

# Vote for SWP Anti-War Candidates!

WORKERS OF THE  
WORLD UNITE!

## Socialist Appeal

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

All Over the World,  
The Fourth International  
Fights Against the War

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# CHAMBERLAIN REJECTS HITLER'S TERMS

## Pacific Coast Sailors Chalk Up New Victory Against Shipowners

Sliding Scale of Wages, Broadening of Basis for Overtime Pay Are Written Into Agreement Despite Stalinist Sabotage

By BILL MORGAN

SAN FRANCISCO, Cal., Oct. 10.—The Sailors Union of the Pacific scored a smashing victory over both the shipowners and the Stalinists here last night when the membership voted to accept an agreement reached by the Union committee with the shipowners granting important concessions in working rules and conditions of employment on deep water ships. The settlement will result in pay for overtime not previously recognized as overtime and provides for a sliding scale of wages to be determined by profits of shipowners with a basic minimum wage of \$72.50.

The agreement further provides for the re-opening of negotiations for increased wages within ten days after Congress revises the Neutrality Law and again every six months after that date.

S.U.P. Stronger

This victory, won despite carefully planned strategy of both the shipowners and the Stalinist betrayers to crush the most militant union in the west, strengthens the position of the S.U.P. as the champion of the maritime workers. Isolated and doublecrossed by its enemies, the S.U.P. proved that militant action in the face of danger can produce victory for the workers.

The shipowners demanded a 60-day extension on the contract. The longshoremen, under Bridges' leadership, were quick to accept this offer and even included a clause in the extension which would add another twenty-one days in the event that failing an agreement a strike

vote should be in progress. The Radio Operators, the Marine Cooks and Stewards also went for this 60-day extension. The Masters, Mates and Pilots signed a 90-day extension and the Marine Engineers Beneficial Association a five months extension.

Stalinist Strategy

The shipowners were proceeding with their plan with the open assistance of the Stalinists. They both hoped by this action to force the Sailors either to strike alone or to tail along behind the sell-out artists—Bridges and Co.

The Marine Firemen and the Sailors, however, got together and agreed to stick together. Their committees had joint sessions with the shipowners. Then, out of a clear sky, the Firemen's committee signed the 60-day extension.

The Sailors' committee held out. They refused to agree to anything more than a seven-day extension. If negotiations could take place in two months, why not now? The 60-day extension

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## Committee Formed to Aid SWP Campaign

See Big Labor Vote In New York City for Shachtman and Paine

Declaring that the anti-war, anti-fascist candidates of the Socialist Workers Party would roll up thousands of labor votes in the Councilmanic election this November, Dwight Macdonald, secretary of the Campaign Committee, today pointed out that ten thousand signatures had been secured over a

BULLETIN

We are informed, as we go to press, that the New York Elections Board has ruled George Lyman Paine off the ballot. In our next issue, we shall present the facts as well as a report of the action contemplated by the New York District of the Socialist Workers Party.

period of three weeks to place Max Shachtman, candidate for the Bronx, and George Lyman Paine, candidate for Manhattan, on the ballot.

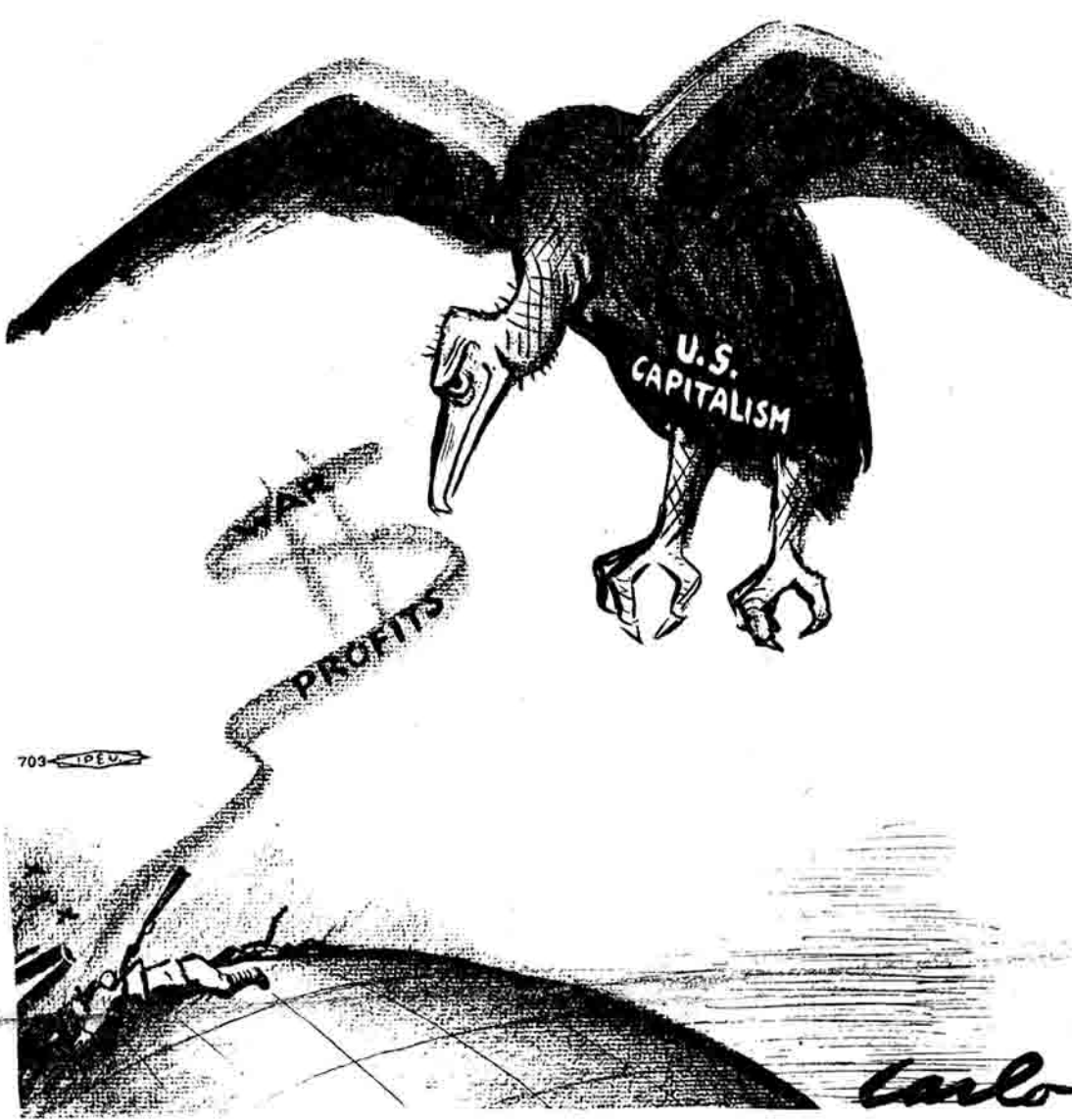
The Campaign Committee, it was made public today, includes James Burnham, Treasurer, Dwight Macdonald, Secretary, and George Novack, Felix Morrow, James P. Cannon, Albert Goldman, John G. Wright, Ray Cushing and Anthony Chapman.

