

A Vote for Shachtman and Paine Is a Vote Against War!

The U.S.S.R. In the War

By Leon Trotsky

[The following is a section of a long article by Comrade Trotsky on the "U.S.S.R. in War." The article in full will be published in the November number of the New International. The conclusions of Comrade Trotsky have been endorsed by the plenum of the National Committee and his article is published as an elucidation and evaluation of the new events on the basis of the fundamental position of the party.]

On the Question of Occupied Territories

As I am writing these lines the question of the territories occupied by the Red Army still remains obscure. The cable dispatches contradict each other, since both sides lie a great deal; but the actual relationships on the scene are no doubt still extremely unsettled. Most of the occupied territories will doubtless become part of the USSR. In what form?

Let us for a moment conceive that in accordance with the treaty with Hitler, the Moscow government leaves untouched the rights of private property in the occupied areas and limits itself to "control" after the Fascist pattern. Such a concession would have a deep-going principled character and might become a starting point for a new chapter in the history of the Soviet regime; and consequently a starting point for a new appraisal on our part of the nature of the Soviet state.

It is more likely, however, that in the territories scheduled to become a part of the USSR, the Moscow government will carry through the expropriation of the large land owners and statification of the means of production. This variant is most probable not because the bureaucracy remains true to the socialist program but because it is neither desirous nor capable of sharing the power, and the privileges the latter entails, with the old ruling classes in the

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Behind the Lines

By GEORGE STERN

Ever since the consummation of the Stalin-Hitler pact, the remaining Communist Parties have been threshing about like headless snakes. Even in the agony of their passing, however, they continue to serve not the interests of the workers of the world but the vilest ends of capitalist reaction.

More, almost, than any other single factor in the history of the past 15 years, Stalin's Comintern has been responsible for the disorientation and dispersal of the forces that could have transformed the world into a workers' commonwealth instead of the foul channel house that it has become.

Stalin's pact with Hitler, the brazen rapacity of the Polish invasion, the cynical yoking of the Baltic states to the Kremlin's chariot, are only the most recently forged links in the chain that Stalin has been fashioning for years and with which he has shackled and tortured the international revolutionary movement.

What a contemptible figure is cut by the Stalinist bureaucrat or so-called intellectual fellow-traveler who accepted without blinking the strangling of the revolution in China, Germany, Austria, France, and Spain—who supported without flinching the murderous purge and the witchcraft trials of the old Bolsheviks—and now finds himself suddenly "betrayed" by the pact with Hitler!

The break-up of Stalin's parties in various countries has for at least six years been one of the prime requisites for the further successful development of a genuine revolutionary movement in the working class. Had that break-up come under the

Test Case Taken To Supreme Court

WASHINGTON, D.C.—A test case based on a Worcester, Mass. anti-littering ordinance which has been used to prevent unionists from distributing organizing leaflets is being heard before the U.S. Supreme Court.

The case grew out of the arrest of Pauline Thompson and Elmita Nichols, Worcester unionists, for passing out leaflets issued by the Worcester Industrial Union Council, CIO, protesting wage cuts and demanding more adequate relief standards.

The case went through the Massachusetts courts, including the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court which ruled against the two women defendants.

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BIG BUSINESS SEES NATION HERDED INTO WORLD SLAUGHTER BY SPRING

War Stand Key Issue, Says N. Y. Candidate

Shachtman Points to Anti-War Stand Taken By Several Unions

Pointing to the action of the Rochester Central Trades and Labor Council in adopting a resolution in support of a popular referendum on war and commenting on a similar resolution passed at the recent Duluth convention of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor, Max Shachtman, Councilmanic Candidate of the Socialist Workers Party for the Bronx, declared today that, "It is encouraging to note that certain sections of organized American labor are becoming increasingly aware of the dangers resident in permitting Congress and the President to retain their present war-making powers."

"No candidate who is up for election to the City Council this November can evade a forthright statement on this paramount issue of the popular war referendum and at the same time represent himself as a serious opponent of war," Shachtman stated.

Others Silent
"Of all the candidates put forward by the various political parties for election to the City Council," Shachtman declared, "not one has to this date expressed himself publicly for the popular referendum on war."

"Indeed, these individuals have merely accepted the leads given by their national figures," Shachtman pointed out. "President Roosevelt and former Secretary of State Henry Stimson, speaking for the Democratic and Republican parties when the Ludlow Amendment to the Constitution was before Congress last year, gave the lead to their respective organizations by stating their irrevocable opposition to the popular war referendum."

"That nothing of a public character can be expected from the various Councilmanic Candidates on this all-important issue was further indicated when from every quarter of political life in this city came testimonies of agreement with Roosevelt's pronouncement placing an embargo on all questions of a controversial nature," Shachtman continued.

"As for Mayor LaGuardia, he has his eyes glued on a post in any war cabinet selected by

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Denounces Roosevelt War Plans



George Lyman Paine, Manhattan candidate of the Socialist Workers Party for City Council, addressing a campaign meeting at the headquarters of the Upper West Side Branch. Comrade Paine spoke on the main issue in the municipal campaign—the fight against imperialist war.

ALP Takes Pro-War Line Under Cover of Attack on Stalinism

Move Against Discredited Stalinists Is in Reality a Blow at Genuine Anti-War Forces Who Rely on Labor's Own Might

By FELIX MORROW

The most flagrantly pro-war stand taken by any important labor group in this country was adopted by the state executive committee of the American Labor Party last Thursday, October 4.

Putting teeth into the decision, the state body the next day decided to require every ALP candidate to "re-affirm and to subscribe to" the pro-war resolution, and made provision that "any party candidate who fails, refuses or neglects to act in accordance with this decision of the state executive committee will be denied the nomination and support of the Labor party."

"Acid Test"

Alex Rose, state secretary, in announcing this decision stated that while it applied specifically only to candidates, the "resolution on the European

"conflict" would be made the "acid test" of membership in the Labor party. Characterizing Anglo-French imperialism as "the cause of the Western democracies that are fighting for the preservation of those democratic values and liberties which we in this country treasure so dearly," the war resolution says "the great majority of the American people when the remaining democracies on the European

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Somervell Announces New Wage Cut For WPA Clerks

NEW YORK CITY—In its mad drive to turn all WPA funds into war funds, the Roosevelt administration this week again cut WPA wages in this area.

The wages of 13,000 clerks have been cut \$5.20 to \$20.80 a month on direct orders from Washington, Lieut. Colonel Somervell, local WPA administrator announced.

NOTICE

An important meeting of all party and YPSL members will be held Sunday, October 15, 2 P.M. at Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th St. Admission by red card only.

Bosses Get "Inside Stuff" on Strategy Of F. D. R. War Deal

Glimpses Behind the Scenes in Washington In Special Service for Business Men Show Extent of "War Spirit" in Washington

If any reader of the *Appeal* still has any last lingering doubts as to the definiteness of the plans of the War Deal for swinging the nation into the imperialist slaughter abroad, he should get hold of the *Kiplinger Washington Letter* for the last few weeks, and in particular those for September 16 and 23.

