

For a Workers Vote Against War, Vote for SWP Candidates!

BUILD WORKERS' DEFENSE GUARDS

Socialist Appeal

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

LET THE PEOPLE VOTE ON WAR

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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.

The trial opened Monday, October 2, and the first day was spent in selecting a jury. On the jury, picked by the judge, are seven farmers, a lumber salesman, a former deputy sheriff, a realtor, a restaurant owner and a hardware dealer—a typically tough dozen to hear a labor case.

Government witnesses to date have been Linus Glogz, former Minnesota WPA administrator (since promoted by Roosevelt); S.J. Stolte, acting State WPA administrator (also a Roosevelt appointee); and a number of finks, including one person, Homer Martin, who described himself as a member of the US intelligence service during the war. All alleged that pickets had threatened them during the WPA strike.

The Red Army Marches

By B. J. WIDICK

Once before the legions of the Red Army marched behind the hammer and sickle into the poverty-stricken fields of Poland towards Warsaw, and the whole world trembled under the impact of the event.

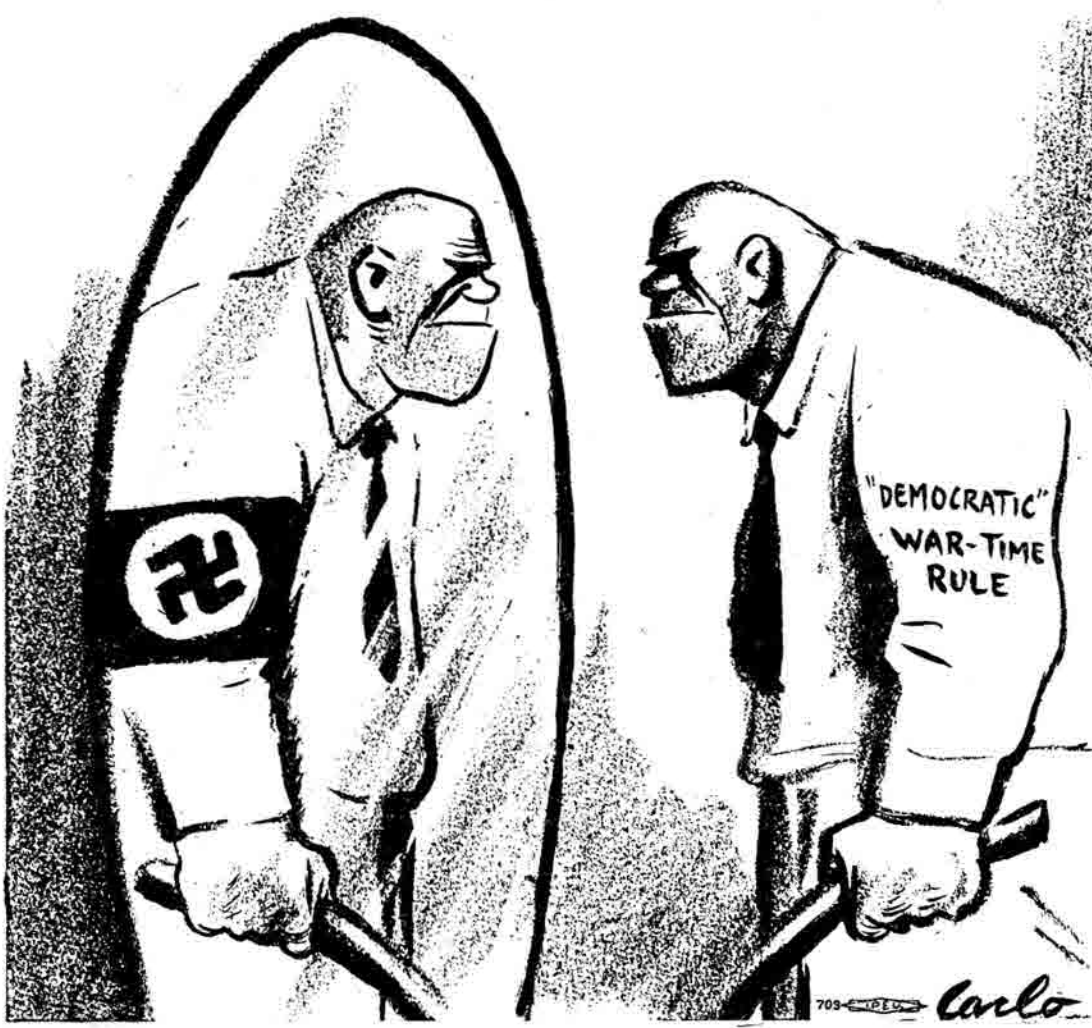
A brilliant young officer was given command of the troops on the "western front" in the offensive against the Polish Army. He was Mikhail Tukhachevsky, burning with zeal and ambition to extend the socialist revolution throughout Europe.