Reactionary Challenge

Although the petitions bearing the signatures assuring the candidates a place on the ballot have been filed with the Board of Elections, it was learned today that an undisclosed source had submitted a brief challenging the candidacy of Max Shachtman. Commenting on the challenge, Secretary Macdonald informed the Socialist Appeal that according to the election law the challenger must specify the reasons for contesting Shachtman's candidacy.

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## The Smell of Carrion!



## Can One Justify the ALP War Position?

The Lovestoneites Provide a "Left Wing" Apology for the ALP Leaders' Support of the War Camp of Anglo-French Imperialism

By FELIX MORROW

The "resolution on the present European conflict," adopted October 4 by the state executive committee of the American Labor Party has become a touchstone for determining where every group and individual in the labor movement stands on the war question.

There are three positions on the ALP resolution:

1. The pro-Anglo-French camp: The resolution was theirs, and openly expressed their pro-war views.
2. The Hitler-Stalin camp: Constituted by the Stalinists, their stooges and supporters, as war-mongering as the pro-Ally camp, but in the opposite trenches.
3. The Third Camp: The camp of the revolutionary struggle against war. It is opposed both to the pro-Ally and pro-Hitler camps. The Socialist Workers Party unequivocally places itself in this third camp.

YOU MUST CHOOSE ONE OF THESE CAMPS

No group in the labor movement can avoid aligning itself with one of these three camps; and where each group stands is determined by where each group stands specifically on the ALP resolution. For all general principles have meaning only as they are concretized by specific positions taken on significant occasions, such as the ALP resolution.

Both the pro-Ally and pro-Hitler camps, as we explained in our last issue, are deliberately spreading confusion on the issue involved in the ALP resolution. Each dubs the other war-monger and attempts to conceal its own pro-war stand. The pro-Hitler camp employs ultra-radical phraseology against its opponents, and the pro-Ally camp is defended on its flanks by a "left wing" which also employs anti-war language. Every utterance

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## CIO Convention Yields to Pressure of War Dealers

Though Majority of Delegates Oppose War, Bureaucrats Put Over a War Line

The CIO convention rushed through a maximum of business this week with very little discussion on important issues as John L. Lewis and the top leadership sought to make a strong impression in the labor movement.

The convention did not endorse Roosevelt for a third term, leaving the entire question of CIO political policy in the hands of Labor's Non-Partisan League, which is controlled by Lewis.

Get Behind War Deal

Yielding to the pressure of Sidney Hillman, Lewis reversed his stand on foreign policy and supported a resolution, which passed unanimously, that approved Roosevelt's pro-war policies under the guise of "neutrality measures."

A one-paragraph resolution on labor unity which, in effect, avoided any commitment on the question of negotiations with the AFL, was approved as this problem was given scant attention by the convention.



## MASS DESERTIONS IN CANADA SHOW ANTI-WAR FEELING

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

SASKATOON, Sask., Oct. 10.—Mass desertions have already started in the military forces encamped here, according to reports emanating from the encampment.

Desertions, as high as 30 a day, are said to be exceptionally high among those French-Canadian transient workers who were driven in to the army by hunger and cold when they failed to obtain harvest work.

From three independent and usually reliable sources it was learned that on one recent day alone 17 uniforms were found thrown aside down in the "jungles" by the river.

## Watson, Anti-War Fighter, Sentenced to Year in Jail

Wide Working Class Support Pledged to Canadian Arrested for Anti-War Speech

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

TORONTO, Oct. 10.—Arrested after making a militant anti-war speech at a Toronto open-air meeting of the Socialist Workers League, Canadian section of the Fourth International, Frank Watson, young English-Canadian worker, has been sentenced to a year in jail under the dictatorial War Measures Act. Despite the vicious repressive measures of the Liberal Mackenzie King War Government, Watson's bold action and the truth of his statements about the war have resulted in widespread sympathy and interest in his case. Workers and intellectuals in the Canadian Commonwealth Federation (social democratic party) and in other organizations have responded to a call for funds to appeal Watson's case, and a new trial in the appeal court

## But Leaves Loophole For United Imperialist Front Against Russia

Stalin Having Imposed 'Mutual Assistance' On Latvia, Esthonia and Lithuania Is Now Making Demands on Finland

Although generally interpreted in the press as an "emphatic negative reply" to Hitler's proposal to settle the war, the Chamberlain address to Parliament this week nevertheless laid the basis for bringing into the open the negotiations which are evidently being carried on unofficially and behind closed doors.

The loophole was contained in the concluding section of the address which said: "Either the German Government must give convincing proof of the sincerity of their desire for peace by definite acts and by the provision of effective guarantees of their intention to fulfill their undertakings or we must persevere in our duty to the end."

## SPEED-UP IN AUTO BRINGS STRIKE THREAT

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

DETROIT—Resentment and protest over the introduction of new speed-up operations and the failure of the Chrysler Corp. to settle old grievances brought the threat of a strike of 55,000 UAW-CIO unionists this week.

Union officials filed a five day notice required by law with the state labor mediation board announcing its intentions unless satisfactory negotiations ensued.

Union Demands

The nub of the whole situation is that the union demands the right to take part in the setting of production schedules and asks higher wages, adjustment of working hours and changes in working conditions. The company has arrogantly refused all union demands.

Instead it introduced new speed-up schedules which were impossible for the workers to fulfill. When Dodge workers protested against this action, the company locked out 10,000 employees. However, the entire union in the Chrysler plants went to bat on the question and the corporation-wide strike has been threatened.

Federal conciliators have stepped into the situation to seek a compromise agreement and avert the strike.

Just what Chamberlain would construe as "convincing proof of sincerity" and "effective guarantees" was not made clear by the British Prime Minister. His vagueness on this score, like that of Hitler's speech, only confirmed the opinion that the important and specific questions involved are subjects not for public discussion among the imperialist rivals but only for the private diplomatic feelers that continue to be put out everywhere and which may very easily lead to a change in the composition of the warring camps.

British Dilemma

What some of the imperialist critics of Chamberlain denounce as his "indecision in prosecuting the war" is only a reflection of the dilemma of the British ruling class. On the one hand, it would like to prevent the continued rise of its German rival as a world power of first and perhaps decisive magnitude. On the other hand, it fears that the prolongation of the war on the present basis would not only increasingly exclude the prospect of converting it into an imperialist offensive against Russia—for years the fond hope of England's imperial masters—but would in all likelihood lead to such social convulsions as would threaten the rotten existing order in Europe with working class revolution.

