BUILD WORKERS' DEFENSE GUARDS

Socialist Appeal

LET THE PEOPLE **VOTE ON WAR**

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The Same Beast

3c a Copy

WAR CLIQUES SPLIT NEW YORK LABOR PARTY

Morale of Minneapolis Prisoners Splendid as Frame-Up Trial Opens

A.F.L. Defense Committee Sponsors Tag-Day To Raise Funds for Indicted Strikers— More Indictments Seen as Coming

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
MINNEAPOLIS, Oct. 6.—The government was still having its innings as the fifth day of the trial of the first batch of WPA workers got under way in Federal Judge Joyce's courtroom. Eight workers are involved in this first trial, growing out of a clash at a WPA project on the University of Minnesota campus last July 12, when Philip Slaughter, a fascist sympathizer, used a knife —to slash several pickets. It is typical that the victims, not the knife wielder, are being prosecuted by the federal government.

Behind the Lines

By GEORGE STERN

The bolts of Stalin's diploma-|can mean only continued mis-

tic blitzkrieg are still splinter- ery and death, a prolongation

ing the fragile frontiers of East- of the agony through which the

ern Europe while the war of dying capitalist world is drag-

arms on the western front, as ging the peoples of all nations.

the saying now has it, has set- Doesn't this pompous ex-

tled down to a war of nerves. change of lies, this hypocritical

foreign ministers queued up at of whole peoples, make clear

the Kremlin gates, Stalin ad- for the thousandth time that

vised his former would-be allies the interests of the human race

in Paris and London that they can and will be served only by

would do well to talk terms the destruction of both these

of the world that little details pushes his frontiers into the

like Fascism are "matters of lower Baltic and eyes the Bal-

taste." As for him, Stalin, he is kans and the East, the belliger-

making hay, for he knows well ents in the West are waiting for

the sun shall not shine much each other to move. Belgium,

longer. And his harvest is al. the Netherlands, and Switzer-

ready reaching tidy dimen- land are acutely aware of their

a question that is as yet unset- can be fought across these

the Kremlin consisted of a pro-posal that the French and Bri-ing kettle and may soon be

tish capitulate to him now in-stead of later and give back to Germany in the process the the next moves of the armies,

colonies wrested from her in for the experiences in China

the last war. The French and and in Spain have shown the

British imperialists announce extreme costliness and dubious

lerism" or in other words, as aerial actions.

with his friend Hitler. He at the warring cliques?

same time advised the workers

In between interviews with fraud, this toying with the lives

The trial opened Monday, October 2, and the first day was ure in Minnesota politics, has hammer and sickle into the are seven farmers, a lumber trial attorney in cooperation whole world trembled under salesman, a former deputy with the three other defense the impact of the event. sheriff, a realtor, a restaurant lawyers. owner and a hardware dealer-

witnesses Government leged that pickets had threat- to see. ened them during the WPA

Tom Davis, a colorful old fig-

spent in selecting a jury. On been secured by the AFL's WPthe jury, picked by the judge, A Defense Committee to act as land towards Warsaw, and the

to up against the Minneapolis un- my. He was Mikhail Tukhadate have been Linus Glotz-ion movement. The 134 defend- chevsky, burning with zeal and bach, former Minnesota WPA ants are showing great readministrator (since promoted sourcefulness in preparing their ist revolution throughout Euby Roosevelt); S.J. Stolte, act-own defense statements and rope ing State WPA administrator lining up witnesses to fefute (also a Roosevelt appointee); the testimony of the govern- Joseph Pilsudski, harsh dictaand a number of finks, includ- ment and the finks. All defend- tor, backed by France and Enging one person, Homer Martin, ants meet weekly with the WPA land, who dreamed of carving who described himself as a Defense Committee to survey out a vast empire, Greater Pomember of the US intelligence the case, and the morale of the land, from the Ukraine, all service during the war. All al- indicted strikers is wonderful East Prussia, Lithuania, White

George Murk of the Musi-(Continued on Page 3)

And what now? While Stalin

The Red Army Marches

By B. J. WIDICK

Once before the legions of the Red Army marched behind the poverty-stricken fields of Po-

A brilliant young officer was The defense is expected to given command of the troops a typically tough dozen to hear bring forth a mass of evidence on the "western front" in the to smash the New Deal frame- offensive against the Polish Arambition to extend the social-

Russia, and Latvia. Repeated-

ly, Pilsudski had rejected peace terms offered by the Soviet government in 1919 and early 1920. Pilsudski was determined to strike while the Somined to strike while the Soviet republic was weak. His troops marched towards the So-viet frontier on April 25, 1920. UNION FROM CONTRAST TELLS STORY

OF RUSSIA'S CHANGE The Red Army was fighting a 'defensive war!" No sooner did Pilsudski open hostilities than the Revolutionary Council of War ordered troops from everywhere to the Polish frontier.

On May 20, Tukhachevsky at- bly of Teachers Union, -Local tacked Smolensk to relieve the 5, held last night, the Stalinist pressure on Soviet forces on leadership of the Union pulled the south-western front where an abrupt about face, caught the Polish army was making its own membership unawares, advances rapidly. Butlenny's and moved to disaffiliate the cavalry smashed through ene- Union from the American my lines towards Kiev, it was League for Peace and Democcaptured on June 12, and the racy. In stunned silence, a bestage was set for the famous wildered membership listened march to Warsaw, although the to the plea for "no politics in situation on the south-western the union," "we must avoid

1920 march to Warsaw and Stal- ers' issues.' sions. Just what it will bring on immediate peril, for on both the imperialist war market is sides it is realized that the war

(Continued on Page 4)

Shachtman and Paine Charge Boss FORUM SEASON Candidates Evade the Main Issue

NEW YORK, Oct. 7-At a meeting of the Delegate Assemfront was by no means assured. controversial questions" and The contrast between the 1920 concentrate solely on "teach-

tells the tragic story of the de- effrontery of the Stalinists was breaks out, they support the during the last decades, Shacht generation of the Red Army pointed out that the drive for wish to put a quick end to it. site of what that party was announcements of time, place (Continued on Page 2)

New York S.W.P. Urges Workers to Register Oct. 8 with Albert Goldman pretext for designating the This Week So That They May Vote for the es." The meeting was well attended and Comrade Goldman

Addressing the second in a series of election campaign mass meetings, Max Shachtman, Councilmanic candidate of the Socialist Workers Party for the Bronx, declared Monday night, October 9, at Public School 67, 179th Street and Mohegan Avenue that, "The most important issue in this election campaign is one ed the problem of war. Literatwhich the capitalist political parties in this city will evade and ure sold well and good contacts Stalinist fashion when conignore; it is the question of the second world war and the imminence of American participa-

the Democratic or Republican against the war." Shachtman will not lead any real struggle

What Value Isolationism? "The Isolationists, like Willi- pledged to support capitalism's am Jennings Bryan during the wars. last war, seem at first to op-In that sense," Shachtman

pointed out, "The isolationists "Not one candidate of either are fundamentally the same as those who corral the workers parties who is known beyond for the trenches from the mohis apartment house has as ment war becomes imminent. much as one word to say The isolationists cannot and against war because they are

pledged to the maintenance of

capitalism and are therefore

DEMOCRATIC"

WAR-TIME

RULE

Tracing the wild changes in in's invasion of Poland this fail The cynical and hypocritical pose the war. Then, when war policy of the Communist Party cline of the Soviet Union under exposed by the Independent war on the ground that, al- man stated, "The Communist the iron heel of Stalin; the de- Group, whose spokesmen ably though they are against it, they Farty is today the direct oppo-

(Continued on Page 3)

Patriots Divide On Support of Axis or Allies

By FELIX MORROW

The two warring camps in the American Labor Party have spent the week hurling charges and countercharges, setting up dual executive committees in New York County, and filing separate nominating petitions.

Amid the tumult, the several hundred thousand trade unionists who constitute the American Labor Party by virtue of the affiliation of their unions, are finding it hard to determine what is the issue which has caused the split. For the rival belligerents are not particularly interested in telling the truth. Each camp is as anxious as the other to avoid frank statement of the real issue.

The ALP bureaucrats—speaking for the officialdom of the needle trades-attempt to exploit the feelings of the progressive (and especially Jewish) trade unionists against the Hitler-Stalin alliance; they say they are fighting the discredited Communist party for its reactionary defense of the Hitler-Stalin axis. They say as little as possible about the basic sections of their resolution-

the pro-war sections.

The Stalinists, likewise,

GOLDMAN OPENS

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) BOSTON, Mass.-Boston opened its Forum season Sunday speaking on "Europe in Flam- October 4th city conference es." The meeting was well atwas enthusiastically received. Workers and students attending der the election law." In rethe meeting showed a very live- fusing to accept the ALP resly interest in the war and all its implications. Questions were asked by members of the audi- tacks Chamberlain, but says ence which indicated the seriousness with which they viewwere made.