Opposite the Red Army stood Joseph Pilsudski, harsh dictator, backed by France and England, who dreamed of carving out a vast empire, Greater Poland, from the Ukraine, all East Prussia, Lithuania, White Russia, and Latvia. Repeatedly, Pilsudski had rejected peace terms offered by the Soviet government in 1919 and early 1920. Pilsudski was determined to strike while the Soviet republic was weak. His troops marched towards the Soviet frontier on April 25, 1920.

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 attacked Smolensk to relieve the pressure on Soviet forces on the south-western front where the Polish army was making advances rapidly. Budenny's cavalry smashed through enemy lines towards Kiev, it was captured on June 12, and a stage was set for the famous march to Warsaw, although the situation on the south-western front was by no means assured.

The contrast between the 1920 march to Warsaw and Stalin's invasion of Poland this fall tells the tragic story of the decline of the Soviet Union under the iron heel of Stalin; the degeneration of the Red Army (Continued on Page 4)

The Same Beast



Shachtman and Paine Charge Boss Candidates Evade the Main Issue

DISAFFILIATE UNION FROM 'PEACE' GROUP

NEW YORK, Oct. 7.—At a meeting of the Delegate Assembly of Teachers Union, Local 5, held last night, the Stalinist leadership of the Union pulled an abrupt about face, caught its own membership unawares, and moved to disaffiliate the Union from the American League for Peace and Democracy. In stunned silence, a bewildered membership listened to the plea for "no politics in the union," "we must avoid controversial questions" and concentrate solely on "teachers' issues."

The cynical and hypocritical effrontery of the Stalinists was exposed by the Independent Group, whose spokesmen ably pointed out that the drive for (Continued on Page 2)

New York S.W.P. Urges Workers to Register This Week So That They May Vote for the Only Anti-War Candidates on the Ballot

Addressing the second in a series of election campaign mass meetings, Max Shachtman, Councilman 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 which the capitalist political parties in this city will evade and ignore; it is the question of the second world war and the imminence of American participation in it."

"Not one candidate of either the Democratic or Republican parties who is known beyond his apartment house has as much as one word to say against the war," Shachtman stated.

What Value Isolationism?
"The isolationists, like William Jennings Bryan during the last war, seem at first to oppose the war. Then, when war breaks out, they support the war on the ground that, although they are against it, they wish to put a quick end to it. In that sense," Shachtman (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, 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 pretext for designating the October 4th city conference called by the ALP leadership as "having no legal status under the election law." In refusing to accept the ALP resolution, Michael J. Quill attacks Chamberlain, but says not a word about the Hitler-Stalin alliance, and, in typical Stalinist fashion when confusion is deemed necessary, identifies himself with Roosevelt's policy as against the Antonini-Rose policy (needless to say, Antonini and Rose, in their pro-Ally position are the more "legitimate" followers of Roosevelt). At the October 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 fight raise a cry against the "Hitler methods" of the ALP leadership. One of them—Ross Kenyon, ALP nominee for General Sessions judge, makes a brilliant contribution: he approves Roosevelt's cash-and-carry proposals, "But I cannot see that the platform of the American Labor Party (Continued on Page 4)

National Tour

Albert Goldman who only recently returned from Europe is now on a national speaking tour for the Socialist Workers Party. To date he has already spoken in Reading, Allentown, Newark, Boston, Lynn, and Rochester. Other cities so far listed in his schedule are:

Youngstown	Oct. 12
Akron	Oct. 13
Cleveland	Oct. 15
Toledo	Oct. 16
Detroit	Oct. 17
Flint	Oct. 18

Watch the *Appeal* for further announcements of time, place and city.

CIO MEET VACILLATES ON PROGRAM

By B. J. WIDICK

Revealing the heavy pressure of the rank and file, John L. Lewis opened the second annual convention of the CIO with a wordy opposition to war and its preparations, and an appeal that the Roosevelt administration concentrate its major energies on the burning problems of unemployment, insecurity, and the growing cost of living in America.

Reflecting the differences of opinion on the CIO executive board, Lewis dealt with the (Continued on Page 2)

problem of war without offering any concrete program of fighting against war. Further, he skirted the issue of supporting Roosevelt to avoid a sharp dispute on the convention floor, if possible.

Year's Changes
For the CIO is in an entirely different position than it was at its first convention a year ago. Unqualified endorsement of Roosevelt, promise of support for a "war for democracy," and unity with the AFL were the main themes of the (Continued on Page 2)

previous convention, along with the usual planning of organizing campaigns.

In the executive board sessions before the CIO convention, Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, fought for the reiteration of last year's program.