This general fear is shared to a large extent by Hitler. At the least, the Nazis are not unaware of the revolutionary danger from their own working class if the war continues to impose intolerable burdens upon the masses. As the New York Times sums it up in its editorial comment upon Chamberlain's address:

"In view of the swift march of imperial Bolshevism, sweeping down on Europe from the East, there must be many Germans, in the army and elsewhere, who see the future clearly as a choice between a continuation of the war, culminating in a revolution of the left, or an early peace, to be achieved through an amalgamation of the forces that are opposed both to war and communism."

In this comment is contained not so much the opinion now held by "many Germans," as the opinion that the British imperialists, about whose politics and aspirations the New York Times is very well informed, would like "many Germans" to hold.

How the situation will actually develop in this conflict between the inter-imperialist contradictions, which prevent a

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## Behind the Lines

By GEORGE STERN

Trial peace balloons are popping more loudly right now than the guns on the western front.

Behind the empty rhetoric of Chamberlain and Daladier, behind the veritable flood of inspired peace rumors in the press, it is not difficult to discern the dim outlines of backdoor diplomatic schemes.

On the German side the purpose of peace maneuvers is plain. Even an armistice now on Germany's terms would be a victory for Hitler of the first magnitude. That is why there will be no armistice—on Germany's terms.

But what form would Anglo-French counter-proposals take? Nobody takes seriously the pompous bunk in the Chamberlain-Daladier speeches about national honor, condoning of "aggression," and non-recourse to force in international relations. Least of all does anybody seriously believe that Britain or France are going to make any possible deal with Hitler contingent upon the re-creation of Austria, Czechoslovakia, or Poland.

Already, when pressed on the subject of their war aims, the French and British leaders are growing progressively vaguer. They cannot define specific aims of a war the precise form of which has not been determined as yet.

It is in this domain that the backdoor diplomats are busily at work. In London, Paris—and in Washington—ways and means are undoubtedly being sought to shift the war's axis in a way that will turn its sharp end against Russia. The spectacular Russian grabs in the Baltic and now into Scandinavia are undoubtedly a source of profound concern to the leading Nazis and the Reichswehr generals. In those circles the Brit-

ish and French may hope still to find the lever with which they can swing the guns around at Russia.

That is why it is no accident at all that Washington is receiving with every evidence of serious consideration the Scandinavian plea against Russia's drive. That is why the entire propaganda of the Allies is concentrating on convincing the Germans that the Hitler-Ribbentrop policy has actually proved disastrous for the Reich because it leaves Germany's fate in the war up to Stalin.

It is the hope seriously entertained in London and Paris that the fragile Berlin-Moscow axis can be smashed if the right formula is found that accounts for the slow tempo of military operations. With winter almost upon us, the probability of an offensive along the western front fades, and leaves a period of four or five months ahead for the diplomatic game to be played out.

Stalin's moves have shown that he has by no means discounted this possibility. The military provisions of the pacts forced on the Baltic States are all aimed, without exception, at the future contingency of conflict with Germany. But whether they will actually enhance his ability to meet such a conflict, if it comes, is something only the event will show.

Stalin's whole policy is based precisely upon avoiding such a clash. From this we may safely assume that if the Anglo-French maneuvers should show any signs of succeeding at all—and this is still far from the fact—Stalin will pull some speedy surprises of his own out of the Kremlin's bag of tricks. By next spring—perhaps even sooner—the war may present a quite different aspect than it now so provisionally assumes.



# The Fourth International Leads the Fight Against War

AUSTRALIA

## Appeal Issued by Comrades Tells Workers: The Enemy Is in Your Own Country

We are in the shadow of the new imperialist slaughter. As in 1914 we are asked to defend democracy, to resist aggression, to defend—not poor little Belgium but heroic Poland, and behind the speeches is the same grim mockery: the imperialists of Britain and France are about to fight, not for the defense of a sacred cause but to preserve the loot of centuries, gathered together in Asia, Africa and India. German fascism fights not for honor, or for living room, but for its share of imperialist plunder. Hitler is your enemy. . . . YES. So are Chamberlain, Daladier, Menzies, and all their crew.

Workers of Germany and Italy are your FRIENDS. . . . The war-mongers tell you that the cause of the war is in the will of the German people to dominate Europe. A lie. The cause of this and of every war between nations is the desperate greed that is prepared to countenance the slaughter of millions to safeguard profits, dividends and markets. Workers of Germany and of Italy desire a war no more than you do.

As in 1914 the workers of the world are flowing to the trenches, caught up in the wave of hysterical propaganda that disguises the imperialist's real aims, but in the horror and destruction of this war the masses in the trenches will be forced to recognize their real enemies far more clearly and quickly than in 1914-1918.

The so-called Labor Parties, as in 1914, aided and abetted by the corruption of Stalinism, have assisted the capitalist war-mongers by even more hysterical demands for war, but the issue now lies nakedly clear. Millions of workers have believed that in a world war in which the Soviet Union was engaged they could protect her by siding with her imperialist allies. Stalin's deliberate alliance with the fascist leaves opposed two camps, imperialists and fascists, one as vile as the other.

In 1916 in the midst of the slaughter the revolutionary groups assembled at Zimmerwald, appealed to the workers through the hysterical imperialists' propaganda to end war by revolution. We issue that appeal now. Revolutionaries are pitifully small in numbers; so were the Bolsheviks in 1914. We stand alone, separated from the so-called Socialists by our Marxist principles. More and more clearly will the starving masses, made desperate by hunger and slaughter, recognize at the critical hour the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL as their friends and leaders.

We work steadily towards our revolutionary goal. Through the hysteria of the declaration of war, we issue our appeal to the workers to end the insensate slaughter of capitalism in its death agony. To replace it by a socialist order that will end war, not for a brief twenty years, but for ever.

FOR THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL!

FOR THE WORLD SOCIALIST REVOLUTION!

## The Fourth International in Action

In other columns of the Appeal we are printing the story of the arrest and conviction of Frank Watson, Canadian anti-war militant, and the activity launched around this case by the Canadian section of the Fourth International. But Canada is not alone in giving proof of the vitality of a movement as the only international organization upholding the banner of Lenin, Liebknecht, and Luxemburg in the uncompromising struggle to oppose imperialist war.

Below we reprint manifestoes published by our comrades in France and in Australia upon the outbreak of war.

From all sections of the world communications are pouring in indicating that in this hour of crisis the groups of the World Party of the Proletarian revolution are acting as one. These incipient actions augur well for the fight to create a world socialist federation, which is the only realistic solution to the holocaust that has been unleashed by the decay of the capitalist empires.

In succeeding issues the Appeal will carry news from the Third Front—the front of the Fourth International—as a regular feature.