National Tour

Albert Goldman who only recently returned from Europe is now on a national speaking tour for the Socialist Workers to say, Antonini and Rose, in Party. To date he has already their pro-Ally position are the spoken in Reading, Allentown, Newark, Boston, Lynn, and Rochester. Other cities so far of Roosevelt). At the October listed in his schedule are:

Youngstown Oct. 12 Akron Oct. 13 Cleveland Oct. 15 Toledo Detroit Flint Watch the Appeal for further

blur the real basis of the conflict. In the New York County fight they try to hide behind the reactionary state laws which create electoral machinery separate from that of the trade union base of the ALP, which gives the Stalinists the called by the ALP leadership as "having no legal status unolution, Michael J. Quill atnot a word about the Hitler-Stalin alliance, and, in typical fusion is deemed necessary, identifies himself with Roosevelt's policy as against the Antonini-Rose policy (needless more "legitimate" followers 4 city conference the Stalinist spokesman, Irving Potash, made his main point a plea that, since the ALP had never expressed itself before on international affairs, it should not do so now! To make confusion worse confounded, the Stalinists name (without his consent) Adolph Held as county treasurer-Held, president of the war-mongering Forward Association!

Stalinist supporters in the "Hitler methods" of the ALP leadership. One of themmakes a brilliant contribution: he approves Roosevelt's cashand-carry proposals, "But I cannot see that the platform miners' nation-wide strike last of the American Labor Party

lands at less cost than an at-Hitler's peace offer so oblig- tempt to storm the Maginot or ingly seconded by the Master of Siegfried lines. Italy, too, sits

By B. J. Widick

French swag against the Nazi be less important and less de- its preparations, and an appeal ir possible. cisive for the war's course than that the Roosevelt administra-For either side in this slaugh- the outcome of the diplomatic tion concentrate its major en-

problem of war without offer-previous convention, along with Revealing the heavy pressure ing any concrete program of the usual planning of organizthey will fight on to "crush Hit- military value of exclusively of the rank and file, John L. fighting against war. Further, ing campaigns. Lewis opened the second annu- he skirted the issue of support- In the executive board ses- "new line" by including the slo- tion in the CIO consisted main-Bernard Shaw was good enough | Whatever action is under- al convention of the CIO with ing Roosevelt to avoid a sharp sions before the CIO conven- gan Keep America Out of Im- ly of what he had said in his

Year's Changes ter-fest peace is predicated on game involving Turkey, Ru- ergies on the burning problems different position than it was program. markets and profits and not on mania, and the Balkans, for of unemployment, insecurity, at its first convention a year

of the Amalgamated Clothing

The seventeen Stalinists on the United Mine Workers of the CIO board favored the America who occupy key posi- fight raise a cry against the to point out, to defend Anglo- taken right now, however, will a wordy opposition to war and dispute on the convention floor, tion, Sidney Hillman, president perialist War, by dodging the Labor Day speech. That speech "neutrality" issue, and by mak-created quite a stir because it Ross Kenyon, ALP nominee Workers of America, fought for ing reservations on support of was regarded as an answer to for General Sessions judge, For the CIO is in an entirely the reiteration of last year's Roosevelt. Fearing a purge be-Roosevelt's plea for national cause of the strong feeling in unity, Through a public statement CIO ranks against the Stalinthe "bunk and balderdash" (as this outcome will determine and the growing cost of living ago. Unqualified endorsement issued prior to the CIO conven- Hitler pact as well as their "rule or ruin" policy, the Stal- and Lewis following Roosevelt's

The Lewis program, backed

The break between Roosevelt

(Continued on Page 2)

Third Term Disputed

(Continued on Page 4)

of Roosevelt, promise of sup-tion Hillman gave his unquali-Shaw puts it) of democracy and Germany's capacity to fight a in America. Reflecting the differences of port for a "war for democ- fied endorsement of Roosevelt's inists were cautious in advanc- attempted double-cross of the civilization. Such a "peace"- long war, the kind of long war whether dictated by Chamber- the Western Allies are counting opinion on the CIO executive racy," and unity with the AFL pro-war policies and his domes- ing their program. board, Lewis dealt with the were the main themes of the tic program. lain-Daladier or Hitler-Stalin on to batter him down.

The Third of a Series of Friday Night Lectures

WAR--WHAT FOR?

James P. Cannon

"The Advance of Fascism", Friday, Oct. 13

The Causes Underlying the Triumphs of Hitler and Mussolini

Irving Plaza 8:30 P.M. (Irving Pl. & 15th St.) ADMISSION-25c

CIO Meet Vacillates on Program FROM C.P. 'PEACE' ORGANIZATION The Rich Got Richer-

LEWIS TALKS OF WAR PROBLEM— WORKERS' FORUM BUT OFFERS NOTHING CONCRETE

(Continued from Page 1) 'question they ask Lewis is, his decision on the 1940 presi- for their rights? sive" candidate.

ded its sessions went on record tends to drift along, hoping for Republican parties. for the third term despite top the best. at the national convention.

Lewis that he will seek to sup-advance in the coming period S. P. press any discussion of their in addition to holding on to its role by means of an appeal for present forces. Otherwise, a Duemler who did the job of ex-

Compromises Seen

The Lewis report avoided a AFL leadership. This reflects the last convention.

The AFL convention indicated that its membership was played havoc with the member- published in full: ship of the industrial unions. although some gains in packing houses and elsewhere can be noted.

for the CIO. Lewis and the top posed untold misery, and povleadership of the organization erty upon the working class. all questions so that the convention will appear "democratic, united and progressive." active in mobilizing the workers Since the essence of Lewis' con- in the struggle for jobs or retrol in the CIO is dictatorial, lief and on many other fronts. the "unity" slogan is becoming It was natural that I as a workmore of a cover for the nefar- er endorsed this program and ious Stalinist machinations.

In the process, CIO progressivism is fading as it fails to meet new issues squarely and of the C.P. was organized in

Faces Dilemma

the CIO be met merely as in the old days, namely by evadagainst American participation brought about great changes: dared to get up and speak in the second world war? This security the Democratic Front. involves a sharp break with security, the Democratic Front, the Roosevelt administration. and the wooing of individuals support to my position to de-A call for a labor party? This who, our enemies yesterday, week will decide.

unemployment is terrible. The ing effect upon us. But the

CANADA A.F.L. CONFIRMS C.I.O. SUSPENSION

out the expressed wishes of Wil-

were present at the Congress, the delegates had earlier voted to expel all CIO affiliates from row margin of 163 to 133 votes.

vote on the question of approv ing the executive council's rec ommendation.

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BUSSIAN OPPOSITION BULLETIN 116 University Place

ANTI-TROTSKYIST COMES HOME TO ROOST Dear Editor:

Geo. E. Duemler, prominent The majority of the active spring, and Roosevelt's demand what are you going to do about figure in the Missouri Socialist rank-and-file of the SP went for unity with the AFL on any it? Will the CIO organize the Party for several years past with the Left Wing, and formed basis forced Lewis to reserve WPA and relief workers to fight and S.P. candidate for govern-the Socialist Workers Party or, has within the last few here. Since then, the SP has dential elections. Instead of a Lewis by his mild attack on months allied himself with Os-been completely inactive. It has third term endorsement for the National Labor Relations car Ameringer's "American held only one public meeting Roosevelt, Lewis favors an in-Board and his concentration of Foundation for Abundance," here in two years, and that was definite stand for a "progres- fire on Vice-President Garner, and is now an active propagan- more than a year and a half instead of naming Roosevelt dist for the A.F.A., which advo- ago; and no effort has been Yet the CIO state convention as responsible for WPA cuts, cates political action mainly made to sell or distribute SP of California which just concluetc., reveals that he still in through the Democratic and literature. Duemler apparently

CIO pressure. This issue is Only to the extent that rank talked about Duemler seeking the AFA, which has recently likely to evoke a sharp dispute and file pressure for a militant, the Republican candidacy for succeeded in stimulating a independent and clear-cut pro- Congress. It is not known number of former members the Union membership as a re- stone in the struggle to give the The Stalinists have apparent- gram is manifested at this con- whether Duemler still main- and staunch supporters of the sult of the Hitler-Stalin Pact Union a healthy, progressive ly obtained the assurance of vention will the CIO be able to tains his membership in the SP to an extraordinary degree and the new position of the leadership.

tyite National Executive Com- ature.

mittee and could develop no en thusiasm for its expulsion drive against the Left Wing.

of activity - getting them to

'unity." However, at least one further disintegration of this in- pelling the Trotskyists from the The SWP, during this period, state convention of the CIO has dustrial union movement, S.P.—chiefly because the other has held dozens of public meet-

serious discussion of the problem of labor unity, although he took his usual cracks at the the less favorable position of the CIO on this question since Another C.P.er Joins the S.W.P.

blundering leadership of Lewis, proletarian action against war, a backhanded manner to sup- betraying the working class actionary motivation for the and above all, the devastating Latest among those who have port Roosevelt for re-election. with its new class collaboration proposal, as the Independents effects of the Stalinist rule-or- joined the S.W.P. is Irving My "dangerous ideas" grew policy and its stifling Tam- pointed out, politics, where it

of the coming period.