Through a public statement issued prior to the CIO convention Hillman gave his unqualified endorsement of Roosevelt's pro-war policies and his domestic program.

Stalinist Role

The seventeen Stalinists on the CIO board favored the "new line" by including the slogan Keep America Out of Imperialist War, by dodging the "neutrality" issue, and by making reservations on support of Roosevelt. Fearing a purge because of the strong feeling in CIO ranks against the Stalin-Hitler pact as well as their "rule or ruin" policy, the Stalinists were cautious in advancing their program.

The Lewis program, backed by his powerful henchmen from the United Mine Workers of America who occupy key position in the CIO consisted mainly of what he had said in his Labor Day speech. That speech created quite a stir because it was regarded as an answer to Roosevelt's plea for national unity.

Third Term Disputed

The break between Roosevelt and Lewis following Roosevelt's attempted double-cross of the miners' nation-wide strike last (Continued on Page 2)

WAR--WHAT FOR?

The Third of a Series of Friday Night Lectures

By
James P. Cannon

"The Advance of Fascism"

The Causes Underlying the Triumphs of
Hitler and Mussolini

Friday, Oct. 13
Irving Plaza
8:30 P.M.
(Irving Pl. & 15th St.)
ADMISSION—25c

CIO Meet Vacillates on Program

LEWIS TALKS OF WAR PROBLEM—BUT OFFERS NOTHING CONCRETE

(Continued from Page 1)
spring, and Roosevelt's demand for unity with the AFL on any basis forced Lewis to reserve his decision on the 1940 presidential elections. Instead of a third term endorsement for Roosevelt, Lewis favors an indefinite stand for a "progressive" candidate.

Yet the CIO state convention of California which just concluded its sessions went on record for the third term despite top CIO pressure. This issue is likely to evoke a sharp dispute at the national convention.

The Stalinists have apparently obtained the assurance of Lewis that he will seek to suppress any discussion of their role by means of an appeal for "unity." However, at least one state convention of the CIO has gone on record denouncing the Stalin-Hitler pact, etc., and dodging the issue will be very difficult.

Compromises Seen

The Lewis report avoided a serious discussion of the problem of labor unity, although he took his usual cracks at the AFL leadership. This reflects the less favorable position of the CIO on this question since the last convention.

The AFL convention indicated that its membership was well over 4,000,000 while the CIO has discreetly kept silent on its present enrollment. The blundering leadership of Lewis, and above all, the devastating effects of the Stalinist rule-or-ruin clique within the CIO has played havoc with the membership of the industrial unions, although some gains in packing houses and elsewhere can be noted.

Seeking to put up a good front for the CIO, Lewis and the top leadership of the organization have been working day and night to effect compromises on all questions so that the convention will appear "democratic, united and progressive." Since the essence of Lewis' control in the CIO is dictatorial, the "unity" slogan is becoming more of a cover for the nefarious Stalinist machinations.

In the process, CIO progressivism is fading as it fails to meet new issues squarely and militantly. Compromises will hardly stand any real discussion.

Faces Dilemma

Nor can the dilemma facing the CIO be met merely as in the old days, namely by evading a clear-cut stand. Will the CIO seriously launch a fight against American participation in the second world war? This involves a sharp break with the Roosevelt administration. A call for a labor party? This week will decide.

The unemployed know that unemployment is terrible. The

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

LONDON, Ontario—Carrying out the expressed wishes of William Green, president of the AFL, the 55th convention of the Trades and Labor Congress voted by 230 to 97 to approve the executive council's suspension of the CIO unions from the Congress.

Although no CIO delegates were present at the Congress, the delegates had earlier voted to expel all CIO affiliates from the central labor bodies throughout Canada by the narrow margin of 163 to 133 votes. Pressure from the top leadership forced a more decisive vote on the question of approving the executive council's recommendation.

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question they ask Lewis is, what are you going to do about it? Will the CIO organize the WPA and relief workers to fight for their rights?

Lewis by his mild attack on the National Labor Relations Board and his concentration of fire on Vice-President Garner, instead of naming Roosevelt as responsible for WPA cuts, etc., reveals that he still intends to drift along, hoping for the best.

Only to the extent that rank and file pressure for a militant, independent and clear-cut program is manifested at this convention will the CIO be able to advance in the coming period in addition to holding on to its present forces. Otherwise, a further disintegration of this industrial union movement, which remains on a historical plane as progressive in relation to the AFL, is the menace of the coming period.

Stalin-Hitler Pact Final Straw, Another C.P.er Joins the S.W.P.

One after another they are quitting the Communist Party and joining the Socialist Workers Party—the party of mass proletarian action against war. Latest among those who have joined the S.W.P. is Irving Stark whose statement is here published in full:

I joined the Communist Party in 1933, a period during which the economic crisis imposed untold misery, and poverty upon the working class. Unemployment and mass evictions of workers from their homes swept the city of New York. The C.P. at that time was active in mobilizing the workers in the struggle for jobs or relief and on many other fronts. It was natural that I as a worker endorsed this program and became an active member of that party.