The *Kiplinger Letter* is a well-known compilation of "inside stuff" on governmental activities in Washington. It is written weekly by a staff who have excellent contacts with the highest government circles. "CIRCULATED PRIVATELY TO BUSINESS MEN" reads its letterhead. Kiplinger aims to provide frank and realistic information which can be depended on as a guide to business policy. The *Letter* goes out

to tens of thousands of executives and corporations who pay well for the service. Its data can be relied on to be accurate and objective. When hard cash is at stake, business men want cold facts, not propaganda.

What, then, does the Kiplinger agency have to say about the current policies of the War Deal? First of all, what of the general attitude of the Administration towards American entry into the war on the side of the Allies? Kiplinger answers:

The war spirit in Washington, within EXECUTIVE branch of govt., is greater than throughout the country, especially the interior. By this is meant the possibility that U.S. may get into the war. There are complex ifs-&-ands . . . prospects are far from clear . . . but . . .

The point is this: Within our officialdom, not for quotation, there's VERY MUCH more opinion that the U.S. MAY be drawn into the war than appears in formal official utterances as published. In VERY HIGH official circles (not the slightest doubt of it) there is solemn talk of the "possibility" of U.S. in war "by January."

Our government, particularly at the TOP, is acting on the theory that the U.S. "may" be at war "sooner than the general public suspects". That's not precise, but that's the way it is put. . . it shows the spirit.

It is our opinion that the Executive branch of our government is putting up a front

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'THE DECLARATION OF PANAMA'--ROOSEVELT DRIVES TO WAR

The energetic young Sumner Welles, under-secretary of State, is now on his way back to Washington from Panama with a juicy present for the Sixty Families in his pocket. The "Declaration of Panama", which Welles drove through the conference of the twenty-one American "republics", against the opposition of a number of them headed by Chile, will go down in history as a very remarkable document indeed.

The Declaration contains many pious references to the solidarity of the American nations, their neutrality, their resolve to aid each other and to keep out of the war. But its key section is of course that which defines the "neutral zone" around the Americas.

Extent of "Neutral" Zone

This neutral zone extends from 300 to 600 miles into the ocean from the shores of America, from the latitude of Canada's southern border to the last tip of South America.

The zone thus includes all of the Caribbean, the islands both west and east of South America, and even Bermuda. Within this area all "belligerent acts" are to be forbidden. This means that within this area no ships are to be molested by the warring powers, and no military acts of any kind carried out on land or at sea.

Let us see what is involved here:

The zone includes more than a hundred territories and possessions of European powers, chiefly British and French and a few Dutch. All of these are therefore declared to be immune from attack by enemy powers—that is, by Germany.

If submarines or raiding cruisers wish to attack ships transporting goods from an American port to Europe, their best chance is to lie in wait near the port, or, in the case of the Central and Northern South American ports, in among the narrow channels through which the ships must pass in the Caribbean.

In this way it is clearly easier to spot the ships than in the vast reaches of the open sea. But, by the terms of the declaration, ships cannot be attacked within the neutral zone.

War Aim of U.S. Imperialism

Here, too, the declaration is aimed primarily at Germany, and in several senses. Ships with goods for Britain or France would sail with safety to the edge of the neutral zone, half way across the Atlantic, and would there be taken up by convoys. The British squadrons now compelled to do duty within the area would be released for work elsewhere. The U.S. navy would be, in effect, convoy to French and British ships to the edge of the zone. Ships for Germany, on the other hand, would not appreciably benefit, since Germany has no large surface fleet, and since they would still have to pass the almost insurmountable blockade of the Channel, the North Sea and the Baltic.

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-By B. J. WIDICK

Boycott Slogan

Stalinist Stand

By JAMES BURNHAM

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Policeman of the Americas

United States imperialism will be the policeman of the Americas; and, by the terms of the declaration, no one else will be allowed to operate within its precinct.

Civil Service Union Treated to Heavy Dose Of Praise for New York's Little Flower

A resolution was passed embodying the Quill-Stalinist de-

Washington Holds Whip-Hand

The conference in its concluding session set up an executive committee to continue the task of "coordinating" the efforts of the American nations. In the old days, the United States might have indulged the hypocritical luxury of allowing this committee to have its headquarters at Lima or Rio or even Panama, to show that everyone was "equal" in the new world. But you have to act fast in war-time. So the committee will be located where it belongs—in Washington. Then it won't be necessary to telephone or cable to give orders. The boss can call the boys into the office, and no time wasted.

WAR IS KEY ISSUE IN N. Y. COUNCIL ELECTION

Alliance Local

Third Camp

The ALP resolution is not directed primarily against the Stalinists. It is directed against the anti-war forces. It is directed against the tens of thousands of class-conscious workers in New York who are not taken in by the democratic-im-

Fall in with President's Plan to Get People into the War

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
CINCINNATI, Ohio — The
American Federation of Labor

Catering to F. D. R.
The Roosevelt administration's pro-war policies were endorsed in a nation-wide address that Green made from the convention, and by the passage of a resolution to that effect.

Action on the whole problem of WPA and the drastic wage cuts ordered last summer by Roosevelt is expected at the convention.

With approval from the National and State office, the locals were dissolved one by one. One local was dissolved for voting to support a political issue not first approved by the

**CHICAGO, NEW YORK
DO WEEK'S BEST JOB**

DO WEEK'S BEST JOB
Chicago, Newark and New York did the best job in a comparatively weak week in the matter of new and renewal subscriptions. 25 new subscriptions and 15 renewals were obtained. Local Chicago sent in 6 new subscriptions, New York 5 and Newark 4. Of renewals New York obtained 6 and Detroit 3. The record for the past week is as follows:

SELLING APPEALS AT OPEN AIR MEETINGS

San Francisco has been stressing in the recent period open-air meetings as the best medium for sale of the **Socialist Appeal**. Meetings have been held five times a week, at which speakers plug the Press and supporting comrades sell.

The St. Louis area continues to do a very able job of distribution of the Press, as well as in following through all subscription prospects.

	New	Re- newal
Newark	4	
Flint	1	
New Hampshire	1	
Lynn	1	1
San Francisco	2	
Chicago	6	
Detroit	1	3
New York City	5	6
Minneapolis	2	1
Ithaca	1	
Quakertown	1	1
Houston	1	1
St. Louis	1	1
Olivia, Minn.	1	1
Total	25	15

scription prospects.

Local Detroit has increased its bundle order to 100 and has been stressing house to house distribution in the workers' area.

Los Angeles has started back on the road to increases by adding 50 copies to its regular bundle order, or a total now of 150. It still has to regain its previous quota of 200 per issue.