ENGLAND

## Despite the Restrictions Imposed by War-Time Rule, Revolutionists Carry On

LONDON, October—The party office at Red Lion Court is now closed.

The organization functioned very well during the crisis period. Thousands of leaflets were distributed and bill-posted. A special issue of the Militant was brought out. Many meetings have been held.

In many areas the Militant Labour League branches demanded and obtained special meetings of their local Labour parties and received considerable support for their uncompromising line of revolutionary struggle against war.

The ILP and the Scottish Socialist Party—a centrist organization affiliated to the Labour Party—have declared against the war officially, although their parliamentary representatives continue to act in the role of a pacifist left wing of the capitalist politicians. Which is about what can be expected of the centrists in critical times.

While it would be untrue as yet to say that the masses are already opposed to the war, it can be stated quite accurately that there is not the slightest enthusiasm among them for the war. Nor has there been any sign of flag-waving. It is still possible to put forward an opposition viewpoint without causing a riot.

Among the working population there are considerable grievances already. Food prices are rising, unemployment is going up with leaps and bounds as a result of the dislocation of economy. Many families are reduced to penury because their wage-earners have been called up. These deep grievances are accentuated by the various restrictions which have been imposed on movement, recreation and normal pleasures.

As was to be expected, the labor movement is being turned into a part of the war machine. The nauseating speeches of the labor leaders in Parliament are known from accounts in the general press. Many of the local organizations have ceased to meet and apparently intend to stop functioning for the duration of the war. The Labour Party Executive is making arrangements for local parties to cooperate with the Ministry of Information.

It is social-patriotism naked and unashamed.

The Stalinists are losing ground rapidly. Their fellow travelers, the Duchesses, etc., left them high and dry when they found that Stalin had "betrayed the British Empire." They are still demanding, although in a shamefaced manner, a pact with Russia. For the rest they demand a more vigorous military policy and a new "People's Government", whatever that means. But their days are numbered. The Daily Worker is reduced to half its former size and we have received reliable information that some of their local organizers have not been paid for several weeks. It looks as if the well has run dry.

The government is permitting the Mosley Fascists to conduct a demagogic campaign against the war which they say is for the benefit of the Jews.

The Militant Labour League is concentrating on the tasks of endeavoring to keep the workers organizations functioning, on demands for the maintenance of our democratic rights and on economic issues.

GERMANY

## A Letter from Our German Comrades in Copenhagen Sees Liberation Ahead

Dear Comrades:

We take this occasion to send fraternal greetings to our American comrades and through them to all the comrades of the Fourth International from the midst of a Europe embroiled in war.

Comrades, we realize full well that the outbreak of the second world war constitutes a terrible defeat for the international working class and that the conclusion of the pact between the Soviet Union and Hitler will have a deep-going depressive effect upon the proletariat. But we believe, on the other hand, and can already observe in practice today that the destruction of the illusions regarding the revolutionary regime in the USSR has made the best sections of the labor movement more easily accessible to our ideas and principles. The counter-revolutionary policies of Stalin, which we had already pointed out in Spain, has now become manifest and indisputable. We have no illusions that the reaction of the workers to the pact has as yet a consciously revolutionary character, and that it is deter-

mined on the one hand by instinctive rejection of an alliance with the hangers-on of the German working class and on the other hand by democratic and national illusions which have been nurtured these last few years precisely by Stalinism and its people's front.

Once again the prognoses and the principles of the Fourth International have proved to be correct. The organizations of the Fourth International are the only ones upholding the banner of internationalism and of the revolutionary struggle against war and imperialism at the outset of this second world war which the present generation experiences.

In the last few weeks before the outbreak of war and a week after its outbreak we had direct communications from the comrades in Germany and we shall send you a detailed report regarding them at the next opportunity. Even in fascist Germany the Fourth International has considerable nuclei, which in a given situation can form the central body of a revolutionary leadership. Six years of fascism have not been able to Nazify the broad layers of the German working class. Betrayed by the great labor parties, suppressed by fascist terror, the German working class cannot as yet offer active resistance to fascism today, but confines itself to passive struggle. Nevertheless even today the workers constitute the central force of the deep-going defeatists sentiment in the ranks of the people. It awaits the liberation from the Nazi yoke by a defeat in the war, but at the same time is alert to the threat of imperialist invasion and of a new and more acute Versailles.

We beg you to communicate our sentiments to the international organization and to remit our warmest fraternal greeting to comrade Leon Trotsky. His name is of immense significance to the European working class today.

FRANCE

## Manifesto to French Workers Calls for a Socialist United States of Europe

Barbarism and the totalitarian regime are triumphant in both camps. Are the workers going to participate in diplomatic disputes to discover who is or who is not the "only responsible party"?

THOSE REALLY RESPONSIBLE ARE THE CAPITALISTS OF ALL COUNTRIES, whose regime is bringing us to the precipice of all civilization.

Responsible is German imperialism and its fascist regime.

Responsible is Anglo-French imperialism and their so-called "democracy".

Workers, are you going to risk your skins so that the domination of finance capital may triumph again all over the world?

In the hour in which capitalism identifies itself with ruin, oppression, barbarism, and fascism,

WORKERS OF FRANCE, remember the words of Liebknecht:

"The enemy is in our own country."

Remember, the struggle for peace means:

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE REVOLUTION AND FOR THE SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE!

Executive Committee, Fourth International

## Thousands of These Were Distributed to Protest Frank Watson's Conviction

The following is a copy of a leaflet issued by the Canadian section of the Fourth International protesting the conviction of Frank Watson. Under the circumstances of war-time dictatorship, the issuance of any kind of revolutionary literature involves the severest difficulties. That our Canadian comrades were able to publish this leaflet and distribute it in thousands of copies, indicates that the fight against war will be pressed by our comrades despite the severest restrictions. And further, that the banner of revolution is still flying in Canada and will continue to fly there so long as a single Fourth Internationalist is left free by the war-lords.

On Sept. 15, Frank Watson, a young English-Canadian worker was arrested after speaking to a sympathetic audience at an open-air meeting in Toronto. On Sept. 21 he was convicted of "making statements likely to prejudice recruiting of His Majesty's Forces". On Sept. 28 he was given the vicious sentence of 6 months imprisonment plus another 6 months or \$300 fine.

The chief witness against Watson was an individual who admitted being an ex-recruiting officer and who delivered a fascist harangue in the court room. Magistrate Browne, who summarily convicted and sentenced Watson, is a Tory, an ex-policeman without legal training, a notorious labor-hater. The War Measures Act, under which Watson was convicted, had not been seen by anyone in the court except the Crown Prosecutor and has not yet been published!