I joined the Communist Part) in 1933, a period during Seeking to put up a good front which the economic crisis imbecame an active member of that party.

When the Yorkville Section militantly. Compromises will 1934 I was elected to the Sec-Buro and became the first Section Educational Director. The Nor can the dilemma facing comrades with whom I worked

became our friends and allies The unemployed know that today. It all had a most confus-Party was growing and we had

faith in the movement. Dangerous Ideas

The Civil War in Spain marked the beginning of doubts in my mind as to the program of the Party. In an earnest attempt to clarify myself I ap-"You are developing dangerous ideas." In other words, do not dare question or even dis-

One after another they are cuss the correctness of the class, and given a transfer to a wants to prevent that fight well over 4.000.000 while the quitting the Communist Party Party line on penalty of being Bronx Section where I was al- from being introduced into the CIO has discreetly kept silent and joining the Socialist Work- charged with heresy. A short most unknown. on its present enrollment. The ers Party—the party of mass time later the Party began, in Realizing that the C.P. was

ruin clique within the CIO has Stark whose statement is here deeper at this support of a ca- many-like bureaucracy, I drop- concerns the teachers, cannot pitalist candidate. About a year later a few of gerous ideas" led me to do is not removed by the simple the most militant and devoted some independent reading and act of disaffiliation. To make leading comrades in the Section to my great surprise I found sure that the Union will not criticized our section organizer that people I was taught to look suspend its anti-war activity, for sabotaging the Anton Bok upon as counter-revolutionar- especially at such a critical strike and naively brought it ies, the Trotskyists, have a pro-time, and because the Indepento the attention of the District gram which is clearly and gen-dents do not think that "the nave been working day and the tions of workers from their attack a machine man of the band winch is clearly and gen- dents do not think that "the Committee. Because they dared unnely revolutionary and is war question is too hot to handle the band of the band

up charges against the three a revolutionist can turn to and this resolution to disaffiliate in comrades and removed them continue his fight for the over- no way prevents the Union from all responsible posts on throw of capitalism and all its from carrying on its anti-war the grounds of factionalism. agencies. The Stalin-Hitler pact activity. This motion was unan-The case caused a deep fer- was the signal for me to join imously passed. ment in the Party in Yorkville and participate actively in the and two branches, the 14th A. work of the American Section D. and the 16th A.D., went so of the revolutionary 4th Inter- sary for the Union to educate far as to pass resolutions con-national—the Socialist Workers the teachers on what war will hardly stand any real discus- tion Committee, the Section demning the decision and de- Party. Needless to say, the cynical bu-

> Independence Punished support to my position to deished by being fired from the function I then held-instructor

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the central labor bodies throughout Canada by the nar-Pressure from the top leadership forced a more decisive THE NEGRO DEPARTMENT AFFAIR

to find out more about him.

PRICE for 2 vol-\$3.00 dying with Hemsley Winfield

the modern dance.

that Savage started his educa- aimed at a combination which gy of trying to win over Amertion from the top down, so to will translate the spirit of these ican youth with the dreary gram of the League concludes:

Together with the West Indi-

new field and he began to study dance a Creole Beguine. Do not miss these perform-

ped out of the Party. My "dan- be removed from the Union and

bureaucracy's own choosing, ciples of class struggle. the District Committee cooked Here, indeed, is a Party that lution was passed stating that

Army Come-On

men, mostly students. There is the possibility, however, that The chief virtue of this pro attempts may be made to or-

'We know that modern democ-

Stalinist Clique Reverses Itself to Leave Hands Free for Prosecution of New Line

NOTICE

An important meeting of

all party and YPSL mem-

bers will be held Sunday,

October 15, 2 P.M. at Beeth-

oven Hall, 210 East 5th St.

Admission by red card only.

OUR CANDIDATE

GEORGE LYMAN PAINE

When President Roosevelt

four weeks ago issued an order calling for an additional

ed forces of the United States, recruiting stations

stayed open night and day

awaiting an influx of men to

fill two newly created motor-

But the eligible youth of

Cleveland prefer jobs to ser-

vice with Uncle Sam's arm-

ed forces. The available fig-

Applicants for relief as

against applicants for ser-

vice with the Army, Navy

and Marines is compared as

Army-0 . . . WPA-12,000

Navy-0 . . . CCC-600 Marines-0 . . . NYA-2000

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ized artillery regiments.

ures are an indication.

follows:

YOUNG MEN

NOT GUNS

WANT JOBS-

(Continued from Page 1) | America out of war. This, as. retrenchment in education did the Independents pointed out, is time boom profits, correspond- these bureaucrats no legislation not originate last night. On the absolutely indispensable if the ing to the 150% returns obtain has been enacted in the twenty contrary, the teaching profes- Union is to recruit the thou- ed by American industry dur- years since the last imperialist sion has been confronted with a sands of teachers who are ripe ing the last imperialist blood-blood-bath to threaten the profsharp crisis for a year. What, for organization and if the Un- bath, and a quick emergence its of the duPonts and Morgans. then, caused the new line?

The background of the "new fight against the budget cutters. line", apart from the fact that To achieve this, however, it is py prospect for American captions of 100-150% profits on war hundreds of Union members absolutely imperative that the have been signing petitions cir. Stalinist stranglehold on the culated by the Independent Union be broken. The Union Group calling for disaffiliation membership, through the ef-Republican parties.

Became disgusted with this dofrom the American League, forts of the Independent Group,
naturally lies in the profound is beginning to become aware naturally lies in the profound is beginning to become aware more than a score of basic in equalling the first four months crisis within the American of the problem. Last night's League and within the ranks of meeting represents a big mile-Communist Party.

Discard Old Line

The C.P., not knowing itself what the next step in the foreign policy of the Soviet Union gone on record denouncing the which remains on a historical leading S.P.ers, although they ings; and within the past two will be, finds it necessary to Stalin-Hitler pact, etc., and plane as progressive in rela-did not like the Trotskyists, months alone has sold over a throw completely overboard its dodging the issue will be very tion to the AFL, is the menace were suspicious of their Clarithousand pieces of SWP liter-old baggage and leave its hands free to maneuver and to prepare for any new eventuality. The American League, it is rumored, is to be dissolved, because the "genuine" People's Fronters, feeling themselves "betrayed" by Stalin, are fighting to keep the organization and sever its ties with the Kremlin. The Stalinist leadership of the Union, above all, Union ranks

> Aside from the thoroughly reduced a motion after the reso-

Clarity Needed More than ever, it is neces-ISIDOR STARK mean for them and how to keep

ST. LOUIS, October 6—The ... a voice in the present cris-'League of Draftable Men' is' (without telling how to do of the section new-members last night held its first public it), to embark on "a cooperameeting here. In spite of ex-tive analysis of the news" for tensive publicity in the papers the purpose of "defending the and a highly favorable location U.S. against decisions based on for the meeting (a high-school error," and to promote a very auditorium), only about 80 peo- uncertain kind of "neutrality." ple attended-15 of them S.W.P. After all, the old fashioned flag-

> tons worn by members of the Although the principal League. But this symbol, ac-spokesman for the League, a cording to the chairman, meant young high - school teacher, absolutely nothing, and was stated that the organization solely intended to attract atten- was neither "pacifist" nor tion. It soon became apparent "militarist." his frequent refthat the program of the League erences to "draft-dodgers" and served the same function ex- "subversive activities," coupclusively. The program has on- led with hints of collaboration ly four points: (1) organization with the American Legion, left to secure for all men of draft- little room for doubt that the able age an intelligent and ef- new group will serve as a comefective voice in the present cris- on for the army. But it is apis"; (2) the analysis of propa- parently doomed to insignifiganda: (3) "year-round, peace- cance, unless it is taken in hand time military training on a vol- by some expert in 100% Ameruntary basis"; and (4) neutral- icanism. Its present memberity "so long as it remains to the ship consists of about 50 young

is indicated by the following which the mimeographed pro-

Workers Party

The Poor Were Killed

By EVELYN DANE (Special to the Socialist Appeal)

WASHINGTON, D.C. - Warion is successfully to lead the from its ten-year depression are now an immediate and hap-

ning financial reports, already note a ten-year high in indusat any time since 1927. American factories from 274 to 370. With

flooded with orders from Europlagueing problem of unem- Washington. ployment.

Scrap Labor Laws

and at the same time propitiat- capitalists. ing the ruling class will no long-

tion will be scrapped and la-profits were possible, New Deal bor's voice in democratic de- economists point out, is because cision will be annulled "for the wages were not increased to sake of the nation," while the keep pace with the rising cost industrialists and financiers, of living. deprived of exorbitant profits War-time profits on muniduring the last eight years, will tions were exceedingly high but be appeased by the same profit- the peace-time armament profmaking spree that they had its since 1920 have been even from 1915-1918.