Several local ows unusually large bills both to the Socialist Appeal and the New International. This is official warning that the social party payments are forthcoming on these bills within the next days, the paper and magazine will be sent to them C.O.D.

SOCIALIST APPEAL & NEW INTERNATIONAL
Can be Obtained at the Following Newsstands

Anderson, 111 1st St. & Lenox Ave.
 NW, Leiding, 14th St. & Lenox Ave.
 NW, 116th St. & 8th Ave. & SP
 Green, 27 W. 120th St. near Lenox
 Ave. SE, Brown, 127th St. & Lenox
 Ave. SE, Kling, 125th St. & Lenox
 Ave. SE, Thompson, 135th St. &
 8th Ave. SW, Bell, 140th St. & 8th
 Ave. SW, 145th St. & SP
 Nicholas Ave. SW.

Utrecht Ave. 4003 Ninth Ave.
 CONEY ISLAND
 Brighton Beach Ave. & Beach 5th
 St. & Beach 6th St. & West 1st St.
 Coney Island
 Candy store: Sheepshead Bay Station
 (newstand); Brighton Beach Ave. &
 Ocean Pkwy., NY.

STATEMENT BY MEXICAN FOURTH INTERNATIONALISTS ON RIVERA

The Unemployed Workers of Escondido have asked some ex-Workers Alliance members to support them by joining in a drive to be launched soon to establish a new county-wide organization in San Diego.

THE NEGRO QUESTION

By J. R. JOHNSON

Dr. Charles Petioni is a Negro of West Indian origin who is an enemy of British imperialism. Many years ago, in the island of Trinidad, his opposition to colonial tyranny led him to leave the island. Today in Harlem he is president of the Caribbean Union and is still opposed to Britain. In an interview published in the Daily Worker of Oct. 5, 1939, he says:

"India, Africa, and the West Indies have no sympathy for Chamberlain. They will fight on the side of Britain only when forced to do so."

So far, so good. Dr. Petioni's statement represents what we called last week in this column the powerful revolutionary instinct of the Negro masses. But in politics instinct is not enough. You must have political clarity. And the need for it is alarmingly illustrated by Dr. Petioni's further statement.

"The imperialist countries are on the run. Russia is doing the only logical thing that could be done. When the little buffer states were set up in the Balkans during the last war, they were intended for future powder kegs to be set off the moment the big imperialist countries were ready to mop up with Russia. Now that Russia has removed these explosive the situation is much clearer."

A Trap to Be Guarded Against

Thus from his healthy opposition to seeing colonials fight in a war which is not theirs, Dr. Petioni takes a further step and finds himself in the Stalinist camp. The Stalinists say today (Oct. 6): we have to mark the date because nobody, not even they, know what they will be saying tomorrow that the war is an imperialist war. Dr. Petioni says that the war is an imperialist war. Therefore, say the Stalinists to Dr. Petioni, let us work together against the war and for the emancipation of the colonial peoples, etc.

A lie that is half a truth is ever the blackest of lies. The Stalinist policy is in reality a trap to catch the Negroes and make them serve the basest interests of world reaction.

When the Hitler-Stalin pact was signed, the Stalinists were at the peak of the five-year campaign for a war of the "democracies" against the fascist aggressors. Said James Ford in his book "The Negro and the Democratic Front", "My earnest opinion is that we would make a tragic error in giving our support to any member of the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo alliance." Even after the pact was signed, Ford continued to agitate for America's entry into the war. In the Amsterdam News of Sept. 23, appears a letter by Ford dated Aug. 31. In it he says:

"The Soviet Union pursues the policy of peaceful intercourse with all nations and is a threat to no nation, ready at all times to enter into such alliances with the democratic powers to assure world peace."

"We see it as our duty as Americans to support this policy with all our power, to enlist the support of our government for cooperative action against acts of aggression and to implement this policy by strengthening the democratic rights of the people in this hour of crisis."

Swallowing a Bitter Pill

The strengthening of democratic rights is the sugar. The pill is to enlist the support of our government for cooperative action against acts of aggression. That meant war. The whole Stalinist policy for the previous five years was an incitement to war by the "democracies" and the Soviet Union to stop Hitler.

After Ford's letter, however, the international situation developed rapidly. Russia invaded Poland and shared in its partition. As time went on, it became clear that Stalin was tying the future of Russia to the victory of Hitler. If America went in to the war to fight for "democracy" it meant that a very powerful country would now be allied to the enemies of Hitler, Stalin's ally. The victory of Hitler, or if not his victory, at least the saving of Hitler from defeat, has become at the present stage, a vital necessity for Stalin and Stalinist policies. Immediately the Stalinists discover that the war is an imperialist war they begin to shed tears for the sufferings of the colonials. They raise the slogan of opposition to the war.

It sounds alright until you realize that what they want is to save Hitler, Stalin's ally, from defeat.

Is Dr. Petioni prepared to endorse this cynical use of the Negro revolutionary masses as a mere pawn in Stalinist foreign policy? Or is he merely caught by the superficial resemblance of the Stalinist policy to his own hatred of British imperialism?

And if he has been trapped, what is the reason for it? It is because he has not taken his own opposition to British imperialism to its logical conclusion. Opposition to British imperialism can not stay isolated. You must be opposed to French imperialism also, to German imperialism, and to American. You must maintain an undeviating opposition to all of them. You must call on Negroes everywhere at all times, to use all their efforts to fight against imperialism in war as well as in peace. Once you grasp this, you are in a position where you will not allow yourself to be used by one imperialism against the other. And you are in a position also to see the true significance of the Stalinist change from war for democracy in August to opposition to war for democracy in September. To this very moment the Stalinists do not call on all the workers, Negroes and all, wherever they are, to prepare for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, the establishment of socialism and the independence of the colonial peoples.

The Road of Revolutionary Struggle

They don't because if the international position should change, as it will may, you will find the Stalinists, with that peculiar brazenness which distinguishes them, solemnly telling 150,000,000 all over the world that it is their business now to fight for British, French, and American "democracy" against fascist aggression. These treacherous scoundrels have done it before and will do it again. All this the Socialist Workers Party has explained in a pamphlet "Why the Negro Should Oppose the War" which will be on the market in a few days. The Caribbean Union will hold a mass meeting on Oct. 19 at St. James Presbyterian Church (St. Nicholas Ave. and 141 St.) where Harlem Negroes will discuss their attitude toward the war. Negroes should get hold of this pamphlet and current copies of the Socialist Appeal. There they will see not only an analysis of the war but a program of action which will show them the road of revolutionary struggle and make them immune from capitalist propaganda and Stalinist trickery.

Save the Bulletin of The Russian Opposition

The Russian Opposition Bulletin is in grave danger! Published in France for the past few years, the war crisis and severe censorship there have forced it to again seek a new haven. If the Bulletin is to continue in existence, it must be published in the United States or cease entirely after ten years of life through periods of extreme hardship.