WHAT DID WATSON SAY? THE TRUTH! He was sent to jail for pointing out that "the Canadian Government could find a hundred million dollars to employ men at \$1.30 a day to go over and stop bullets but it had not found any money to help the single unemployed before the war." Watson said what the masses of this country know to be the truth—that the war in Europe is an imperialist war, with the arch-reactionary Hitler on one side, backed at the moment by the treacherous Stalin regime, and with the imperialist governments of Chamberlain and Daladier on the other. Watson declared that the workers of Canada had nothing to gain by fighting and dying in such a war.

The Canadian Fourth Internationalists support these views. They will continue to denounce the imperialist war despite police terror. They call upon all who wish to regain democratic rights in this country, to join with them in demanding the repeal of dictatorial War Measures Act and protesting the conviction of Frank Watson.

Under the plea of fighting fascism and saving democracy abroad, the War Measures Act is bringing fascism and ending democracy at home.

Trade unionists, members of CCF, CP and other workers' parties, introduce resolutions of protest in your branches:

DEMAND RELEASE OF FRANK WATSON.

REPEAL THE WAR MEASURES ACT.

AGAINST FASCISM AT HOME AS WELL AS ABROAD.

RESTORE FREEDOM OF SPEECH, PRESS AND ASSEMBLY.

Issued by CANADIAN SECTION of the FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

September 30, 1939.



## SLOW WEEK FOR SUBSCRIPTIONS

The past week was a rather slow one insofar as subscription results to the Socialist Appeal were concerned. 20 new subscriptions and 14 renewals were obtained with Chicago, New York and Boston making the best showing. The results by cities are as follows:

	Re-	New
	new	total
Chicago	4	—
New York City	3	—
Boston	3	—
Oakland	2	—
Detroit	—	2
Philadelphia	—	2
San Francisco	1	—
Toledo	1	—
Albany	1	—
Youngstown	1	—
Malden, Mass.	1	—
Akron	1	—
Wash'ton, D.C.	1	—
St. Louis	1	—
Bart'ton, Ohio	—	1
Los Angeles	—	1
Kansas	—	1
San Diego	—	1
Total	20	14

The various cities appear to be functioning more systematically in the distribution and sale of the paper at public meetings, street gatherings and house to house efforts.

The Madison, Wisconsin unit of the YPSL placed an order for 25 copies regularly. Youngstown is now effectively disposing of a substantial

quantity on the streets through the efforts of a couple of live-wire comrades.

**GOLDMAN MEETINGS HELP DISTRIBUTION**  
The Goldman tour mass meetings are also being used by several locals for effective distribution of the paper for advertising purposes for the meeting.

In Boston the comrades now appear to be making efforts to follow up contacts and prospective subscribers, both to the Socialist Appeal and The New International. Should the Boston comrades take to this work seriously good results will be forthcoming.

Rochester found it advisable to reduce its bundle to 30 for the time being, but Boston again brought its bundle back to its usual quota by restoring its reduction of 30.

In far-off Plentywood, Montana, John Boulds does excellent work in distributing both the Socialist Appeal and The New International, and in recent weeks has sent in a number of subscriptions.

Again it is necessary to emphasize the necessity for branches to pay up more promptly on their bundles accounts, in order to avoid being sent the publications by C.O.D. On the whole payments are being made regularly, but several large locals still have substantial debts to overcome.

## War--What For?

A Series of FOUR Friday Night Lectures

# JAMES P. CANNON

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 20—8:30 P.M.

## The World in Flames Again

The Real Meaning of the Present War

IRVING PLAZA, Irving Place at 15th Street

Subscription for series: 75c • Individual lectures: 25c

## In the Labor Unions

By B. J. WIDICK

Alarmed by the remarkable progress of the powerful teamsters unions despite stiff opposition of the employers, the federal government has begun a nation-wide drive against the truck drivers in the hope of curbing them.

Not satisfied with trying to persecute the Minneapolis labor movement and its spearhead, the teamsters union, the Department of Justice this week obtained indictments against the teamsters union in Washington, D.C. and St. Louis.

Indications were that this procedure would be followed in other key cities as special grand juries were convened in Cleveland, New York and elsewhere.

**Move Against AFL**  
Ostensibly, the Department of Justice campaign is part of a "trust-busting" campaign in the building industry. Actually, it is a crudely-concealed maneuver to smash the AFL unions in this field.

The frame-up of the Minneapolis strikers was the first major move in this carefully laid plan of the G-men.

The brazen impudence of the strike-breaking G-men in Minneapolis, their vicious arrests in the vain hope of intimidating the workers, and the whole slew of phoney charges against the strikers is a hint of how they will proceed on a national scale.

Attorney General Frank Murphy, self-styled "friend of labor" had all his high-powered talent find legal loopholes so that the G-men could give an

excuse to muscle into the unions.

The Sherman anti-trust law, which was supposed to be against big monopolies and their restraints of trade, was given as the legal basis for the government persecution of the unions.

Local 639 of the IBT in Washington and five union officials were indicted under the Sherman Act on charges of obstructing and delaying work on government and private buildings by strikes, boycotts and violence.

The intent of the federal government is clear. The G-men hope to establish through the present indictments that strikes, boycotts, and "violence" (instituted by strike-breakers but blamed on unionists) constitute a violation of the Sherman anti-trust law.

This would provide a legal basis then for curbing all militant action of the teamsters and other unions. It would paralyze the union movement, and make possible chiseling, breaking of contracts, reduction of wages, and a return to the open shop in the trucking industry.

However, a powerful union movement of 400,000 organized truck drivers surging forward with gain after gain is hardly going to take this lying down. The AFL building trades unions are also going to be subject to a heavy battery of government persecution. It will not be the purpose of the G-men to clean up any bad situation in the building trades union but rather to use any mistakes made by union officials to crack down on the whole labor movement.

Behind the present moves of the federal government to harass and intimidate the union movement if possible, is Roosevelt's desire to whip labor into line with his pro-war policies. In the campaign to hodge the labor movement into the military machine, every possible stick has to be picked up and thrown at the unions. The present G-man drive against the AFL unions is a major part of this campaign, and Roosevelt is handling the "Big Stick."

## Watson, Anti-War Fighter, Sentenced to Year in Jail

(Continued from Page 1)

many, furnished living proof of Watson's contention in his speech that "the first casualty in the 'war for democracy' is democracy itself—the workers' rights of free speech and assembly."

Watson began his speech by declaring the unalterable opposition of the Fourth International to Hitlerism not only in Germany but in every country, including Canada. For this reason they opposed the war, as a war of rival dictatorships "fighting each other for a redistribution of the spoils stolen from the masses of the world."

"Democracy" at Nine Cents a Day

The British Empire, he continued, is no democracy but a ragbag of territories stolen from other peoples during the last 200 years. What democratic rights the workers of England and the dominions have wrested for themselves have still been at the expense of dictatorship over the 500 million colored peoples of the Empire. We are being asked to fight for a "democracy" which forces women to work at nine cents a day in the coal mines of India, which compels the Negro workers of South Africa to live in a pestilential ghetto and to carry as many as eleven "passes" in order to move about, a democracy which confiscates the land of Kenya farmers and forces them into wage labor at starvation rates.