When the Yorkville Section of the C.P. was organized in 1934 I was elected to the Section Committee, the Section Bureau and became the first Section Educational Director. The comrades with whom I worked were serious and devoted revolutionists.

The 7th World Congress of the Communist International brought about great changes: the Peoples' Front, collective security, the Democratic Front, and the wooing of individuals who, our enemies yesterday, became our friends and allies today. It all had a most confusing effect upon us. But the 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 approached my Section organizer and asked in his opinion, why the C.P. of Spain does not come out for the freedom of Spanish Morocco and give land to the landless peasantry. His answer was clear and unequivocal, "You are developing dangerous ideas." In other words, do not dare question or even dis-

ARCHIE SAVAGE WILL DANCE AT THE NEGRO DEPARTMENT AFFAIR

The Negro Department has been fortunate in once more securing the services of Archie Savage to dance at its affair on Saturday night at the Mingo Club, 2237 Seventh Avenue.

Archie Savage has already captivated our audiences at Irving Plaza and his dancing has created such a sensation that many have been anxious to find out more about him.

He started at seventeen, studying with Hemsley Winfield and his group. Winfield quickly made him a dance director, so that Savage started his education from the top down, so to speak. He did jazz and tap dancing in those days, taking part in general shows. But he soon woke up to the fact that there was time for Negroes to find a new field and he began to study the modern dance.

He worked with an African group, with some dancers from

WORKERS' FORUM

ANTI-TROTSKYIST COMES HOME TO ROOST

Dear Editor:

Geo. E. Duemler, prominent figure in the Missouri Socialist Party for several years past and S.P. candidate for governor, has within the last few months allied himself with Oscar Ameringer's "American Foundation for Abundance," and is now an active propagandist for the A.F.A., which advocates political action mainly through the Democratic and Republican parties.

Members of the A.F.A. have talked about Duemler seeking the Republican candidacy for Congress. It is not known whether Duemler still maintains his membership in the S.P.

In October, 1937, it was Duemler who did the job of expelling the Trotskyists from the S.P.—chiefly because the other leading S.P.ers, although they did not like the Trotskyists, were suspicious of their Clarity National Executive Com-

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

The majority of the active rank-and-file of the SP went with the Left Wing, and formed the Socialist Workers Party here. Since then, the SP has been completely inactive. It has held only one public meeting here in two years, and that was more than a year and a half ago; and no effort has been made to sell or distribute SP literature. Duemler apparently became disgusted with this doing nothing policy, and turned to the A.F.A., which has recently succeeded in stimulating a number of former members and staunch supporters of the SP to an extraordinary degree of activity—getting them to subscribe to the American Guardian.

The SWP, during this period, has held dozens of public meetings; and within the past two months alone has sold over a thousand pieces of SWP literature.

Stalin-Hitler Pact Final Straw, Another C.P.er Joins the S.W.P.

class, and given a transfer to a Bronx Section where I was almost unknown.

Realizing that the C.P. was betraying the working class with its new class collaboration policy and its stifling Tammany-like bureaucracy, I dropped out of the Party. My "dangerous ideas" grew deeper at this support of a capitalist candidate.

About a year later a few of the most militant and devoted leading comrades in the Section criticized our section organizer for sabotaging the Anton Bok strike and naively brought it to the attention of the District Committee. Because they dared attack a machine man of the bureaucracy's own choosing, the District Committee cooked up charges against the three comrades and removed them from all responsible posts on the grounds of factionalism. The case caused a deep ferment in the Party in Yorkville and two branches, the 14th A.D. and the 16th A.D., went so far as to pass resolutions condemning the decision and demanding a review of the case. Needless to say, the cynical bureaucracy refused even to acknowledge it.

Independence Punished

In my branch a resolution was proposed to uphold this criminal decision. Because I dared to get up and speak against it and rallied enough support to my position to defeat the resolution, I was punished by being fired from the function I then held—instructor of the section new-members

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ARCHIE SAVAGE WILL DANCE AT THE NEGRO DEPARTMENT AFFAIR

The chief virtue of this program, according to its proponents, is that it represents the absolute minimum on which all 12,000,000 of America's draftable men can agree. The main theme of most of the speakers was that these 12,000,000 ought to organize; but it was always carefully explained that the League offers nothing more definite in the way of a program than the above four points.

And the failure of the meeting underlined the poor strategy of trying to win over American youth with the dreary prospect of "year-round, peacetime military training on a voluntary basis"; and on the basis of vague promise; to "secure

Let the People Vote on War!