In spite of the new obstacles placed in its path—increased production costs and decreased European circulation—we must keep the Bulletin alive. The voice of the Russian Opposition

must be heard particularly at this time when it can play such an important role.

But we cannot do this alone. We need your help. We ask you to make the regular appearance of the Bulletin possible by making a monthly pledge or an immediate donation.

Make your check or money order payable to the: Russian Opposition Bulletin, 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.

Read The New International

The Soviet Union in the War

By Leon Trotsky

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occupied territories. Here an analogy literally offers itself. The first Bonaparte halted the revolution by means of a military dictatorship. However, when the French troops invaded Poland, Napoleon signed a decree: "Serfdom is abolished." This measure was dictated not by Napoleon's sympathies for the peasants, nor by democratic principles but rather by the fact that the Bonapartist dictatorship based itself not on feudal, but on bourgeois property relations. Inasmuch as Stalin's Bonapartist dictatorship bases itself not on private but on state property, the invasion of Poland by the Red Army should, in the nature of the case, result in the abolition of private capitalist property, so as thus to bring the regime of the occupied territories into accord with the regime of the USSR.

This measure, revolutionary in character—"the expropriation of the expropriators"—is in this case achieved in a military-bureaucratic fashion. The appeal to independent activity on the part of the masses in the new territories—and without such an appeal, even if worded with extreme caution it is impossible to constitute a new regime—will on the morrow undoubtedly be suppressed by ruthless police measures in order to assure the preponderance of the bureaucracy over the awakened revolutionary masses. This is one side of the matter. But there is another. In order to gain the possibility of occupying Poland through a military alliance with Hitler, the Kremlin for a long time deceived and continues to deceive the masses in the USSR and in the whole world, and has thereby brought about the complete disorganization of the ranks of its own Communist International. The primary political criterion for us is not the transformation of property relations in this or another area, however important these may be in themselves, but rather the change in the consciousness and organization of the world proletariat, the raising of their capacity for defending former conquests and accomplishing new ones. From this one, and the only decisive standpoint, the politics of Moscow, taken as a whole, wholly retain their reactionary character and remain the chief obstacle on the road to the world revolution.

Our general appraisal of the Kremlin and Comintern does not, however, alter the particular fact that the statification of property in the occupied territories is in itself a progressive measure. We must recognize this openly. Were Hitler on the morrow to throw his armies against the East, to restore "law and order" in Eastern Poland, the advanced workers would defend against Hitler these new property forms established by the Bonapartist Soviet bureaucracy.

Big Business Sees Nation Herded Into The War by Spring

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of intention-talk about staying out of the war, but is actually preparing to go into it.

Sorry if this shocks you, but it seems to us to be the fact. What will M-Day do to our present "democratic" form of government? Kiplinger answers—in one blunt sentence:

"If we get into war, it means a complete dictatorship, of course."

How will repeal of the embargo affect business? Kiplinger answers:

"Business effect of cash-and-carry is bound to be stimulating. It means orders and jobs. And that's an influence Ford repeats talk about 'principle' or shuddery talk about 'blood money'. Of course, materialistic motives will be denied and deplored."

Has American business anything to gain by prolonging the war as long as possible? Kiplinger answers:

"Further business gains for 1940 depend largely on the size of war orders, and on continuation of the war itself. If war goes on, as is expected, most estimates are that U.S. production for 1940 will be the highest of any year since 1929."

How much higher will prices go as a result of the war? Kiplinger answers:

"The Bureau of Labor Statistics wholesale price index recently was around 75. At present it is around 80, and the average is still rising."

Somewhere between 5 and 10 points gain in the next 6 months is expected by most govt. price experts. This is regarded as "moderate."

And what will the War Deal do about price rises? Kiplinger answers:

"Administration wants higher farm prices, and recognizes fact that many other raw materials are entitled to MODERATE price increases. So the fears of higher prices are largely crocodile fears."

Is the War Deal right now engaged in preparations for going to war? Kiplinger answers:

"War taxes, if U.S. enters war: Studies are being quietly made."

Draft plans are nearing completion: Aim is complete selective service, with volunteers discouraged. Objective is, "Every man in his most useful place, civil or military."

Register all men 18-to-45, make them subject to military orders.

Take those from 21-to-30 for ACTIVE military service. . . first.

WPA workers of proper ages are candidates for the military, but this is a subject which officials discuss gingerly.

Wage-hour law would stand, but new emphasis would be given to military needs, resulting in flexibility. And this is one reason why an army officer, Col. Fleming may soon replace Elmer Andrews.

Railroads have been served notice that if U.S. goes to war, and if they don't speed up AT ONCE on plans for handling war traffic, they are candidates for govt. operation. This notice is "official."

For power companies, the govt. has war plans which involve extensive interconnections of facilities of private and public plants.

What military commitments has the War Deal already made to the Allied Powers? Kiplinger answers:

"There's close tie-in between govt. of Britain, France, U.S. on war purchases here. Agents of these countries consult each other, through State, War, Navy Depts. and newly created War Resources Board, to prevent interference with our own industrial mobilization program."

Practically, materially, the U.S. is already an ally in war, despite the legal and technical "neutrality."

BECOME A SUBSCRIBER TO "UNSER WORT"

The new issue with the J.K.D.'s manifesto on war is to appear shortly.

Order it at once through Dale Edwards, POB 173, Sta. D (A six months subscription is 60 cents.)

Our Course Remains Unchanged

The statification of the means of production is, as we said, a progressive measure. But its progressiveness is relative; its specific weight depends on the sum-total of all the other factors. Thus, we must first and foremost establish that the extension of the territory dominated by bureaucratic autocracy and parasitism, cloaked by "socialist" measures, can augment the prestige of the Kremlin, engender illusions concerning the possibility of replacing the proletarian revolution by bureaucratic maneuvers and so on. This evil by far outweighs the progressive content of Stalinist reforms in Poland. In order that nationalized property in the occupied areas, as well as in the USSR, become a basis for genuinely progressive, that is to say socialist development, it is necessary to overthrow the Moscow bureaucracy. Our program retains, consequently, all its validity. The events did not catch us unaware. It is necessary only to interpret them correctly. It is necessary to understand clearly that sharp contradictions are contained in the character of the USSR and in her international position. It is impossible to free oneself from those contradictions with the help of terminological sleight-of-hand ("Workers State"—"Not Workers State.") We must take the facts as they are. We must build our policy by taking as our starting point the real relations and contradictions.

We do not entrust the Kremlin with any historic mission. We were and remain against seizures of new territories by the Kremlin. We are for the independence of Soviet Ukraine, and if the Byelo Russians themselves wish—of Soviet Byelo Russia. At the same time in the sections of Poland occupied by the Red Army, partisans of the Fourth International must play the most decisive part in expropriating the landlords and capitalists, in dividing the land among the peasants, in creating Soviets and Workers' Committees, etc. While so doing, they must preserve their political independence, they must fight during elections to the Soviets and factory committees for the complete independence of the latter from the bureaucracy, and they must conduct revolutionary propaganda in the spirit of distrust towards the Kremlin and its local agencies.