We are asked to ally ourselves with another "democracy," the French Empire, with a similar record, which shoots down strikers at home and abroad and drowns in blood the native movements for colonial freedom. With such "allies" Canadian workers are asked to fight for the rescue of the "democracy" of a gang of reactionary Polish landlords, oppressors of Ukrainians and persecutors of Jews.

Hitlerism in Britain

Already, Watson continued, we have been deprived of the only democratic rights we should wish to defend. In Great Britain the Privy Council—an appointed, not an elected body—has been given powers equal to Hitler's and has used them to end civil liberties, to rule by decree, and to break up trade unionism by diluting the industrial plants with thousands of non-union workers. In India the viceroy, appointee of the Privy Council, also rules by decree and vetoes the legislation of a Parliament supposed to represent 360 million people.

The Fight Is In Canada

Here in Canada the same things are happening. "Workers, when they tell you to fight for democracy in Europe, reply by fighting for it here. Fight to prevent your trade unions going the way of the British unions, fight to defend and extend your living standards. Let the bourgeoisie give us democracy if they want us to fight for it."

"When the Canadian millionaires felt that their wealth was safe they turned the unemployed single workers on the streets to starve without a cent of relief. Now that they feel their wealth is in danger, they can afford \$1 30 a day and 85 cents living allowance to these same unemployed to fight for Canada. For whose Canada? Not ours; we own nothing. The unemployed are being paid only to become the cannon-fodder of imperialism. Workers, let us first own Canada before we fight for it."

The Stalinists began by holding meetings in support of the war and have ended in silence and confusion now that Moscow has told them the war "is turning into an imperialist war" after all. The Canadian Commonwealth Federation has allowed its openly social-patriotic parliamentary group, representing the MINORITY position in theas in peace.

## A.F.L. GOES ON RECORD FOR FDR WAR POLICIES

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

CINCINNATI, Ohio — Although the vast majority of delegates at the American Federation of Labor convention showed their antagonism to dragging American labor into war, the AFL executive council was able to obtain unanimous support for a resolution which backed Roosevelt's pro-war policies.

William Green, who was re-elected president for his fifteenth consecutive year, opened up a strong attack on the CIO in his acceptance speech, thereby indicating that the AFL leadership was determined to achieve unity only on the basis of its own program.

Vicious red-baiting resolutions were also passed by the convention, which attacked all progressive tendencies within the labor movement besides blasting the Stalinists.

**Teamsters Dispute**

A bitter dispute between the teamsters union and the brewery workers union rocked the convention floor this week. The brewery workers seek to impede the progressive organizational drive of the teamsters, and even went so far as to obtain court action to restrain the teamsters.

A special committee was set up to consider this dispute.

"A World in Flames"

Speaker: ALBERT GOLDMAN at St. Paul SWP Headquarters 147 West 5th St. OCTOBER 25th—8 P.M.

central committee, to be its official spokesmen. The Fourth Internationalists alone have continued their organized resistance to imperialism in war

## DETROIT LOCAL SELLS APPEAL IN NEW WAY

The Detroit Branch of the Party has been successfully selling numerous copies of the Appeal and establishing many contacts in the following manner:

Squads and groups of comrades go out at least once each week with the latest copy of the Socialist Appeal.

Each comrade is assigned to cover a particular apartment house, or block of homes, in a workers' district.

Then the actual work begins. Doorbells are rung and when the potential purchaser comes to the door, the Appeal salesman explains that he is giving away a working class, anti-war newspaper. After explaining the anti-war character of the paper and what it stands for he asks for a small contribution to enable the publication of more Appeals carrying their anti-war message.

The Detroit branch has reported great success and friendly receptions from all workers visited in this way. We urge other branches to utilize this method of spreading the anti-war message of our revolutionary press.

HEAR ERNEST ERBER

Editor of "The Challenge of Youth"

on

Neutrality and the Trade Unions

THURSDAY, OCT 19-6 P.M. at Workers Cultural Center 125 West 33d St., N.Y.C.

Aus: Needle Trades Branch

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# THE NEGRO QUESTION

By J. R. JOHNSON

There is no evil without good. What the Negro means to the American revolution and the world revolution is being demonstrated with unmistakable clarity by the actions of the Stalinists in Harlem, in Chicago and on the West Coast. With their new line of "down with the imperialist war," they feel they can once more appeal to the Negroes.

For years they have been discredited among thinking Negroes everywhere. They lived entirely on the remnants of their past reputation. In their press they concentrated on Negro singers, Negro athletes, Negro parsons. But politics, particularly revolutionary politics, occupied a distinctly minor part of their propaganda and agitation.

They reached their lowest ebb during the weeks that followed the beginning of the war. In Harlem for instance, they practically disappeared. You could not walk along Lenox Avenue or Seventh without running into groups of Negroes discussing the war and the role of the Negroes. There were West Indians denouncing Britain, Garveyites denouncing all whites and praising Japan, Americans sneering at Roosevelt's war for "democracy"—these and other groups were well represented. But you could not find a Stalinist. They stayed at home, and not only because of the mental effort of unravelling the new line. Militant Harlem Negroes showed an inclination to beat them up, in other words, to apply to them that kind of liberation from Stalinism that Stalinism had just applied to the Poles in western Ukraine. James Ford wrote a letter to the Amsterdam News. The Amsterdam News did not publish it for weeks, and then only when Ford was attacked by someone who had read Ford in the Daily Worker and denounced him in a letter to the News.

## Stalinist Name Is Mud

All this was not due entirely to the Hitler-Stalin pact and the invasion of Poland. The Stalinists' name had been mud in Harlem for a long, long time. The Negroes had watched them boost the League of Nations as a means of saving Ethiopia, and had seen the deflation and collapse of that balloon. The Negroes had been able to compare the relative values of Litvinov's speeches on the side of Ethiopia and the oil Stalin sold to Italy. They had been ignorant and backward enough to believe that to make speeches on behalf of an attacked colonial country and to sell oil to the attacking imperialist country might be very good Stalinism but was no more than a base betrayal of the Negro people. The Stalinists said that to denounce such a two-faced policy was Trotskyism. But without caring what the Stalinists called it the Negroes left the Communist party.

Political dishonesty leads inevitably to personal and organizational corruption. In order to meet the pressure of Negroes hostile to their policy, the Stalinists had to take such organizational measures inside the party as drove from them even those Negroes who had been faithful to them for many years. They set out on their crusade to make America fight a war against Hitler, at that time Stalin's enemy. They changed their make-up from red to stars and stripes, and began their seduction of the intellectuals and all the petty-bourgeois democrats.