TEACHERS UNION DISAFFILIATES FROM C.P. 'PEACE' ORGANIZATION

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

(Continued from Page 1)
retrenchment in education did not originate last night. On the contrary, the teaching profession has been confronted with a sharp crisis for a year. What, then, caused the new line?

The background of the "new line", apart from the fact that hundreds of Union members have been signing petitions circulated by the Independent Group calling for disaffiliation from the American League, naturally lies in the profound crisis within the American League and within the ranks of the Union membership as a result of the Hitler-Stalin Pact and the new position of the Communist Party.

Discard Old Line

The C.P., not knowing itself what the next step in the foreign policy of the Soviet Union will be, finds it necessary to throw completely overboard its 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, wants to prevent that fight from being introduced into the Union ranks.

Aside from the thoroughly reactionary motivation for the proposal, as the Independents pointed out, politics, where it concerns the teachers, cannot be removed from the Union and is not removed by the simple act of disaffiliation. To make sure that the Union will not suspend its anti-war activity, especially at such a critical time, and because the Independents do not think that "the war question is too hot to handle," the Independents introduced a motion after the resolution was passed stating that this resolution to disaffiliate in no way prevents the Union from carrying on its anti-war activity. This motion was unanimously passed.

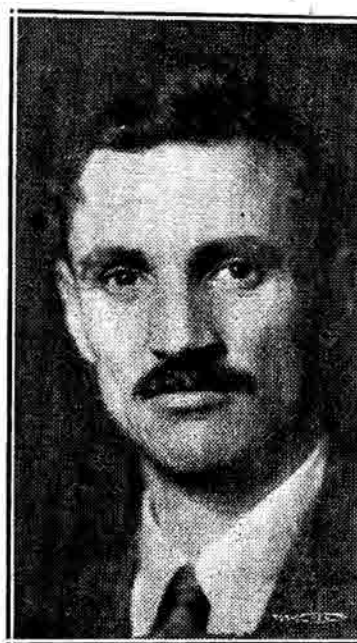
More than ever, it is necessary for the Union to educate the teachers on what war will mean for them and how to keep

America out of war. This, as the Independents pointed out, is absolutely indispensable if the Union is to recruit the thousands of teachers who are ripe for organization and if the Union is successfully to lead the fight against the budget cutters. To achieve this, however, it is absolutely imperative that the Stalinist stranglehold on the Union be broken. The Union membership, through the efforts of the Independent Group, is beginning to become aware of the problem. Last night's meeting represents a big milestone in the struggle to give the Union a healthy, progressive leadership.

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.

OUR CANDIDATE



GEORGE LYMAN PAINE

YOUNG MEN WANT JOBS—NOT GUNS

When President Roosevelt four weeks ago issued an order calling for an additional 150,000 recruits for the armed forces of the United States, recruiting stations stayed open night and day awaiting an influx of men to fill two newly created motorized artillery regiments.

But the eligible youth of Cleveland prefer jobs to service with Uncle Sam's armed forces. The available figures are an indication. Applicants for relief against applicants for service with the Army, Navy and Marines is compared as follows:

Army—0 . . . WPA—12,000
Navy—0 . . . CCC—600
Marines—0 . . . NYA—2000

ANNOUNCEMENT

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A Lesson from the Last War

The Rich Got Richer--The Poor Were Killed

By EVELYN DANE
(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

WASHINGTON, D.C. — War-time boom profits, corresponding to the 150% returns obtained by American industry during the last imperialist blood-bath, and a quick emergence from its ten-year depression are now an immediate and happy prospect for American capitalism.

Government officials, scanning financial reports, already note a ten-year high in industrial activity with the future of more than a score of basic industries more auspicious than at any time since 1927.

With American factories flooded with orders from European belligerents and with even greater profitable production possible the moment the arms embargo is lifted, the New Deal bureaucrats finally see a concrete solution to the plaguing problem of unemployment.

Scrap Labor Laws

The necessity of attempting to appear as a liberal government by making reluctant progressive concessions to labor and at the same time propitiating the ruling class will no longer exist, government officials state openly, as soon as the country is regimented for war.

All important labor legislation will be scrapped and labor's voice in democratic decision will be annulled "for the sake of the nation," while the industrialists and financiers, deprived of exorbitant profits during the last eight years, will be appeased by the same profit-making spree that they had from 1915-1918.

New Deal officials are realists and cynics. They know and admit frankly that lifting the arms embargo must mean the extension of war credits to the belligerents who buy American munitions. This means, they acknowledge, junking of the Johnson Act which prevents European debtors to the U.S. from obtaining further American loans.

Once American investments and loans in France and England again approach, as they did in 1917, the point where their default would cause domestic panic, American armed forces must again step in to protect those interests. State Department officials admit privately. And America at war would be the complete solution—industries operating at top production; labor stifled and

emasculated, and profits driving skyward.