-industries operating at top profits on sales to the Army in production; labor stifled and 1926.

emasculated, and profits driving skyward

Fortunately for the plans of All curative legislation inspired by the post-war revelamaterials was killed in commit-

Government officials, scan- tee by the profiteering lobbies. The last two-weeks' boom in steel holds out promise to Tom trial activity with the future of Girdler and his colleagues for dustries more auspicious than of U.S. participation in the war when steel prices sky-rocketed

Other industrialists recalling pean belligerents and with ev- the 139% profits made by Otis en greater profitable produc- Steel even before we entered tion possible the moment the the war, the 112% profits made arms embargo is lifted, the by Allegheny, and the 90% prof-New Deal bureaucrats finally its made by Lukens Steel, have see a concrete solution to the started putting pressure on

The golden record set up by one airplane engine firm. which, starting with a \$1,000 in-The necessity of attempting vestment, reaped an \$11,437,250 to appear as a liberal govern- income at the end of the war. ment by making reluctant pro- is still a beckoning remem-

gressive concessions to labor brance for many American Profits of 100% in shoes, er exist, government officials clothes, fuel, food, minerals, state openly, as soon as the chemicals and fabrics were the country is regimented for war. rule, not the exception. And the All important labor legisla- reason why these staggering

higher in many instances, gov-New Deal officials are real-ernment figures show. Three sts and cynics. They know and years ago, Carnegie Steel caladmit frankly that lifting the lously admitted that its bid on arms embargo must mean the armor plate for the Navy, gave extension of war credits to the it a profit of 58%. In the same belligerents who buy American bidding Midvale asked a price munitions. This means, they ac- that would have given it 91%. knowledge, junking of the John- In 1933 Carnegie Steel made son Act which prevents Euro- 42% profit on a Navy contract pean debtors to the U.S. from for turret armor, but unsatisobtaining further American fied with this, the corporation Once American investments ton during the next two years.

upped its prices \$40 and \$50 a and loans in France and Eng- Sperry Gyroscope which supland again approach, as they plied the air forces with flight did in 1917, the point where indicators made an average their default would cause do- profit of 54% of cost. Profits mestic panic, American armed went as high as 51% on a single forces must again step in to order for the Army air corps. protect those interests, State In aviation, Wright Aeronau-Department officials admit pri- tical Company showed profits vately. And America at war of 29% in 1927 and 44% in 1928 would be the complete solution on sales to the Navy, and 93%

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SOCIALIST APPEAL

LONDON, Ontario—Carrying proached my Section organizer liam Green, president of the the C.P. of Spain does not come AFL, the 55th convention of the out for the freedom of Spanish Trades and Labor Congress voted by 230 to 97 to approve the landless peasantry. His answer executive council's suspension was clear and unequivocal, of the CIO unions from the Congress.

Although no CIO delegates

ONLY -5- DAYS LEFT

TROTSKY'S

(POST-PUBLICATION

PRICE-\$4.00)

New York, N. Y.

The Negro Department has the Bahama Islands, and with been fortunate in once more others from Haiti. The dancing secuirng the services of Archie in the Bahamas, in Haiti and gram, according to its propon-ganize the group in other cities, Savage to dance at its affair on all the West Indian Islands is ents, is that it represents the on the basis of contacts which Saturday night at the Mimo based on the African dances absolute minimum on which all the speakers boasted of. Archie Savage has already Africa many generations ago. able men can agree. The main from the floor were permitted. captivated our audiences at Savage recognized that the Am- theme of most of the speakers The chairman offered to an-Irving Plaza and his dancing erican taste today could not ac- was that these 12,000,000 ought swer any questions informally, has created such a sensation cept a literal reproduction of to organize; but it was always after the meeting had adjournthat many have been anxious these African dances. They are carefully explained that the ed. The S.W.P. pamphlet Let

He started at seventeen, stuand his group. Winfield quickly made him a dance director, so dancing in those days, taking terms. part in general shows. But he

He worked with an African ances at the Mimo on Saturday group, with some dancers from night.

brought by the Negroes from 12,000,000 of America's draft- No questions or discussion for the most part based on one League offers nothing more the People Vote on War had a particular step which allows definite in the way of a pro- good sale before and after the the dancer the possibility of gram than the above four meeting. indefinite repetition over a points. period of many hours, sometimes days. He therefore has ing underlined the poor strate- gem of political wisdom with speak. He did jazz and tap African dances into modern prospect of "year-round, peace-

was time for Negroes to find a part in the program he will also

soon woke up to the fact that it an woman dancer who is taking of vague promise; to "secure got something there!

reaucracy refused even to acknowledge it. Independence Punished New Stooge Outfit for the CIO be met merely as in the close met merely as in the old days, namely by evading a clear-cut stand. Will the The 7th World Congress of the Communist International brought about great changes: In my branch a resolution was proposed to uphold this criminal decision. Because I brought about great changes: (Special to the Socialist Appeal) | for all men of draftable age

a large and peculiar symbol, cruiting for Uncle Sam! which was reproduced on but-

best interests of the nation." Offers Nothing

And the failure of the meettime military training on a vol- racy is not immune to the vicisuntary basis"; and on the basis situdes of war." Man, you've

> Let the People Vote on War!

waving, brass-band methods The stage was decorated with are best when it comes to re-

The tone of the whole affair

Join the Socialist

NOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS BRANDED"—KARL MARX. NEGRO QUESTION

By J. R. JOHNSON _

"Hundreds of thousands of Negro soldiers face the danger of having to shed their blood for the greater glory, the greater profits, of the bloated money kings of London and Paris in this imperialist war, the purpose of which is to tighten the yoke of oppression more closely around the necks of all toilers.

This is the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. Where does it come from? The readers of this column and of the Socialist Appeal might think it comes from our new pamphlet WHY NEGROES SHOULD OPPOSE THE WAR" (by J. R. Johnson, 32 pages, 5 cents). But that extract is not from our party literature at all. It comes from an interview given by James Ford, the Stalinist Commissar of Harlem, to the Daily Worker, October 9, 1939. The same issue carries another interview given by Dr. Max Yergan, executive secretary of the International Committee on African Affairs. During the Spanish war this committee worked in close collaboration with the Stalinist organization, the League for Spanish Democracy. On behalf tion on the Minneapolis case to ment. of Harlem Negroes, the committee presented an ambulance to the Spanish people.

Dr. Yergan also says that the war in Europe is an imperialist war. Like James Ford, he regarded "the Soviet-German nonaggression pact and the subsequent action of the Soviet Union as the one great contribution to world peace and democracy to come out of the conflict thus far." Thus Dr. Yergan, a missionary, a YMCA official, widely known in America, in Europe, and and tomorrow, to raise funds in Africa, by his observation of the international situation and for the defense. The Tag Day is the grace of God, advocates a 100 per cent Stalinist position. The war is an imperialist war; the Negroes will be sacrificed for profits; Negroes, help keep America out of war.

Sounds Good—But Is It?

It looks good, like the red of an apple rotten at the heart. It sounds good, like the words a prostitute whispers in the ear of a traveler, while robbers creep behind to stab him in the back.

For proof, let us take one great tragedy for Africans and the friends of Africa-the case of Spanish Morocco. The Moors are not Negroes, but they are an oppressed colonial people. If they had won their freedom, a mighty blow would have been struck at imperialism. The victory of the Moors could have acted as a clarion call to revolutionaries in Europe and to all oppressed and groaning Africa.

Now you gain your freedom when your enemy is weak and your enemy is weakest when he is fighting for his life. When the Spanish revolution broke out, it was the chance of the Moors. The correct policy for the Moors was to say to the Spanish workers and peasants: "You want to break the necks of the ruling class. We want our independence, but this we can get only by breaking the neck of the same ruling class. We support you, you support us. You declare that you support the independence of Spanish Morocco. We shall fight against Franco and be your loyal comrades and allies."

That was the policy for the Moors. But it was still more the duty of all who were friends of African independence to proclaim that policy and agitate for it among the Spanish workers and peasants. "The independence of Spanish Morocco." "Moors, take up arms and fight for your own country." These are the slogans that should have been on the lips of every true revolutionary, of every genuine fighter for African independence in sub-secretariat of the Fourth can comrades, being rid of the is bureaucratic from beginning and George Lyman Paine, the days when every class, every group in Spain, was fighting International, has recently sectarian group of C- and the to end." Shachtman charged, Councilmanic candidate for for its own interests, on one side or the other.

