks." Boy, what a set-up for the labor spies in the CIO. They will find more "reds" than there are corn stalks in Iowa, every union militant will be painted a "subversive element" by the finks.

Comradely yours,

H.V. Romer

St. Louis

P.S. You are doing a good job with the paper, more news in action. The headline some time back which said "Workers this is not your war" went over big here. I heard good remarks about it. It draws their attention sharp.

For Hitler—who realizes he must subdue Britain or go down before it—Stalin's "neutrality," however malevolent, is worth any price he can pay. For both, their self-preservation is wrapped up in continuing for the present along the paths they have chosen. What awaits them around the next bend, however, neither of them really knows.

A Warning to The People of The Colonies

(For additional material on this manifesto see the column on the Negro Question on page 3.)

To the oppressed and exploited masses of the British Empire, and all peoples under the heel of Imperialism throughout the world:

You, the most oppressed and exploited, will soon be called upon to take part in a war which threatens the slaughter of millions of men, women and children. Ruin, misery and devastation unparalleled in history endanger humanity. Yet at the conclusion of the war the mass of the people will still remain in their present condition of abject poverty. War is no solution for their problems.

Even if agreement is reached between the rival Imperialisms, it will only delay for a short period the threatening conflict. The next issue will be the Colonial Question.

The Truth About the War

We are told that the war will be fought to save Poland from Hitler. This is a lie! If a battle is waged it will be to prevent Hitler from overrunning Europe and stealing "their" colonies.

This is the truth that they dare not tell! If these democratic nations are so concerned with defending smaller nations against aggression, why did they stand aside and allow Mussolini to attack the defenseless Abyssinian people after having promised them assistance? It is to mislead you that our Imperialist masters are asking you to join up and fight for Democracy against Fascism.

DEMOCRACY! What do you know of democracy in the Empire? In 1914 they called on the masses in the Mother Country and in the Empire to fight for Democracy and self-determination. Millions died on Flanders' Field, in Palestine, in East, West and South Africa. For what? More slavery, more oppression, more exploitation.

No "Rights" Under Imperialism

You in the Empire! What rights, what liberties, what democracy have you in the "glorious" Empires of Britain, France, Belgium, Holland, Portugal, etc.? They have robbed the masses of their land and broken up their civilisation. They segregate you in your own country, pen you in reserves and locations like cattle, make you carry passes like common criminals, and then pay you starvation wages. In the West Indies you are still denied the most elementary rights of human beings. You asked for bread, and they gave you hot lead!

The colonial masses in war, as in peace, can have only one aim, one goal—INDEPENDENCE. And we summon you in whatever country—India, Ceylon, Burma, Palestine, Africa—all people who fight for this end, to unite against the warmongers, both Democratic and Fascist, and all those who at this hour pledge in your name your lives in defense of the Imperialists. They do not represent the real aspirations of the colonial peoples struggling for liberty. Be vigilant and watch the traitors in your own ranks.

Unite in the Common Struggle

We denounce the whole gang of European robbers and enslavers of the colonial peoples—German Nazis, Italian Fascists, French, British, Belgian and Dutch democrats—all are the same IMPERIALIST BANDITS whose common aim is the enslavement of humanity throughout the world.

To the workers of Britain we appeal also. You must unite in the struggle of the colonial peoples against the common enemy, who is in your own country. To white and black the solution is the same: Organize and be ready to seize the opportunity to overthrow the enemy.

FOR COMPLETE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL LIBERATION OF THE COLONIAL PEOPLES! DOWN WITH THE IMPERIALIST BANDITS! WORKERS OF ALL LANDS UNITE!

British Centre Against Imperialism
International African Service Bureau.
London—August 29, 1939

Hear Cannon on the Causes of Imperialist War

The first lecture in a series of four was delivered by James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party last Friday at Irving Plaza.

An alert and intensely interested audience of over two hundred and fifty workers heard Cannon outline the causes that gave rise to the first World War, the collapse of the anti-war pacifist movement, the betrayal of the "labor leaders" and the struggle to reconstitute a revolutionary international organization after the collapse of the Second International.

The audience, largely composed of the post-war generation of workers were particularly interested in the vivid picture Cannon gave of America's entry into the war in 1917. The instructive lesson of the complete betrayal of all those who "opposed" the war but refused to take a revolutionary anti-imperialist position was driven home.

Cutting through the fog of official history Cannon showed how the peace of 1918 was the direct outcome of the great revolutionary upheaval starting in Russia in February, 1917 sweeping across Europe and changing the entire course of modern history.

The lecture was followed by a lively question period.

The next lecture will deal with the "Aftermath of the First World War—The Versailles Treaty." The division of the world among the victorious powers will be subjected to an analysis showing how it prepared the conditions for the second World War.

The New York Local of the SWP is sponsoring these lectures and invites all workers to attend this coming Fri. 8 p.m. in Irving Plaza, 15 Street and Irving Place. Admission 25c.