But let us suppose that Hitler turns his weapons against the East and invades territories occupied by the Red Army. Under these conditions, partisans of the Fourth International, without changing in any way their attitude toward the Kremlin oligarchy, will advance to the forefront as the most urgent task of the hour, the military resistance against Hitler. The workers will say, "We cannot cede to Hitler the overthrowing of Stalin; that is our own task." During the military struggle against Hitler, the revolutionary

workers will strive to enter into the closest possible comradesly relations with the rank-and-file fighters of the Red Army. While arms in hand they deal blows to Hitler, the Bolshevik-Leninists will at the same time conduct revolutionary propaganda against Stalin preparing his overthrow at the next and perhaps very near stage.

This kind of "defense of the USSR" will naturally differ, as heaven does from earth, from the official defense which is now being conducted under the slogan: "For the Fatherland! For Stalin!" Our defense of the USSR is carried on under the slogan: "For Socialism! For the world revolution! Against Stalin!" In order that these two varieties of "Defense of the USSR" do not become confused in the consciousness of the masses it is necessary to know clearly and precisely how to formulate slogans which correspond to the concrete situation. But above all it is necessary to establish clearly just what we are defending, just how we are defending it, against whom we are defending it. Our slogans will create confusion among the masses only if we ourselves do not have a clear conception of our tasks.

CONCLUSIONS:

We have no reasons whatsoever at the present time for changing our principled position in relation to the USSR.

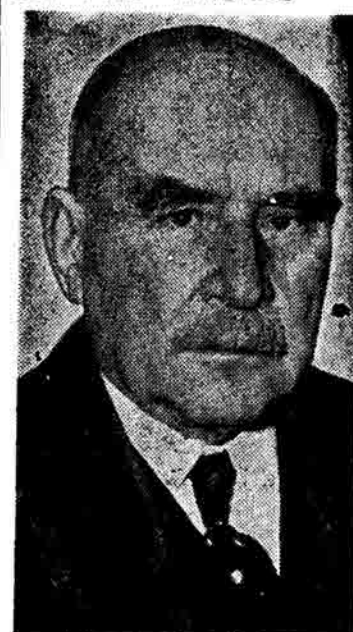
War accelerates the various political processes. It may accelerate the process of the revolutionary regeneration of the USSR. But it may also accelerate the process of its final degeneration. For this reason it is indispensable that we follow painstakingly and without prejudice these modifications which war introduces into the internal life of the USSR so that we may give ourselves a timely accounting of them.

Our tasks in the occupied territories remain basically the same as in the USSR itself; but inasmuch as they are posed by events in an extremely sharp form, they enable us all the better to clarify our general tasks in relation to the USSR.

We must formulate our slogans in such a way that the workers see clearly just what we are defending in the USSR, (state property and planned economy), and against whom we are conducting a ruthless struggle (the parasitic bureaucracy and their Comintern). We must not lose sight for a single moment of the fact that the question of overthrowing the Soviet bureaucracy is for us subordinate to the question of preserving state property in the means of production of the USSR; that the question of preserving state property in the means of production in the USSR is subordinate for us to the question of the world proletarian revolution.

September 25, 1939.

ON THE "INSIDE"



J. P. Morgan

ANNOUNCEMENTS

BOOKS BOUGHT in lots or in single volumes. Estimates given on request. Write or visit Labor Bookshop, 116 University Place, N.Y.C.

DINNER to be held by the INDIA WELFARE LEAGUE OF AMERICA, 49th Street, near 7th Avenue, Saturday, October 7 at 7:30 p.m. Prominent Indian speakers will be present. \$1.00.

An attractive poster has been prepared to advertise the column in the Socialist Appeal by J. R. Johnson on "The Negro Question". The use of these posters on news-stands and at meetings will help to increase the sale of the paper to the Negro workers. The posters are on sale for five cents by the National Negro Dept., 116 University Place, New York City.

MAX SHACHTMAN

(Bronx candidate for the City Council) speaks on

The Issues in the New York Election Campaign

P.S. 67 Auditorium MOHEGAN AVE. & 179th St. MONDAY, OCT. 9th at 8 P.M. Admission Free

STALIN ORDERS NEW RUSSIAN PARTY PURGE

(Continued from Page 1)

tions to the local Soviets; and last but not least (5) the developing crisis in economy. Stalin is preparing for the latest emergency.

The only passage from the Central Committee directives relating to the new elections printed by Pravda in bold type is as follows: "THE PARAMOUNT TASK OF ALL THE PARTY ORGANIZATIONS IS TO ASSURE THE ELECTION TO THE LEADING PARTY ORGANS OF THOROUGHLY TESTED BOLSHIEVKS WHO ARE BOUNDLESSLY LOYAL TO OUR PARTY AND CAPABLE OF DEFENDING THE CAUSE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY TO THEIR LAST BREATH."

Then follows this significant passage: "During the last year hundreds of thousands of candidates have been accepted as members of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union; hundreds of thousands of eminent people have joined the ranks of the party." It is from the ranks of these new "hundreds of thousands" that new leaders are to be elected. Pravda makes no bones about it, citing Stalin's directives to the Eighteenth Party Congress in relation to the "advancement of new cadres," the editorial states categorically:

Friction on Top "Comrade Stalin's directive must be realized in the coming elections; it must be taken as the starting point for advancing candidates to the party bureaus, regional and city party committees."

Apparently there is friction among the tops. For there is a veiled warning contained in the editorial which "reminds" that the elections to the "upper" bodies will take place in six months, in accordance with the statutes.

The assumed calmness of the official press is a clear token of the tenseness of the situation. But every action taken denotes that a storm is brewing; and the "Helmsman" is again clearing the decks!

SOCIALIST APPEAL
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Chicago CP Hit Hard by Rank and File Protest

Expulsions on Grand Scale Begin as Members Question Wisdom of Stalinist Line

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

CHICAGO, Ill.—Despite the campaign of silence in the official Stalinist press regarding the attitude of members of the Communist Party during the recent zig-zags in policy, it has come to the attention of the Chicago office of the Socialist Workers Party that there are serious repercussions among the rank and file. That there is serious resistance by many members of the CP and YCL to the recent policies of Stalinism is evident from the wave of expulsions which has just started. At the Shachtman and Goldman mass meetings held here in Chicago groups of disillusioned communists were well in evidence.

In the Humboldt Park Youth Club (formerly Dimitroff Br. of the YCL), two or three young Communists have already been expelled and it seems very likely that another eight or nine will follow shortly. Even those expelled were astounded at the lack of democracy that was supposed to exist in the YCL since Joe Stalin made his so-called democratic constitution.