But in these new circles they found the Negroes to be an encumbrance. All these New Dealers, singers of the Star-Spangled Banner, and believers in Americanism, whose paths into the Communist party were strewn with roses by Browder, Hathaway, and Amter—all these people brought with them, as an indispensable part of their American "democracy," the ill-disguised prejudices of the American "democrat" against the Negro. Between the rival claims of American "democrats" and the American Negro masses, the Communist party did not hesitate.

They were out to get the "democrats", so they shoved their Negro sympathizers into the Negro Congress and they invited a body of Negro parsons and bishops, newspaper editors, and small business men into the Congress in order to be sure to stifle Negro militancy. They discovered a basis for Negro emancipation in Father Divine. Altogether, between 1935 and 1939, they disrupted and corrupted the Negro revolutionary movement as thoroughly as they ruined the revolution in Spain and the revolution in France. The Negroes retaliated by leaving them in thousands. During the last two years they lost some 1,600 Negro members in New York State, about 80 per cent of their Negro membership. The Hitler-Stalin pact and the Stalinist invasion of Poland were merely a climax to a series of events which had thoroughly exposed Stalinism among the Negro people.

## Venture into Public Again

Then a few weeks ago came the change in the Stalinist policy. Stalin tied the Soviet regime to Hitler, and in the present stage, a victory for Hitler is an essential part of Stalin's policy. The Stalinists had disrupted and confused the revolutionary movement among black and white workers by their incessant propaganda and agitation for Roosevelt and the New Deal and Roosevelt's war for "democracy." All this in obedience to Stalin. So now, still obedient to their Moscow master, they are striving tooth and nail to keep America from intervening on the side of the "democracies," to stir up anti-war agitation among the British and French workers and colonials—in other words, to help Hitler as much as possible. In this activity, as in their previous period of calling all who opposed a war for the "democracies" Trotskyite-fascists, they are acting merely as agents of the Moscow bureaucracy and not as leaders of the revolutionary movement.

What is most noticeable and most revealing, however, is that after crawling in the grass and sneaking around in the byways and alleys of the Negro areas for some years, they are now once more out in full blast. "Down with the imperialist war!" "The Negroes have nothing to gain by this war!" "War for democracy is a fraud!" "The war is a war between two bloated groups of capitalists!" Day after day in the Daily Worker the Stalinists thunder these irreproachable sentences. They hold meetings. They distribute leaflets. They beg for money. We can expect not only the continuance but the intensification of this renewed activity among the Negroes.

And why? Because they know that by the exposure of the conditions of Negroes in Africa, by the exposure of the fraud that African Negroes have anything to gain by fighting for British and French imperialism, by exposing the imperialist character of the war, they have the possibility of gaining a greater response among the oppressed Negro people than among any other section of the American workers and farmers. This is indeed the depth of political dishonesty and degradation for Ford and the Negro Stalinists in particular. They seek to use Negro militancy for the sake of Hitler's victory.

Any Negro who understands what the Stalinists are after must make it his duty unremittently to expose them. The Fourth International, the Socialist Workers Party, have never doubted the tremendous revolutionary energy that is bottled up in the Negro masses. We claim particularly that our special theoretical contribution to the Marxist understanding of the Negro question, is that the Negro's place is not at the tail but in the very vanguard of the revolutionary struggle against capitalism. But it is their very eagerness and response to the revolutionary appeal against the war that make the Negro masses so susceptible to this most recent Stalinist maneuver. The Stalinists have come most hopefully out of their holes and corners. They know that this new policy gives them a chance.

We therefore have to show that the last thing they are thinking of is the emancipation of workers, white and black. We of the Socialist Workers Party shall point out that the Negroes and the white workers must fight against the imperialists, both gangs of them, in war as in peace. But we must not for one single moment neglect the exposure of the new Stalinist line. We must analyze it to its roots and point out that whatever these people may say at a given moment, however sincere may be the Stalinist rank and file, yet those who are responsible for their policy are thinking of nothing else but how best to preserve the power and privileges of the bloated and murderous bureaucracy of Stalin.

"LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CAN NOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHEN LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS BRANDED"—KARL MARX.

# Special Committee Aids Shachtman, Paine Anti-War Election Campaign

(Continued from Page 1)

dacy within six days, the challenge to be held before an open session of the Board of Elections. The Campaign Committee issued the following statement late today on the challenge:

"In view of the fact that the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party in the present Councilmanic Campaign stand committed to an uncompromising struggle against war and American participation in it, certain leading reactionary forces in this city have tried to deny them a place on the ballot. These maneuvers, especially those made by Tammany Hall at the opening of the campaign, are in violation of the democratic right of minority parties to a place on the ballot. The thousands of workers in this city who have already signed the petitions nominating Max Shachtman for the City Council must meet the reactionary offensive begun against its anti-war candidate by protesting to the Board of Elections any step to remove his name from the ballot. Moreover, every worker must see in this reactionary maneuver an attempt to remove the only candidate for whom an anti-war vote may be registered. Rally behind the anti-war candidates! Support, vote and fight with the anti-war party, the Socialist Workers Party."

## ALP Role

Commenting on the American Labor Party's role in the present elections, Shachtman and Paine today declared, "The top leadership of the ALP is in for a rude shock in the coming election. They apparently expect under the cover of an altogether belated and fraudulent 'struggle' against Stalin's agents in this country—the Communist party—to corral votes in support of Roosevelt's policies to drag the United States into war by easy stages, much after Wilson's pattern. Thousands of workers who recognize Stalinism for what it is—the mortal enemy of labor the world over—will not be duped by this latest maneuver. These workers will vote for the genuine anti-war and anti-fascist candidates of the Socialist Workers Party."

## National Campaign

At another in the series of

# LEGION WHOOPS IT UP FOR U.S. WARRECRUITING

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) WASHINGTON, D. C.—Going the whole hog on President Roosevelt's proclamation of a state of limited national emergency, the American Legion, actively cooperating with a government department, has made the nation's capital the center of a heretofore unheard of and energetic recruiting drive.

On stationery supplied by the Department of Agriculture, the Legion has issued a circular urging the recruitment of 500 men into a newly formed anti-aircraft battery.

The circular, bearing the imprint of both the Department of Agriculture and the American Legion, and dated October 10, states: "President Roosevelt has declared the existence of a limited national emergency, and as one of the emergency steps, he has authorized an expansion of the nation's military services." Leaving no doubt as to where the administration stands with relation to private agencies in the drive to expand the nation's war machine, the American Legion circular notes, "The Department of Agriculture has been called to co-operate in the campaign for recruiting which is now under way."