Fortunately for the plans of these bureaucrats no legislation has been enacted in the twenty years since the last imperialist blood-bath to threaten the profits of the DuPonts and Morgans.

All curative legislation inspired by the post-war revelations of 100-150% profits on war materials was killed in committee by the profiteering lobbies. The last two-weeks' boom in steel holds out promise to Tom Girdler and his colleagues for equalling the first four months of U.S. participation in the war when steel prices sky-rocketed from 274 to 370.

Other industrialists recalling the 139% profits made by Otis Steel even before we entered the war, the 112% profits made by Allegheny, and the 90% profits made by Lukens Steel, have started putting pressure on Washington.

The golden record set up by one airplane engine firm, which, starting with a \$1,000 investment, reaped an \$11,437,250 income at the end of the war, is still a beckoning remembrance for many American capitalists.

Profits of 100% in shoes, clothes, fuel, food, minerals, chemicals and fabrics were the rule, not the exception. And the reason why these staggering profits were possible, New Deal economists point out, is because wages were not increased to keep pace with the rising cost of living.

War-time profits on munitions were exceedingly high but the peace-time armament profiting since 1920 have been even higher in many instances, government figures show. Three years ago, Carnegie Steel calmly admitted that its bid on armor plate for the Navy, gave it a profit of 58%. In the same bidding Midvale asked a price that would have given it 81%.

In 1933 Carnegie Steel made 42% profit on a Navy contract for turret armor, but unsatisfied with this, the corporation upped its prices \$40 and \$50 a ton during the next two years. Sperry Gyroscope which supplied the air forces with flight indicators made an average profit of 54% of cost. Profits went as high as 51% on a single order for the Army air corps.

In aviation, Wright Aeronautical Company showed profits of 29% in 1927 and 44% in 1928 on sales to the Navy, and 93% on profits on sales to the Army in 1926.

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THE 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 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 non-aggression 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 in Africa, by his observation of the international situation and 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 the days when every class, every group in Spain, was fighting 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 the Stalinist press and not find one clear call. "Moors, use your arms for your independence." They sent men to fight, they sent ambulances, Yergan agitated for Spanish democracy. But "the independence of Spanish Morocco"? Not a word. And why? Because they did not want to overthrow Spanish imperialism; they wanted to maintain Spanish "democracy." With Spanish Morocco as a colony of this "democracy" just as East Africa is a colony of British "democracy" and the Belgian Congo is a colony of Belgian "democracy." Independence for Morocco? Under no circumstances, said Stalin: "I want an alliance with Britain and France against Germany. A socialist Spain? An independent Morocco? If I or my Communist Party fought 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 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 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 the war. He wants to prevent America from assisting Hitler's 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 may 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
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I would like to get better acquainted with your paper, the *Socialist Appeal*. Please send me sample copies for the next few weeks.

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WPA Prisoners' Morale Splendid as Minneapolis Frame-Up Trial Opens

(Continued from Page 1)

Claus Union, able chairman of the AFL's WPA Defense Committee, was chosen a delegate to the convention of the American Federation of Labor by the recent meeting of the Minneapolis Central Labor Union. Murk is now in Cincinnati. He has already met with Green and the executive council, and it is certain that the Minneapolis defense case will come up on the floor of the Cincinnati convention. It is understood the AFL council is preparing a resolution on the Minneapolis case to be presented to convention delegates.

Tag Day Plans Fixed

Over four hundred union women and girls have volunteered to sell Labor Defense Tags throughout Minneapolis tonight and tomorrow, to raise funds for the defense. The Tag Day is sponsored by the AFL defense committee, and hundreds of dollars are expected to be raised by this means.

FBI agents are now continuing their stool pigeoning, this time in St. Paul, gathering evidence to present to the federal grand jury when it reconvenes, October 23 to continue its investigation into the WPA strike. The St. Paul union movement is bracing its feet for the anticipated attack, and the WPA Defense Committee set up by the Trades and Labor Assembly is already raising property and funds to be used as bail.

Trials May Last Months

The present trial is expected to last for several weeks. There will be at least nine more trials, involving from two to ninety

defendants (the "conspiracy" case de luxe). With yet more indictments in the wind, it is obvious that the Minneapolis WPA defense case will drag out for many months—if Murphy and Roosevelt dare to carry through the frame-up to the bitter end. And with the Minneapolis frame-up becoming a national issue in the American labor movement, the million-headed protest of the workers may yet tear the hands of the War Deal from the throats of the militant local union movement.

Shachtman and Paine Charge Boss Candidates Evade the Main Issue

(Continued from Page 1)

when it was founded twenty years ago. Once a working class revolutionary party, it is today an appendage of the Soviet foreign office."