What did James Ford and his Communist Party say in those days? What did Max Yergan say? You will search columns of Roletin contains the Bureau's nightly paper, Lucha Obrera, in from the book of Stalinism it than 6,000 signatures of registhe Stalinist press and not find one clear call, "Moors, use Manifesto on the War and its addition to their excellent the self." your arms for your independence." They sent men to fight, Application to the Latin Am- cretical monthly, Clave. . . they sent ambulances, Yergan agitated for Spanish democracy, erican and colonial countries. But "the independence of Spanish Morocco"? Not a word. And No. 7 will contain articles on way? Because they did not want to overthrow Spanish imper- recent developments, a state- the launching of the Partido So- the official ALP Councilmanic ialism; they wanted to maintain Spanish "democracy." With ment of resignation from the cialista Revolucionario, section candidate for the Bronx, Spanish Morocco as a colony of this "democracy" just as East Communist Party of Cuba by of the Fourth International. The Shachtman stated, "Previously, Africa is a colony of British "democracy" and the Belgian Con- one of its leading members, founding congress of the P.S.R. go is a colony of Belgian "democracy." Independence for comrade Jose A. Guerra, and was held this summer and by the Stalinists in building the Morocco? Under no circumstances, said Stalin: "I want an alMorocco? Under no circumstances, said Stalin: "I want an alsome documents from Brazil. brought together into one or
district clubs of the ALP, Rose
district clubs of the ALP, Rose
and Antonini gave the Stalinists
and Antonini gave the Stalinists
and Antonini gave the Stalinists

Operation

urged that the only way to beat Franco was for the workers and peasants to struggle for socialism and for the Moors to fight for their independence, in other words capitalism had to be broken at home and abroad. For saying this they were called traitors by the Stalinists, persecuted and murdered as agents of Franco. The Moors, getting promises from Franco and not even a promise from the Spanish Loyalists, fought with Franco. At home and abroad the Spanish revolution was beaten.

The Stalinist Line Changes

Today, however, Stalin no longer wants any alliance with sident Benavides to live in ex-Britain and France. He is tied up with Hitler. Hitler has no colonies. But Britain and France have. Stalin wants to embarrass the British and French governments in their conduct of candidate in the coming presithe war. He wants to prevent America from assisting Hitler's dential elections! Ravinez calls enemy, Britain. So Ford and Yergan, Browder and Patterson. take the field. The war is an imperialist war. Down with the war. These conscienceless scoundrels want to use the Negroes to help Hitler's peace: they shout for peace. But peace means Hitler's peace, with Stalin keeping his piece of Poland. That is why they say this is an imperialist war, which is true, and then add Russia did the right thing, which is false.

The Fourth International denounces these servile corrupters of the Negro people. We do not support the capitalist war; we do not support the capitalist peace. We say: "Negroes, war or peace, fight against all the imperialists, today by a mass demonstration, tomorrow by strike, and when enough have rifles fight with rifles too.'

But what does Yergan say today? In the interview in the Daily Worker he says that it is necessary for "the democratic labor forces of Europe and America to press for the reopening of the whole colonial question in the interest of a secure world peace." There you see the naked reaction of Yergan. What does he mean by "reopening the whole colonial question." Who closed it? Does he want a conference to talk over things? With whom? With Chamberlain, Daladier, Hitler, and Stalin? Is this the peace that the Stalinists are shouting for? Will one single colonial be freed by this peace? Peace, by all means. We denounce their murderous war. But do the workers want Chamberlain and Daladier to "reopen" the colonial question?

It is Hitler who wants to "reopen" it, in other words, bargain for Africa. For the revolutionary Negroes, that question is always open. No peace with imperialism, whether fascist or "democratic." Tomorrow, according to how Stalin moves, Ford and Yergan will shout again, "War for democracy." Traitors yesterday and traitors tomorrow, they are traitors today, however revolutionary they my sound. The Negroes must not be blinded by them, but should mercilessly expose this unscrupulous deception of an oppressed people.

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

WPA Prisoners' Morale "LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CAN-Splendidas Minneapolis Frame-Up Trial Opens

cians Union, able chairman of case de luxe). With yet more the AFL's WPA Defense Com- indictments in the wind, it is mittee, was chosen a delegate obvious that the Minneapolis to the convention of the Amer- WPA defense case will drag out ican Federation of Labor by the for many months-if Murphy recent meeting of the Minneap- and Roosevelt dare to carry olis Central Labor Union. Murk through the frame-up to the is now in Cincinnati. He has al- bitter end. And with the Minready met with Green and the neapolis frame-up becoming a executive council, and it is cer | national issue in the American tain that the Minneapolis de-labor movement, the millionfense case will come up on the headed protest of the workers floor of the Cincinnati conven- may yet tear the hands of the tion. It is understood the AFL War Deal from the throats of council is preparing a resolu- the militant local union movebe presented to convention delegates.

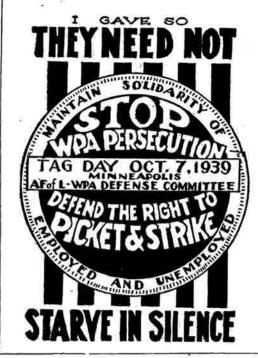
Tag Day Plans Fixed

Over four hundred union women and girls have volunteered to sell Labor Defense Tags throughout Minnepolis tonight sponsored by the AFL defense committee, and hundreds of dollars are expected to be raised by this means.

dence to present to the federal viet foreign office." Defense Committee set up by wake of Soviet diplomacy. the Trades & Labor Assembly is already raising property and funds to be used as bail.

Trials May Last Months

(Continued from Page I) | defendants (the "conspiracy"



THE MINNEAPOLIS WAY

Hundreds of union-women and girls wore this tag on Satur-P. A. prisoners, those now on yet to be tried, for their activities in the W.P .-A. strike. We haven't yet received a report on how much was collected, but we hope the fund was big enough to enable the Defense Committee to smash the Rooseveltstrike-breaking machine in Minneapolis.

day, October 7, when they went out collecting funds for the defense of the Minneapolis W .trial, and those

Shachtman and Paine Charge Boss already behind the President's policy—although with the caution and reservations one might expect considering the big property interests at stake. But there still remain certain powerful secinterests at stake. But there still remain certain powerful sections of big business inclining more, for the present, to an isola-Candidates Evade the Main Issue tionist line. In this category, E. T. Weir of National Steel, Henry Ford, and the DuPonts are outstanding. This explains why such Republican stalwarts as Senator Vandenberg of Michigan are

(Continued from Page 1) when it was founded twenty one except Stalin." FBI agents are now continu- years ago. Once a working Referring to the resolution didates of the Socialist Worktime in St. Paul, gathering evi- today an appendage of the So- Party on the war and on the counting noses but of counting

grand jury when it reconvenes That the Communist Party is declared, "After a few years of workers whose antagonism to vestigation into the WPA strike. da agency for the Kremlin was more than good municipal gov-found, so revolutionary that the is bracing its feet for the an- he illustrated how the Commu- vate horse trades with the Dem- stop a moment and ponder on ticipated attack, and the WPA nist Party follows closely in the ocratic and Republican parties, their rotten schemes for annihi-

The ALP and War Discussing the close collaboration of Stalin with Hitler, Shachtman stated, "It is inter-

atin American Notes

world.

The present trial is expected esting to note in connection without recourse to ordinary tion against American particito last for several weeks. There with the peace terms submitted democratic procedure, adopted pation in the war is worth more will be at least nine more trials, by Hitler that No one would a resolution which brazenly de- than a 1000 votes for any other involving from two to nine y give active backing to the im- clares for a democratic war party. Vote as you strike. Vote against Germany."

suddeness, Rose, Antonini and concluded Company discovered, after all these years, that the ranks of No. 6 of Boletin de Informa- Uruguay and from our Mexican the ALP contained Communist Local New York of the SWP, cion, bulletin of the Pan-Am- comrades of the Partido Obrero Party members. The expulsion announced today that the nomerican and Oriental Bureau, Internacionalista. . . Our Mexi- of the Stalinists from the ALP inating petitions for Shachtman

Quill's Stand

Commenting on the threatened rejection of Michael Quill as in exchange for the work done present differences between Rose and Antonini on the one hand," Shachtman explained, two sets of agents in the service of two different bands of Shachtman declared.

Counting Fists

Bronx the workers have the op- many clashes in the past with time. ortunity to vote for a revolu- the Coughlinites.

perialist peace of Hitler - no tionary anti-war party and its candidates. "Voting for the can-Stalin-Hitler pact, Shachtman fists; of counting the fists of the American Labor Party sud- lating the working class in andenly discovered the rest of the other world slaughter for superprofits. A hundred votes for the remarkable suddeness and Workers Party as a demonstraas you fight. Vote for the anti-"Similarly," the speaker war candidates of the Socialist went on, "with a remarkable Workers Party," Shachtman

Petitions Filed

Edward Frank, organizer of tered Bronx voters have been secured for the nomination of Shachtman on the Councilmanic ballot, Frank announced. while over 3,000 signatures were secured for the nomination of Paine.