Lack of Democracy

We have it on good authority that one of the leading comrades of the Humboldt Park Youth Club (outsiders were allowed to be present at this meeting) who was expelled last week was given only three minutes to express his views to the membership. After his plea that one who had belonged to the YCL and Pioneers for the last fifteen years should be given adequate time to present his views he was allowed the grand total of five minutes. The resolution expelling him was full of erroneous statements which the YCLer hardly had time to deny. He denied the accusations in one statement and launched into an attack against the line of the League. He maintained that as a young communist it was not in his nor his class interests to ally himself with any organization which defended any of the two warring imperialist camps.

More Expulsions Ahead He maintained that the policy of the league was dependent up-

on the foreign policy of the Soviet Union which at times did not correspond with the interests of the international working class. He had hoped that reform of the Communist International would solve the problem, but he was now convinced that reform was impossible and that he was leaving the organization to become once more a revolutionary socialist. When the motion to expel was finally carried, a large number of YCLers and sympathizers walked out in sympathy with the expelled member. Some of these are now being slated for expulsion.

Word has reached us, uncorroborated as yet, of several expulsions in the Jack London Branch of the YCL as well as breaks in the CP on the South Side. More information on the latter will be forthcoming in the next few days. One thing is evident—the Communist Party and YCL are in for an awful shock in their membership figures. When the next party registration is held there will be many missing. These people, if they wish to remain in the revolutionary movement and fight for the emancipation of the working class, have only one path before them. That is the path of the 4th International.

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11. Workers' Defense Guards against vigilante and Fascist attacks.
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Hitler's Peace

The great German military scientist of the Nineteenth Century, Clausewitz, made the profound and often-repeated statement that "War is a continuation of politics by other means."

Hitler's Reichstag proposals for a settlement of the present European conflict makes it possible to add to Clausewitz's maxim that "Peace is a continuation of war by other means," or, "Peace is an interval between wars."

Hitler's peace, like Hitler's war, is imperialistic through and through. It is quite natural that he should now propose peace, which suits him for two reasons.

First, if his peace terms are accepted by France and England, which is most unlikely, the result would not only be a great moral victory for Germany, but would give Hitler an opportunity to digest the gains he has made thus far and strengthen himself for the next advance against his imperialist rivals.

Second, if his peace terms are rejected, he will seek to pose as the unwilling combatant who, though a lover of peace, was forced to continue the war by the bellicose and bloodthirsty rulers of the opposing nations. In this event, his hand will undoubtedly be strengthened at least among certain sections of the German people. In addition, his direct agents and friends in the so-called "democracies"—and they run from the Fritz Kuhns to sections of the British and French ruling classes—will have a better basis for arguing that a settlement of the war on Hitler's present terms, with the possibility of turning Germany's expansionist lust against Russia, is far preferable to a protracted war which will menace the older empires with dissolution and—horror of horrors!—with revolutionary uprisings.

Yet, attractive as Hitler's peace may seem to certain people, among them those who think that even the worst peace is better than the best war, labor must reject it out of hand.

Reject it in order to support the war of the "democracies"? NO! Not for a minute and not in the slightest degree. Their peace and their war do not differ from Hitler's in any important sense. For years following the last World War, England and France were for peace—THEIR peace. And their peace meant the peaceful (that is, the unopposed) exploitation of the conquests they made in the war; their peace meant the continued subjection of their former and potential imperialist competitor, Germany, to the rank of a third-class power. Their war has the same objective.

It would, however, be idle to deny that the "democratic" imperialist statesmen have very cunningly exploited for their own base aims the sound feelings of the European masses. The people everywhere hate Hitlerism. The people everywhere feel that so long as Hitlerism is in power, there is no possibility of peace, no security against war. This truth is cleverly played upon by the war-mongers who repeat it in their propaganda every day so as to make available a steady supply of cannon-fodder.

But this truth is only a part of the whole truth. Hitlerism means war and the constant threat of war only in the sense that so long as the empires of the world are in the hands of the British and French and American ruling classes, just so long will the "poor" powers seek to take them over for their own exploitation, either by war or by "peaceful" means.

The threat of war, war itself, is inherent in

the rule of imperialism. Under that rule, no lasting peace is possible. Under that rule, what is called "peace" is only a breathing-spell between wars during which one or another gnag of imperialist pirates assimilates its spoils and girds for the conquest of new loot.

The "democrats" lie when they say that peace will be assured if they inflict a military defeat upon Hitler. They and their rule were an indispensable ingredient in the forces that brought Hitlerism into existence and into power. If these forces remained, and Adolph Hitler were defeated tomorrow, another Hitler or worse would arise the day after, and along with him his horrible wars and his worthless peace treaties.

The masses of the people long for peace and security. They can no longer stand a situation in which the sword of war hangs over them by a thread, week in and week out. Life is a nightmare when they do not know whether they will wake up tomorrow to find that they are being sent to the trenches to be slaughtered, or to live through a precarious peace for another day.

Peace and security—these are impossible under imperialism today. They can only be achieved by crushing the monster that rules the world. They can only be achieved by establishing a new, sane and orderly society, the classless order of socialism. Only then will the nightmare of Hitler's and Chamberlain's and Roosevelt's war and peace be removed from the life of mankind and relegated to an irrevocable past.

New WPA Cuts

Quietly, somewhere on an obscure inside page, the newspapers reported this Thursday that Lieut. Col. Brehon B. Somervell, WPA Administrator in New York, announced cuts in the wages of 43,000 WPA clerks, typists and guards of from \$5.20 to \$20.80 per month.

Unlike the September wage cuts on WPA, which were carried out on the pretext that they were required to conform with the new Federal Relief Act that pay scales in various parts of the country be equalized (a fancy word for "lowered"), the new cuts represent, according to Somervell, an independent act of the administration in Washington.

The government can't afford to keep the WPA workers on the old wage scale, to say nothing of raising it. It is true that the cost of living has risen and continues to rise higher every day, but just the same the government can't afford it. It hasn't too much money and what little it has available it must expend frugally and only for the most urgent necessities.

And since when is the life of an unemployed worker an urgent necessity?

Billions for arms and munitions—those are urgent necessities. Millions for a bigger and better airfleet to rain down death upon the people—that is an urgent necessity.

Millions from the Export-Import Bank to Latin American countries to facilitate trade and profit of American employers—that is an urgent necessity.

But money for the unemployed? Sorry, none is available.

By the eternal, it's things like this that make us proud of the government we live under, and make us determined to fight to the last drop of our blood to maintain that government in the next war.

Any other suckers?

Democratic Diet

It seems to us that there are a lot of disgruntled and subversive elements, probably foreign spies or good-for-nothing agitators, who are trying to make a lot of hullabaloo about the miseries of war. Some of them even go so far as to say that while the rich get richer in the war, the poor get nothing but grief.