That the Communist Party is nothing more than a propaganda agency for the Kremlin was amplified by Shachtman when he illustrated how the Communist Party follows closely in the wake of Soviet diplomacy.

The ALP and War

Discussing the close collaboration of Stalin with Hitler, Shachtman stated, "It is interesting to note in connection with the peace terms submitted by Hitler that No one would give active backing to the im-

perialist peace of Hitler — no one except Stalin."

Referring to the resolution adopted by the American Labor Party on the war and on the Stalin-Hitler pact, Shachtman declared, "After a few years of public pleading for nothing more than good municipal government, not to mention its private horse trades with the Democratic and Republican parties, the American Labor Party suddenly discovered the rest of the world."

"The ALP leadership, with a remarkable suddenness and without recourse to ordinary democratic procedure, adopted a resolution which brazenly declares for a democratic war against Germany."

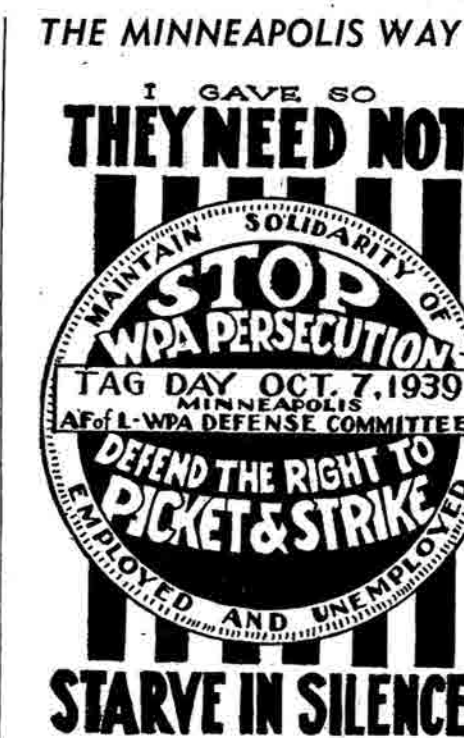
"Similarly," the speaker went on, "with a remarkable suddenness, Rose, Antonini and Company discovered, after all these years, that the ranks of the ALP contained Communist Party members. The expulsion of the Stalinists from the ALP is bureaucratic from beginning to end," Shachtman charged, "because the manner of that expulsion drive is borrowed from the book of Stalinism itself."

Quill's Stand

Commenting on the threatened rejection of Michael Quill as the official ALP Councilman candidate for the Bronx, Shachtman stated, "Previously, in exchange for the work done by the Stalinists in building the district clubs of the ALP, Rose and Antonini gave the Stalinists a representative or two on its election slate. That is how Michael Quill happened to get elected to the City Council. The present differences between Rose and Antonini on the one hand and Quill on the other hand," Shachtman explained, "is that the former support the war aims of Wall Street while Quill supports Stalin's joint war with Hitler. These differences are the differences of two sets of agents in the service of two different bands of oppressors," Shachtman declared.

Counting Fists

"In Manhattan and the Bronx the workers have the opportunity to vote for a revolu-



Hundreds of union women and girls wore this tag on Saturday, October 7, when they went out collecting funds for the defense of the Minneapolis W. P. A. prisoners, those now on trial, and those 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 Roosevelt strike-breaking machine in Minneapolis.

The WAR DEAL

By DWIGHT MACDONALD

"There is something phoney about this war," remarked Senator 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 neutrality legislation, in which Borah himself is a leading participant, 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 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 and reservations one might expect considering the big property interests at stake. But there still remain certain powerful sections of big business inclining more, for the present, to an isolationist 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 leading the fight against raising the arms embargo. In Vandenberg'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 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, timing. Both sides in Congress insist that nothing is further from the minds of their honorable opponents than dragging this fair 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 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.

It is easier to expose the Roosevelt Administration's war drive than it was to expose that of the Wilson Administration because this time big business has channelled its war aims through the governmental apparatus, so that the War Deal acts in a much more aggressive and wholehearted 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 government in this war crisis is demonstrated by the recent liquidation of the War Resources Board. When the WRB was set up last summer, headed by Stettinius of the Steel Corporation and composed mostly of DuPont and Morgan executives, there was a loud outcry from liberal, labor and left-wing New Deal sources. As the debate on neutrality opened in Congress, the WRB threatened to become a really serious talking point for the isolationists. Therefore, the day before Congress met, Roosevelt suddenly announced that the WRB would meet once more, draw up a report, and then commit hari-kari. He also went out of his way to publicly humiliate and repudiate Assistant Secretary of War Johnson, author of the WRB plan and the "man" of big business in the War Department.