Both candidates today ex-Register Now

war candidates of the Socialist in the War Department. Workers Party on November 5.

center about bringing as much help as possible to the Allies. And their "opponents," the isolationists, have strangely acquiesced in this conspiracy of silence. It is clear that neither side has much stomach for a real fight. Friendly Enemies The truth seems to be that there is still a certain amount of division among the big bourgeoisie as to just how much of a 'forward policy" in respect to the war is right now advisable. The great bulk of Wall Street opinion is without much question already behind the President's policy-although with the caution

berg's own state, for instance, the split is clearly defined, with General Motors for raising the embargo and Ford against it. The politeness and gentility with which the neutrality fight has been conducted is explained by the fact that the politicians ing their stool pigeonry, this class revolutionary party, it is adopted by the American Labor ers Party is not a matter of in Washington understand well enough that this difference of opinion is by no means indicative of any disagreement as to the necessity of America's final entry into the war, but is merely a friendly disagreement as to ways and means and, above all, October 23 to continue its in nothing more than a propagan public pleading for nothing the war is so great, so prothe minds of their honorable opponents than dragging this fair The St. Paul union movement amplified by Shachtman when ernment, not to mention its pri- imperialist war-makers will nation into the war. There are certain accusations, after all, that come too close to home to be bandied about in public. 1917 and 1939

As I pointed out last week, the relationship between the government and big business has become much more intimate in "The ALP leadership, with a candidates of the Socialist the two decades of development that American monopoly capitalism has gone through since the last war. This makes it easier in one way and harder in another to expose to the masses the imperialist nature of the War Deal.

WAR DEAL

"There is something phoney about this war." remarked Sen-

ator Borah the other day. He was referring to the fact that

France and England declared war six weeks ago and have not

yet begun to fight. But he might also have noted something

phoney about the war issue as it has been presented in Congress

recently. The much-advertised and long-awaited debate on neu-

trality legislation, in which Borah himself is a leading partici-

pant, has turned out to be pretty much of a flop. Here, too, the

battle has not yet been seriously joined. The Administration

forces have said nothing of their real aims and interests, which

leading the fight against raising the arms embargo. In Vanden-

By DWIGHT MACDONALD —

It is easier to expose the Roosevelt Administration's war drive than it was to expose that of the Wilson Administration because this timé big business has channelled its war aims through the speaker war candidates of the Socialist the governmental apparatus, so that the War Deal acts in a much more aggressive and whole-heartedly belligerent way than did the Wilson regime. Thus the War Deal is forced to go ahead in a more determined way, and is also forced to take on more of a Wall Street coloration than was necessary for Wilson in the years preceding our entry into the last war. (Roosevelt set up his War Resources Board headed by Stettinius of U.S. Steel before our entry, while Wilson called on Baruch to set up the War Industries Board only after the declaration of war in 1917.)

By the same token, however, the task of exposure is harder because this time Wall Street is not making the mistake of coming out in the open and acting as the business agents and ardent propagandists of the Allied powers. The pro-war propaganda of the Roosevelt Administration seems to be quite detached from any financial interests, to be the free-will act of an independent government body-while in the last war such propaganda was crudely and openly conducted by finance capital itself.

Casting out the Devil

The complexity of relations between big business and govpressed their gratitude to the ernment in this war crisis is demonstrated by the recent liquida-Spain? An independent Morocco? If I or my Communist Party for such a policy, I would never get my alliance with Chamberlain and Daladier. They would say I was a Red."

The Trotskyists in Spain fought against Franco, but they urged that the only way to beat Franco was for the workers of the Sael Corporation and composed mostly of DuPont and Morgan executives, there was a representative or two on its elected to the Party of the Part ists. Therefore, the day before Congress met, Roosevelt sudden-Voters are urged to register ly announced that the WRB would meet once more, draw up a this week, October 9 to 14, with report, and then commit hari-kari. He also went out of his way the Board of Elections in order to publicly humiliate and repudiate Assistant Secretary of War "is that the former support the to be able to vote for the anti- Johnson, author of the WRB plan and the "man" of big business

> Loud were the outcries of victory among the liberals and the Shachtman will speak Wed- left isolationists. Actually, no more had happened than that the nesday night, October 11, at El- President, for sound reasons of immediate political strategy, had semere Hall, 170 Street and decided that the WRB had been sprung on the public a little pre-Morris Avenue. Maxwell T. maturely. He therefore quietly withdrew from this too advanced Burt, Organizer of the Bronx position, incidentally stealing a good deal of the thunder his iso-Branch, announced a mass lationist opponents were preparing for him in Congress. As Time campaign rally this Saturday (Oct. 9) put it: "About all they had left to hit him with then was night at Fordham Road and the reasonable supposition that Big Steel's Stettinius will be "In Manhattan and the Valentine Avenue, scene of back on the pre-war scene in Washington at some more politic

> > "Reasonable" is a classic understatement.

esting story about the Stalinist 'communists' According to the August 15 issue of the Buenos Aires daily, Vanguardia, the leader of the Communist Party of Peru, Eudocio Ravinez, who is forced by the reactionary dictatorship of Preile, issued a pamphlet in Chile giving support to Benavides' this candidate "the leader of democratic Benavidism"(!) It's too bad Stalin is changing

PERU

From Peru comes an inter-

the line so soon; the Stalinists groveling at the feet of the various dictatorial agents of 'democratic' imperialism was fas tdeveloping into an interesting study for psychopathologists. Benavides, who keeps over 5,000 political prisoners in his jails, who outlaws the Communist party and forces its leaders into exile, is rewarded with thei rloyal support! He joins the list with Dictator Vargas in Brazil, Dictator Batista in Cuba, ex- (but still aspiring)-Dictator General Ibanez in Chile and now of course Hitler himself. . . The one good note in the story is the report in Vanguardia that the [C.P.] organizations in Arequipa and Cuzco (cities of Perul have revolted against the line of collaboration with tyranny put forward by Senor Rav-

Argentina From Argentina comes a new "La Revolucion pamphlet. Mundial y la Traicion Stalinista", and the news that that 'great American democracy' has just issued an order barring from the mails a pamphlet published previously, "Por el Socialismo Revolucionario y por la 4d Internacional". We have also received a printed manifesto distributed by the Grupo Obrero Revolucionario, 4th Internationalist, dealing with the war and the Stalin-

inez in his recent pamphlet".

Hitler pact. . Uruguay Similar leaflets have arrived from the Bolshevik-Leninists of

been issued and No. 7 is about tempestuous Rivera, have also "because the manner of that Manhattan, had been filed with to be published. No. 6 of the begun the publication of a fort- expulsion drive is borrowed the Board of Elections. More Brazil

From Brazil comes news of leadership of the Sao Paulo Regional Committee of the C.P. The congress consolidated the hand and Quill on the other organization and adopted a resolution of greetings to comrade Trotsky, as well as several res- war aims of Wall Street while olutions on the international Quill supports Stalin's joint and national situation and the war with Hitler. These differtasks of the P.S.R. in the strug-ences are the differences of gle against the Vargas dictatorship and its Yankee imperialist masters and for civil liberties oppressors."

and economic betterment. . . , D.M.

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great significance of Trotsky's article, a change is being made, in part, in the contents of the 6. What if the Socialist Rev- November issue, which was orolution is Not Accomplish- iginally slated to be largely a Negro number. Important ar-7. The Present War and the ticles on the Negro question Future of Modern Society. Will appear in the November 8. New Conceptions of the issue but also in subsequent numbers of the magazine.

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MAX SHACHTMAN

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ALP Cliques Promote War Propaganda

(Continued from Page 1)

or of any political party is the place for a bitter attack on Germany and Russia, both nations with which the United States is still at peace." Another ALP candidate, for municipal court judge, Allan Goodwin, deplores "a controversial foreign issue which has no place in the party's

In a word, both of the contending camps in the ALP are conducting themselves in thoroughly unprincipled fashion, blurring the issues, hiding the facts. Neither one wants to conduct the fight on the ground on which it really stands.

Why? Because neither one dares admit the truth. The truth is that each side is a war-mongering partisan of one of the contending imperialist camps. Each side attempts to pose as a lover of peace, but each side is actually for the victory of one of the contending imperialist camps. The ALP leaders are partisans of Anglo-French imperialism and of Roosevelt's proposals to begin aligning America with that camp. The Stalinists are partisans of the Hitler-Stalin bloc. The antagonisms of the two warring camps in Europe are reflected in this fight in the ALP; each side serves one of the camps. In the face of the widespread anti-war sentiment, however, neither dares admit its real aim. Hence the deliberately spread confusion.