An announcement in the press, however, shows that at least in the present war the masses are going to be very well taken care of by the belligerent governments.

Take France, for example. Nobody's going to go hungry if the Great French Democracy can help it. The press announcement says that the French government has suspended all import duties on fresh and refrigerated horse meat until December 31.

Now that's what we call a thoughtful provision of an adequate and cheap supply of a good Democratic staple. Putting aside all false sentimentalism, the French Popular Front government says: Horses be damned, so long as the people get enough to eat!

For breakfast, the average Frenchman can have a dish of braised horse kidneys. A spot of lunch might be limited to breast of horse en casserole. For dinner, some horse rump roast or, for variety, a couple of horse-chops, not too rare.

That, at least, will make up the French Democratic Diet until December 31. Beginning with the new year, the rigors of war may compel the government to provide simpler and more frugal fare. And if anybody should be so infernally unpatriotic as to protest against the change, Daladier may well reply in paraphrase of Marie Antoinette: "If they can't get horses, let 'em eat rats."

Brutality, Terror and Starvation--The Measure of Life Under Hitler

From Our Comrades Comes a Picture of Hitler Germany:
Increasing Bureaucratization in Every Sphere of Existence
As the Whip of Deeper Repression Falls Upon the Masses

By JEN

(This article, published in the July issue of "Unser Wort," is especially timely—though written before the war began—as an inside picture of Germany under fascist rule today.—Ed.)

The more the National Socialist regime has succeeded in consolidating itself, the more bureaucratic has it become. Simultaneously with the disappearance of small businesses (the small shopkeepers are forced to participate in the national labor services), the number of offices and officials has grown in unprecedented numbers. Since everything is fundamentally state business, a special office is created for almost anything, which, for appearance's sake, is opened with a lot of ceremony.

New office buildings are being erected in all German localities—all in the one style permitted, "simple sternness," but actually expressing only a sober, frigid hardness. Every head makes himself and his bureau as important as possible. Thus the bureaucratic cancer constantly eats deeper and deeper.

LOCKED IN THE VISE OF FASCIST ECONOMY

The bureaucratic Nazi state in general tends to make dependent upon itself as many economic units as is possible. This is shown especially in housing, the many state-supervised economic undertakings and the management of highways. Feudal National Socialist ideology finds practical expression in low salaries and restrictions upon freedom of moving about. An entire army of skilled workers today travels throughout Germany, most of whom were forcibly re-educated and sent out by Defense Headquarters and 4-year Plan Administrations wherever armament works make them needed.

Lately, National Socialism has tried to make its way more and more into everyone's private life. Here Ley and Himmler complement one another quite well. One holds out the bait of "joyful relaxation." The other threatens everyone who desires to lead his life according to "liberal principles" with the concentration camp. It is impossible for anyone in Germany today to escape this vise. In some way or other the most indifferent collide with National Socialism and must therefore recoil. The result depends entirely on how far one permits himself to go. After all, these are the same people who so frantically applaud the Fuehrer when he appears somewhere and then tell one another Hitler jokes when he has left!

If a young soldier suffers from harsh service, then his attitude towards the regime becomes negative. But if he is promoted to a petty officer, it becomes positive. The capitalist is angry about bureaucratic restrictions prescribed by the 4-year Plan—negative attitude. But then, business is better under Hitler after all—positive attitude. If a clerk must work for the Labor Front his attitude will be negative because he has to sacrifice his free time. But his attitude will change if his post brings him advantages and privileges. The professional with a career before him forgets the petty, everyday annoyances and travels the prescribed line with the prescribed enthusiasm—he is the prototype of the National Socialist of today. The worker honored on posters, in reality without rights, keeps his trap shut tight—also as prescribed.

SILENCE OF THE CONCENTRATION CAMP

In Germany today he who cannot keep his trap shut well enough will surely land in the concentration camp. The art of silence must be mastered and is industriously practiced. The concentration camp is a school which teaches its subjects in concentrated form—there are a number of preparatory schools, with "easier" requirements. Training camps, re-education camps, camps for teaching "comradeship." Camps for students, teachers, merchants, technicians, poets, truck-drivers, prize fighters and members of singing societies. Everywhere, always, there are camps in which an official "comradeship" is taught, as the mistrustful and icy behavior of these people who forcibly spend some time in them, is called. Every German at one time or other gets into one of these camps. Nothing but the official slogans as heard over radio and press are given in the "instruction"

at these camps. But here they are heard with emphasis! Since the German hears nothing else these slogans penetrate his speech and his general views. So it is that on the one hand these same people curse the regime and on the other hand, believe in "German blood and earth." So it is that most Germans pity the Jew and at the same time think he is preparing a world war against Germany.

Fear of war is great, but fear of revealing such a fear is greater because of dread of the Gestapo. Most German people do not know how terribly bad it is behind the barbed wire of the German concentration camp. The treatment of prisoners in the regular jails is relatively still as it used to be, but in the labor camp jails and correction homes, in the labor camps for swamp drainage, road building and construction of the Westwall, conditions are terrible. Such excesses as occurred at the Esterwege camp, where prisoners were forced to bite off the heads of live mice and had to sit on privy seats for hours, are rarer.

ATROCITIES ARE THE REGULAR PRACTICE

Beatings are the rule in all camps—not only where the SS men but also where regular functionaries are in control. The number of self-mutilations and attempts at flight are very high, higher than is generally believed. It must also be kept in mind that only the smallest portion of the prisoners are real criminals—most of them are political oppositionists, homosexuals, religious fanatics, etc. People who haven't committed any unlawful act, but somehow or other got in dutch with the regime: an official with debts, a peasant who misused his farm, young people who became peddlers instead of working in a factory, drunkards, comedians who were "too funny," people whose moral conception of life does not conform to the accepted, workers who did not accept the work allotted to them by the Labor Office.

Under the demagogic blanket characterization of "loafers" there are in the Sachsenhausen concentration camp near Berlin several thousand prisoners, most of whom fall into the following typical category: A painter living in Dueseldorf whose art didn't earn him enough bread went to the Labor Office to ask for work. They wanted him to do road building. Because of his weak constitution he begged for lighter work. The next day he was arrested by the SS and brought to Sachsenhausen. Many who have worked their entire lives now wear the green arm-band because they failed to contribute more often at collections. (A green arm band is worn by "loafers," a red one by political, homosexuals wear a pink one, professional criminals blue and Jews yellow.)