Loud were the outcries of victory among the liberals and the left isolationists. Actually, no more had happened than that the President, for sound reasons of immediate political strategy, had decided that the WRB had been sprung on the public a little prematurely. He therefore quietly withdrew from this too advanced position, incidentally stealing a good deal of the thunder his isolationist opponents were preparing for him in Congress. As *Time* (Oct. 9) put it: "About all they had left to hit him with then was the reasonable supposition that Big Steel's Stettinius will be back on the pre-war scene in Washington at some more politic time."

"Reasonable" is a classic understatement.

Latin American Notes

No. 6 of Boletín de Información, bulletin of the Pan-American and Oriental Bureau, sub-secretariat of the Fourth International, has recently been issued and No. 7 is about to be published. No. 6 of the Boletín contains the Bureau's Manifesto on the War and its Application to the Latin American and colonial countries. No. 7 will contain articles on recent developments, a statement of resignation from the Communist Party of Cuba by one of its leading members, comrade Jose A. Guerra, and some documents from Brazil. Anyone interested in Latin American problems can get copies of these bulletins or other literature in Spanish by writing in for them.

PERU

From Peru comes an interesting 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 President Benavides to live in exile, issued a pamphlet in Chile giving support to Benavides' candidate in the coming presidential elections! Ravinez calls this candidate "the leader of democratic Benavidism" (!)

It's too bad Stalin is changing the line so soon; the Stalinists groveling at the feet of the various dictatorial agents of "democratic" imperialism was fast developing 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 their royal 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 Peru] have revolted against the line of collaboration with tyranny put forward by Senor Ravinez in his recent pamphlet!"

Argentina

From Argentina comes a new pamphlet, "La Revolución Mundial y la Traición 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-Hitler pact.

Uruguay

Similar leaflets have arrived from the Bolshevik-Leninists of

Uruguay and from our Mexican comrades of the Partido Obrero Internacionalista. Our Mexican comrades, being rid of the sectarian group of C—, and the tempestuous Rivera, have also begun the publication of a fortnightly paper, *Lucha Obrera*, in addition to their excellent theoretical monthly, *Clave*.

Brazil

From Brazil comes news of the launching of the Partido Socialista Revolucionario, section of the Fourth International. The founding congress of the P.S.R. was held this summer and brought together into one organization the "old Trotskyists" of the Partido Operario Leninista and a large group of dissident old militants from the Communist Party under the leadership of the Sao Paulo Regional Committee of the C.P. The congress consolidated the organization and adopted a resolution of greetings to comrade Trotsky, as well as several resolutions on the international and national situation and the tasks of the P.S.R. in the struggle against the Vargas dictatorship and its Yankee imperialist masters and for civil liberties and economic betterment.

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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.

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Trotsky Analysis of U. S. S. R. in War Highlights November New International

"THE U.S.S.R. IN WAR," by Leon Trotsky, will be featured in the forthcoming November issue of *The New Internationalist*, which will be out in a few days. In his most penetrating manner Trotsky discusses in detail the role of Stalin and the U.S.S.R. in the imperialist war and also takes up the perspectives and prospects in the next period of the international labor and revolutionary movement.

Among the questions discussed by Trotsky in this brilliant analysis are the following:

1. The German-Soviet Pact and the Character of the U.S.S.R.
2. The Nature of the Soviet State.
3. Is the Soviet State a Cancerous Growth or a New Organ?
4. The Early Degeneration of the Bureaucracy.
5. The Conditions for the Omnipotence and Fall of the Soviet Oligarchy.
6. What if the Socialist Revolution is Not Accomplished?
7. The Present War and the Future of Modern Society.
8. New Conceptions of the State: The Theory of "Bureaucratic Collectivism."
9. Totalitarian Dictatorship—A Condition of Acute Crisis and Not a Stable Regime.
10. The Orientation Toward World Revolution and the Regeneration of the U.S.S.R.
11. Defense of the U.S.S.R. and the Class Struggle.
12. The Question of the Occupied Territories.

13. The Soviet Union and its Relation to the World Proletarian Revolution. The above outline of the contents of Leon Trotsky's penetrating article indicates the depth and scope of Trotsky's analysis of the Soviet Union, the war, the future of the labor movement and the international socialist revolution. **Negro Articles** Because of the timeliness and great significance of Trotsky's article, a change is being made, in part, in the contents of the November issue, which was originally slated to be largely a Negro number. Important articles on the Negro question will appear in the November issue, but also in subsequent numbers of the magazine. To be sure that everyone interested in Trotsky's analysis obtains a copy of the November issue, the Management urges that extra orders be immediately placed in advance. The subscription rate remains at \$2.00 per year and single copies may be purchased at 20 cents. Address: **THE NEW INTERNATIONALIST** 116 University Place New York City, N.Y.