The Real Facts

However, no smoke screen can conceal the real facts. No amount of shouting against the deservedly-hated Stalinists can conceal the real meaning of the ALP resolution of October 4. Its criticism of the Hitler-Stalin pact is a democratic-imperialist criticism and has nothing in common with a working class critique of the reactionary role of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

As long as Stalin adhered to the democraticimperialist camp, the ALP leaders slept cheek by jowl with the Stalinists in the ALP and the unions; none of Stalin's crimes of his "democratic" period-the Moscow trials, the purges and massacres, the betrayal of the Spanish revolution, the smashing of the great movement of the French proletariat, and in America the undermining of the militancy of the labor movement in the service of Roosevelt, etc., etc.-all these crimes the ALP leaders either supported, condoned or passed over lightly. They lived at through all these terrible events.

pented of their reactionary position on all the sole grievance against the Stalinists is that Stal-

No smoke screen can conceal from the workers of America the fundamental motivation of fact: neither of the warring cliques speaks for the ALP resolution. It identifies itself with "the peace. In every union affiliated to the ALP the cause of the Western democracies that are fight- workers should begin discussing, not merely the ing for the preservation of those democratic pro-war positions now contending for control, values and liberties which we in this country but the THIRD position: the anti-war position treasure so dearly," and goes so far as to say that "the great majority of the American people of the working class. The third camp—the camp have looked forward to the day when the re- of the genuine fighters against war, against all maining democracies on the European continent imperialisms—is the only camp worth supportwould find the strength to resist the brazen ag- ing and fighting for.

gression of Hitlerism."

This is war-mongering in the most literal sense of the term. From it logically follows the endorsement of Roosevelt's proposals for lifting the embargo to aid Anglo-French imperialism. From it logically follows any and all other steps to aid Anglo-French imperialism, including American entry into the war. The resolution hypocritically refrains from going the whole hog only because the anti-war sentiments of the masses are too well-known to the ALP bureaucrats. They follow, instead, the Roosevelt tactic of taking, step by step, actions which will, in the end, lead America into the war.

We need mention here only in passing how deliberately false is the rose-colored picture of the "democracies" painted in the ALP resolution. That Britain and France are the greatest slaveholding empires in the world, subjecting the masses of Africa and Asia to an even lower living standard than bestial fascism has been able to impose at home upon the German and Italian workers; that only in the "mother countries" is there even a semblance of democracy; that Anglo-French imperialism facilitated the victory of Hitler and preferred it to a socialist revolution in Germany, etc .- of all this there is not a hint in the idyllic picture of the "democracies" painted by the cynical bureaucrats of the ALP.

«Left Wing» Cover

At the October 4 city conference at which the fight was precipitated, a "left wing" cover for the ALP bureaucrats was provided by the Norman Thomas Socialists and Lovestoneites present. Two or three of them took the floor to make a point or two in differentiating themselves from the more flagrantly war-mongering aspects of the official resolution, but not one of them exposed the dishonest strategy of the ALP bureaucrats-and they voted for the resolution. "Subscribing to and reaffirming" the war-mongering resolution has been put as an ultimatum to all ALP candidates. Two members of the Socialist Party, Harry W. Laidler and Frank Crosswaith, are ALP candidates. The press reports that Crosswaith "expressed unqualified approval for the resolution." Neither the Socialist Party nor the Independent Labor League (Lovestoneites) has yet expressed itself officially; we await their official statements and will comment on them. Their strategy is, however, made clear by their shameful conduct at the city conference: whatever their perfunctory reservations, they are going along with the ALP bureaucrats, as they voted with them on October 4.

Can one conceivably justify this course on the ground of opposition to Stalinism? To attempt to do so is utterly dishonest. By this course the Stalinists are aided, not crushed. It enables the Stalinists to pose as fighters against "war incitement." Quill is able to appeal to the Irish-American workers, Ford to the Negro workers, who know what their brothers endure under British imperialism. The Stalinists are everywhere losing ground because, with a sure instinct however inarticulate, the masses consider the Hitler-Stalin alliance a betrayal of the world working class. Precisely at this point the ALP provides the Stalinists with a rallying-point. Saying as little as possible about their support of the Hitler axis and as much as possible about the ALP leaders' support of the Anglo-French axis, the Stalinists are able to hold part of their shattered ranks together on this issue. The ALP leaders have done for the Stalinists what they could not do for themselves: provided them witha good issue. Once again we are taught an important lesson; the struggle against Stalinism cannot be conducted by the equally-corrupt reformist labor bureaucracy, and their Social-Democratic, Socialist or Lovestoneite servitors.

There Is a Third Camp

The war-mongering position of the ALP leaders is NOT a lesser evil than the war-mongering position of the Stalinists. Just as we refuse to make any basic distinctions between the camp of Chamberlain and that of Hitler, so we refuse to make any distinction between the war camp of Antonini-Rose and that of Quill-Stalin. Neither represents the interests of the working class. Both lead to war and the decimation and destruction of the working class.

The genuine anti-war sentiments of the masspeace and in collaboration with the Stalinists es in the New York needle trades cannot find its expression through either the ALP bureau-Only now do they break with the Stalinists. crats or through the Stalinists. If those anti-And why? Have the ALP leaders perhaps re- war sentiments are not to be perverted-to Hitler's service by the Stalinists, to Chamberlain's great events of these years? Not at all. They service by Rose and Antonini - the anti-war remain grooved in that reactionary course. Their forces in the unions must express themselves independently of either of the two cliques. Neither in has deserted the camp of Anglo-French im- the "left wing" apologies for the ALP bureauperialism for the camp of German imperialism. crats nor the pseudo-radical phraseology now employed by the Stalinists should hide this basic which represents the present and future interests'

Once Before Red Army Marched Into Poland--But It Was Different

Under the Command of Tukhachevsky the Red Army of Lenin's Day Marched to Spread the World Revolution— Unlike Today When Stalin Marches to the Aid of Reaction

(Continued from Page 1)

Socialist movement, which the This was the question posed by a normal day's march. This un-Tukhachevsky, planning the ceasing, wormlike advance of a strategy of the Red Army for huge enemy hoard, which went its coming victories. Trotsky on for weeks, with spasmodic alone of the Central Committee interruptions here and there, of the Bolshevik Party had gave us the impression of somegrave doubts. His knowledge of thing irresistible rolling up like Poland and its long tortuous some terrible thunderclouds history of domination from the that brooked no opposition." outside convinced him that the Perhaps the Red Army would political consciousness of the make the "revolution from Polish masses was not yet de- without?" Perhaps the German veloped to a sufficiently high Spartacists and the Russian degree to participate in a "rev- Bolsheviks would join hands in olution from without!"

SAW MASSES RALLYING TO THE REVOLUTION

The ardor of Tukhachevsky, tionists throughout the world however, saw no bounds, thrilled at news of every ad-Events say 'Yes'," he replied vance of the Red Army. Restto his own question. "The Ger- less workers impatiently awaitman workers manifested open ed the signal for the greater opposition to the Entente. They class struggles ahead. The Red sent back railway-wagons filled Army of Lenin and Trotsky was with arms and food which on the march! France had sent to Poland's ALLIES RUSH TO aid; they refused to unload the PILSUDSKI'S DEFENSE British and French ships sent to Danzig with arms and munitions; they caused accidents on French artillery in decisive his long list of crimes, includ

railways, etc.' undreds and thousands of vol- while. Pilsudski had planned a unteers, who formed a German counter-stroke to stem the tide rifle brigade under the banner He deliberately withdrew vital of the Red Army. In England, divisions from the southwestern the working classes were also front and concentrated his main in the grip of a very active reverocres against Tukhachevsky. BALKS AT THIRD lutionary movement."

This was partly foreseen by the The spectre of world revolu- Red commander and was tion haunted Europe! Field guarded against by a plan for Marshal von Blomberg ex- the Red Armies in the southpressed the views of the Ger- west to strike on Lublin and man General Staff when he prevent the Polish offensive. versal historical significance. His orders were intended to sue Its importance for Germany bring a concentration of the The resolutions committee in for in this war something more massed the Polish Republic was at alry with Voroshilov's approvfurther into Europe and thus would happen. Day after day impose its rule on Germany as of critical fighting in the westwell as other countries. In the ern front brought no action Germany of 1920 many of the from Stalin or his cohorts. preliminary conditions essen- BLUNDERS ARE

ADVANCES TO THE VERY GATES OF WARSAW

tial for such a revolution exist- COSTLY AND FATAL

Tukhachevsky began his offensive with 80,000 soldiers and ern front instead marched reserve of 68,000 for whom there was inadequate equipment. The Red Armies on the southwestern front were directed by Yegorov, with Stalin as Lwow while Pilsudski was makthe representative of the Revolutionary Council of War. Tukhachevsky's plea for a united command had been weakened, Budenny and Voroturned down by the Council because of the antagonism existing between the two commands. Voroshilov, incidentally, was commissar of Budenny's cavalry, which was part of the southwestern forces.

The Red Army hurled forward with invincible force under the leadership of Tukha- viet Russia until a few weeks chevsky. Vilna fell on July 14.

B'KLYN ANTI-WAR RALLY SUCCESSFUL

Last Friday night in Brownsville, Max Shachtman ad dressed an overflowing audience of two hundred and fifty workers who flocked eagerly to near the anti-war message of the Socialist Workers Party. The war about which we have spoken so long has finally bedeclared comrade gun,' Shachtman, "All of the hideous antagonisms of capitalist society are exposed to the naked eve. The workers now realize that bourgeois democracy gave us, from the last war, fascism unemployment, hunger and fi nally another orgy of blood. How will this war end? If the 'democracies' win again they will bestow upon the world the conditions under which we have lived for the past twenty-one years. If the fascists win the world will sink to a system of barbaric oppression. We, the revolutionists of the Fourth International will shout, and the workers of all nations with us, 'No-thank you!' Only the free us from the mass murder of war and from the brutality fascism!'