The German people know that things are not so good in the concentration camps, but few have any idea what unbelievable atrocities are committed against the prisoners because their tongues are paralyzed once they leave that hell. "They say they want to re-educate us—in reality, they want to finish us off." This is the opinion

of all prisoners and it is the truth. The SS guards are told to look upon everyone who comes into the camp as opposed to the State and who, at best, must be physically destroyed or at least must be so broken that he will be unable to even think of opposition. Some light is shed on these terrible conditions by the following example:

APING THE TORTURES OF THE INQUISITION

On Christmas, 1938, in Sachsenhausen, 29 prisoners committed suicide by touching the electrified wire surrounding the camp. "Leaping at the wires" is, for those who can't stand it any more, the usual thing in the concentration camps so as to put an end to the daily misery. The reason is not the daily misery, primarily, but the fact that they must endure it for a long time. Also, many prisoners who can count on being freed shortly as "loafers" and many of whom do not remain in camps for even a year, commit suicide.

The occupants of the concentration camps work 12 hours daily, including Sunday, with insufficient food. After work they must exercise. Last winter in Sachsenhausen those who collapsed during the exercises were simply covered with snow. The guards beat, kick and shove with their rifle butts at all times. The sick and old must work and exercise like everyone else. Very few report sick because it only means a beating or being deprived of food. Flogging, from 5 to 75 strokes, is the official camp punishment. Unofficial punishments are unlimited in number. They consist mainly of thumb-stretching and being hung by the arms from a tree—every torturer can give his particular sadistic impulses free reign. The days when only well known people were tormented before the others are over. Today, no one escapes cruel mistreatment. While the State wishes to keep public German life morally clean, a terrible wave of moral corruption is actually sweeping over Germany. Its victims are those in opposition to the barbaric system—the best part of the nation.

The "sterner" the "re-education" in the concentration camps became, the worse became the Gestapo investigation methods. Nevertheless, the German courts, aided by the Gestapo, try to deceive world opinion. A section of the German press, with a great hullabaloo at the end of April, 1939, reported a trial against members of the illegal International Socialist Fighters Organization who were, incidentally, condemned to an average of 5 years each. In bold faced type these rags reported that the judge, after pointing to foreign press reports, asked the defendants whether they had been mistreated in the preliminary investigation. All declared that this was not the case. It is perfectly clear that they could do nothing but deny mistreatment, but how terrible the preliminary investigation must be is shown by the fact that in a central German city in which a trial against the ISFO also took place, out of approximately 20 defendants 3 are already in a lunatic asylum.

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IN THIS CORNER

By Max Shachtman

From Frances Winwar, we have received a copy of an open letter to the secretary of the League of American Writers signed by fifteen writers, with the request for publication and editorial comment in our column.

After reading the letter, we are certainly glad to oblige.

The open letter to the Stalinist League says: "Despite the world-shaking events that have ubiquitous League of American Writers has not been heard from. Nothing on the war, nothing on the Nazi-Soviet pact, nothing on the partition of Poland, in fact, nothing. Does this organization still exist? If so, has it anything to say to American writers and intellectuals on the following questions?"

"1. What is the character of the present war? Is it an imperialist war or a war of the democracies against Fascism?"

"2. What is the role of the Stalin regime in this war? Did the Stalin-Hitler pact advance the cause of world peace or did it promote Fascist aggression? Does the League approve of the partition of Poland between Germany and Russia?"

"3. Does the League still hold that the United States should cooperate with the Soviet Union in order to stop the onward rush of Fascism?"

"4. Does the League still maintain that the United States should adopt a 'collective security' policy? If so, what countries should be included in such a common front?"

"5. Does the League of American Writers still consider the Communist Party to be a force for peace, democracy, and socialism?"

"If the League of American Writers can recover its voice, we shall be glad to hear its replies."

The open letter is signed by John Dewey, Fred Dupe, James Farrell, B. D. N. Grebanier, Louis Hacker, Sidney Hook, Suzanne LaFollette, Ferdinand Lundberg, Eugene Lyons, Max Nomad, William Phillips, Philip Rahv, Meyer Schapiro, Ben Stolberg and Frances Winwar. And what makes the open letter interesting is not so much the address to which it is sent, but the signatories who sent it. And it is with them that we ask permission to concern ourselves in the requested editorial comment.

Most, if not all the signers of the open letter are members not of the League of American Writers, but of the recently-formed Committee for Cultural Freedom, whose purpose is implied in its name. Now it seems to us that any writer who has aspired beyond the stage of the student who aspires to have his jokes and jingles published in the high-school paper, ought to understand that the maintaining of cultural freedom, to which the fifteen writers are dedicated, is inseparably connected with the problems raised by the present war. For example, what thinking person can believe that even the limited cultural freedom existing in the United States would be allowed to remain if and when this country entered the war? What thinking person can believe that any cultural freedom, or any culture, would be left in Europe if the war which threatens the total destruction of civilization is not brought to an end by a socialist reorganization of society?

In light of this, isn't it proper to ask that the fifteen writers, who really represent the League for Cultural Freedom, show a little more modesty in submitting questionnaires to the Stalinist League of American Writers? Or more accurately, that before they quiz the Stalinists about their war position, they themselves make clear their own position? For it is entirely possible and fitting to paraphrase the open letter and address it to the fifteen writers:

"Despite the world-shaking events that have occurred since August 21, the formerly eloquent League for Cultural Freedom has not been heard from. Nothing on the war, nothing on the Nazi-Soviet pact, nothing on the partition of Poland, in fact nothing. Does this organization still exist? If so, has it anything to say to American writers, intellectuals and protagonists of cultural freedom on the following questions:

"What is the character of the present war? Is it an imperialist war or a war of the democracies against Fascism? If it is an imperialist war, why do League members Dorothy Thompson and Ben Stolberg call for support of one of the two imperialist gangs in the war? If it is a democratic war on the part of one camp, why doesn't the League come out in support of it in the name of cultural freedom?"

"What is the role of the Stalin regime in this war? And what is the role of the Chamberlain-Daladier regimes in this war, especially with regard to the League's pet concern—cultural freedom? Above all, since it is this country we live in, what is the role of the Roosevelt regime in this war: does the League support the Roosevelt war line or oppose it, or is it completely indifferent towards it?"

"Does the League plan to continue straddling or evading these key questions—to which it so imperiously demands an answer from the Stalinist intellectuals? Will it continue, as it has done from its inception, to ignore these questions out of fear (1) of committing itself and—(2) of establishing the fact that on the most vital issue of the day—most vital also with reference to cultural freedom—there is no possibility of harmony among the disharmonious elements who compose its committee?"

The open letter says derisively that "If the League of American Writers can recover its voice, we shall be glad to hear its replies." We paraphrase again: "If the League for Cultural Freedom can find its voice (or voices!), we shall be glad to hear its replies."

"With England at war and its people therefore unable to do their part in spreading the new testament gospel throughout the world, America must assume the burden," says Dr. Roland G. Leavell, superintendent of evangelism of the Southern Baptists. Pardon our crassness, Doctor, but to our poor limited intelligence, it would seem that during the war would be the very best time to push your program, especially the Sermon on the Mount.

Beg Pardon? Secretary of Interior Harold L. Ickes said the government will oppose vigorously "a rape of our natural resources" by war-time profiteers.