Grodno on the 19th. Brest-Lit- was a defense attempted. Of through the cancerous growth ovsk was taken on August 1st; course Trotsky was made the of Stalinism; the bewilderment Pilsudski gave a graphic descapegoat. He had participated f the world proletariat today, scription of the advance of the in drawing up the campaign "Could Europe back up this Red Army in his memoirs, with Tukhachevsky, and the "One day they were only about whole conception was "erronemarch on Warsaw constituted, 20 kilometres away from War- ous", declared the creator of with a revolution in the West?" saw and its environs, i.e., only the Moscow frame-ups!

STALIN ADDS A NEW CHAPTER TO HIS CRIMES

Eric Wollenberg, in his book 'The Red Army'', summarized the Polish campaign as follows 'The march on Warsaw was unable to bring about a revolution in Central Europe because of the fact that centuries of op pression at the hands of the Great Russians had left the Polish proletariat not yet sufficiently mature for revolution coincided with the military a Soviet Poland, and the banblunders associated with the ner of world revolution spread name of Stalin, Voroshilov and like wild fire over the plains Yegorvo. and cities of Europe. Revolu-

Viewed in historical perspec tive, one can well understand how infinitely more difficult has become the task of the Polish and world proletariat to make the revolution when the same Stalin orders the Red Army to march again into Poland, not to spread the doctrine of world revolution, but to assure domination for the coun-Alarmed at the Red Army ter-revolutionary Stalinist buadvances, the Allies rushed reaucracy. Stalin must add to quantities with French officers ing his first treachery in Po-From East Prussia came to the aid of Warsaw. Mean- land, the present invasion of

AF.L. CONVENTION TERM FOR F.D.R.

CINCINNATI, Ohio-The AF convention refused to endorse President Roosevelt for a third wrote a preface to the German Tukhachevsky finally had ob-term or give a blanket endorseedition of Pilsudski's memoirs, tained an agreement from the ment of his policies. It turned The Russo-Polish war is not Revolutionary Council of War down a minority resolution pre nerely a matter of interest of to subordinate the armies in sented by the Connecticut State oldiers. Its result has a uni- the southwest to his command. Federation of Labor on this is

can hardly be overestimated, Red troops against Pilsudski's non-concurring with the Con-Yegorov, necticut delegates' proposals than Polish national liberty, prompted by Stalin, refused to pointed out that "the resolution and the continued existence of obey orders and Budenny's cav- does not distinguish between Congressional and administratstake. In its final aspect it was al kept going towards Lwow, live action, neither does it disquestion whether the Bolshe-instead of northward. Exactly tinguish between actions of the ik Revolution should penetrate what Pilsudski had hoped administration and of the bureaus. boards and commis-

other legislation Among sponsored by the New Deal which the AFL opposed was the law to destroy prevailing wages which Congress passed, and th military victory to offset first reorganization bill.

AVAILABLE

There are still some copies of UNSER WORT, No. 97-98 available. Featured is a polemic by Walter Held with the Institute for Social Re search, entitled: "Critica Theory Without Revolution ary Practice?" There is an excellent commentary or The Pact of the Three." by A. which is of particular in terest at this time in view of he predictions made which have since been confirmed The series of documents on the Spanish Revolution is continued. The new issue, dealing with the outbreak of wa,r will appear shortly. Order at once in writing from

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needs of the Stalin bureaucracy JUST OUT!!

Burning with ambition for a

Tukhachevsky's successes, the

commanders on the southwest

towards Lwow. For five days

the cavalry of Budenny hurled

itself against the strongly en-

trenched Polish infantry at

ing headway in his offensive

against Tukhachevsky. When it

was too late and his forces were

shilov turned towards Lublin.

Tukhachevsky was forced t

order a retreat, under the blows

of Pilsudski's concentrated

forces and the treachery of the

Stalin-Yegorov-Voroshilov bloc,

and the Red Army fell back to

a point which marked the boun

dary between Poland and So-

For years Stalin and his co-

horts did not even make an at

tempt to defend themselves

from the open charges that

Tukhachevsky hurled at them.

Only when Russian history was

being rewritten to suit the

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By James Burnham

Not the least remarkable phase of the just concluded Panama conference and the Declaration which issued out of it is the minor attention which the whole matter has received in the general press. I have not found a single newspaper which gave its main headline to the Declaration. Indeed, very few even put the news from Panama on the front page. Why such modesty?

The explanation is simple enough: The publicists for United States imperialism-which means all of the bourgeois and most of the labor press-have got to keep the attention of the people focussed on the crimes of foreign bullies, and off the doings of the bully at home. Otherwise the people might begin to understand the real aims of the war into which Roosevelt is so democratically herding us.

Editorial hands are raised in horror when Germany and the Soviet Union conquer by arms or subjugate by diplomacy a few fifth and tenth rate countries. But the editors are most discreetly silent while United States imperialism utilizes thefirst weeks of the war to cinch up control over two entire continents

What Washington Wants

The first of the minimum war aims of United States imperialism is domination of the Americas Such domination involves control over trade, capital investments and raw materials in the American nations to an extent that will reduce the share of other powers to a negligible fraction, and will assure that this residue does not interfere with the subordination of American economy as a whole to the needs of the metropolis.

Such economic domination demands, in turn, control over the foreign policy of all the American nations. But control over foreign policy necessitates, also, a decisive measure of control over internal policy. At the very least, the United States must be sure that the various governments are "friendly" to itself, oriented toward Washington. This means that the United States must prevent these governments from being, as many have been in the past, tools of one of the rival powers (notably Great Britain); and prevent even more stringently the rise of popular, anti-imperialist revolutionary movements. Either dependence on another power or revolutionary mass struggle strikes at U.S. domination.

This aim has been among the guides of U.S. policy during the past quarter of a century, and comes to the forefront in the war. The Panama conference brings it a mighty leap toward reali-

Who are the Rivals?

In spite of the Monroe Doctrine, the United States was a minor factor in Latin America before the last war. England had been by far the principal influence, with Germany moving up during the decade preceeding 1914. The war and the reconstruction years which followed gave the U.S. its first big chance; and money, goods, warships and marines, were pumped south. England rapidly regained an important position while Germany was frozen out. In the last few years, however, Germany went ahead again, and overtook England in volume of trade-though both together have had less than the United States' 36%. In amount of capital investment, England and the United States are probably now about even, with no other nation approaching. Indeed, from all points of view, the powers other than England and Germany hardly

As soon as the war began, Germany's trade was virtually eliminated. In spite of her Navy, England's must be seriously curtailed, both because of the difficulties of convoy and because of the scarcity of export goods which will be available from British industry.

The United States proposes that this withdrawal of her chief rivals shall be permanent. The Declaration of Panama was Roosevelt's way of making this proposal known.

Some Problems Ahead

The Declaration was "adopted unanimously" by the conference. There was as much chance of an open negative vote as of Estonia's rejecting Molotoff's proposals. Sumner Welles was there to dictate, and the others to sign. But the sorrows that were hidden under the unanimous vote stretched all the way to Berlin and, above all, to London.

Argentina and Bolivia, for example, have for long been closely tied to London. They tried to object, but Welles granted them only a face-saving clause or two. And London must meditate bitterly about its plans for a Brazilian regime less wholly at Wall Street's orders. And then there is this: Britain and France have

many possessions in the Americas. These are most valuable in war, not merely as sources of supplies but especially as bases for warships. The language of the Declaration can be interpreted to mean that these possessions cannot be used as such bases. Of course, proclaiming the Declaration does not

put it into operation. It is not yet accepted by the belligerent powers; and if it is accepted in words. this will not guarantee their acceptance in deeds Acceptance will be ensured only by force; and the force in question can only be United States ships and planes. These however, are concentrated in the Pacific: for the second of the minimum war aims of U.S. imperialism is free entry into the

From this, by the way, it would seem to follow that "the principle of a two-ocean navy" will be adopted by the next regular session of Congress.

It is true that the Declaration is aimed primarily at Germany; and it is true that Roosevelt will enter the war against Germany. But at times England must be less than delighted as she watches her mighty ally.

Yes, and Canada too is in the Americas. Would it be so startling if Canada "declared her independence" from the Empire during the course of the war and its aftermath? On U.S. War Department maps of the war resources of the great powers, those of Canada are listed in the column of the

United States Army Amateur Radio Reserve, believes amateur radio "can be as valuable for the Mrs. Ted Bourke, only woman member of the purposes of war as it is in establishing friendships in time of peace." Just another instance of the truism that everything the bourgeoisie touches it