No Accident Declining, perhaps out of fear, to state the brutal rigors of service with the National Guard, of which the anti-aircraft battery is a unit, the circular paints a pretty picture of life with the military, declaring that the anti-aircraft "moves comparatively little and eats regularly." Unable to solve the perennially agitating problem of unemployment, the Roosevelt Administration urges the youth to join the armed forces if it wants to "eat regularly." Accompanying the leaflet is a "live" demonstration of the anti-aircraft service on the

Shachtman campaign rallies in the Bronx, George Clarke, speaking at Elmsmere Hall, 170 Street and Morris Avenue, Wednesday night, Oct. 11, declared, "The present Councilmanic campaign, although it is given scant attention in the press, is of tremendous national importance. For the first time since the war started in Europe, the workers will have an opportunity to declare themselves on it. For the first time since that war began they will have the chance to solidize themselves with the THIRD camp: with the anti-war camp, against the war, against its instigators, against its apologists, for the Socialist Revolution."

The Campaign Committee also announced today that Candidate Shachtman will address an election rally at Hollywood Gardens, 896 Prospect Avenue, on Wednesday, October 18.

# A Summary of the War Steps Taken By the Roosevelt Administration

By SHERMAN STANLEY

A brief survey of the steps already taken or in process of being taken by the Roosevelt government shows how far the American government has gone in its war aims.

We list some of the highlights in the plans of FDR to drag us into the World War on the side of the "Allied" imperialist powers.

(1) Proposed repeal of the Arms Embargo Act. This is scheduled to be completed shortly and then the Allies will begin purchase of arms, munitions, implements of war, etc. Germany, of course, can purchase nothing.

The "debate" of America's doddering, old Senators has degenerated into a tragic farce already. One by one, the "isolationists" fold up, or reduce their opposition to a pathetic squawking. The results of the debate are cut-and-dried.

## "CREDIT AND CARRY"—THE OLD MORGAN GAME

(2) Proposed 90-day credit clause in the "Title and Carry" provision of the Repeal Act. This gives the Allies needed credit, plus the fact that actual ownership of the goods remains with the American capitalists during the danger period of transit.

This 90-day credit provision, calculated to assure an early entry into the war, is the 1939 equivalent of J. P. Morgan's long-term credits of 1914.

(3) Proposed exemption of the Canadian-United States border from the "Title and Carry" provisions of the Act. This leaves the Canadian border wide open as an entry through which Americans can carry all forms of supplies bound for the Allies. Let it be remembered that Canada is at war already!

(4) The "Declaration of Panama" establishing a zone around the two American continents, in some places extending 600 miles out to sea.

This will protect the British and French merchant marine as well as protect colonial possessions of the Allies within the Caribbean area, in actuality, however, extending US imperialist hegemony over Latin America.

## COMMITTED TO ALLIED CAUSE

(5) In addition, there are a series of "minor" facts, all of which taken together further raise the sum total of commitment to the Anglo-French imperial cause: (a) government censorship of information on ship cargoes and sailings; (b) the drive against German-Nazi agents, while British propagandists are untouched; (c) the ac-

streets of Washington. Stationed before the Department of Agriculture Building is a three inch anti-aircraft gun flanked by two huge searchlights which rake the skies at night in search of "enemy invaders."

It is no mere accident that this fancy recruiting campaign comes at a time when the Senate is engaged in important debate on the Arms Embargo. The recruiting campaign and the anti-aircraft demonstration, as if by design, might remind recalcitrant Senators of their patriotism in the face of the "European danger." It is the same part of that scheme in which the eagle eyes of the President "sight Submarines off the Coast of Miami."

# Economic Consequences of the Stalin-Hitler Pact

# Soviet Economy Cracking Under War Strain

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

Since September 11, one week prior to the issuance of orders to the Red Army to march into Poland, the official Moscow press has ceased publishing all data relating to the daily production in key industries: iron, steel, rolled steel, freight car loadings, and the automotive industry. Never before has the publication of these figures been suspended for so long a period. No official information whatsoever is now available relating to the progress of the Third Five Year Plan inasmuch as the publication of all other data was suspended early in 1938. The only possible interpretation for this veil of secrecy is that production is on the verge of breakdown, if it has not already collapsed.

The figures previously published—for August and the first week in September—unmistakably denoted a decline in pro-

duction, in some instances below 1936 levels. The decline since then has apparently assumed catastrophic proportions.

## LABOR SHORTAGE DEEPENS CRISIS

One of the primary reasons for the current crisis, as the Socialist Appeal has already reported, is an acute shortage of labor, accompanied by enormous labor turnover and aggravated by the mobilization of the army which has made further inroads into the already inadequate labor force.

The situation is so grave that the official press has carried unequivocal confirmation of it.

The crisis in oil production is depicted in great detail in Pravda for September 8, where we find the following significant statement:

"In Azneft (one of Baku's biggest oil fields—JGW) the labor turnover has been enormous. In the past seven months the trusts have hired 12,960

workers but have dismissed 14,144. Among those who leave are not infrequently members of the engineering and technical staff. The turnover is to a large measure due to the impossibility of providing living quarters for all."

V. Malyshev, People's Commissar of Heavy Machine Building, is also quite outspoken about the crisis in his department. He writes: "At the present time only 84% of the workers scheduled by the plan are working in the enterprises of our Commissariat, 10% less than the total employed in the same period last year. Yet our program has grown 20% as compared with last year."

## HUGE TURNOVER IN LABOR CRITICIZED

Eloquent as these admissions are, they pale in comparison with a statement printed in Pravda in connection with a review of a book just issued by the Institute of Economics and entitled: "Labor in Socialist Society." In a review of this book, the author is criticized sharply for slurring over "self-criticism and analysis of the shortcomings in the organization of labor in recent years."

"The causes of these shortcomings," thunders the reviewer, "are reduced by the author almost exclusively to the consequences of the wrecking activities of Trotskyist-Bukharinite and other agents of capitalism. . . . But it is a mistake to reduce all our failings and lapses solely to wrecking. For instance, on the very important question of the labor turnover, the author gives a very detailed and interesting analysis of the causes of turnover in the period of intervention and civil war. But in illuminating this very same question for the recent years, he confines himself to data relating to a decline in labor turnover which began in 1932. Meanwhile, in 1938 and 1939 we have witnessed a considerable increase of labor turnover in a number of the most important branches of industry, especially in coal mining, iron ore production, heavy metallurgy, etc. Furthermore, this turnover has been one of the vital reasons for the failure of these branches of industry to fulfill the plans. The labor turnover is due primarily to shortcomings in the organization of labor and of wages, lack of attention to new workers, lag in light mechanization and so on."

(Pravda, September 14.)

In the recent weeks the press has carried only triumphant and patriotic articles, and glowing accounts of mass meetings in factories where resolutions are passed acclaiming the progress of the Red Army and pledging new records in production.

But the admissions as well as the even more eloquent reticences of the official press speak a situation that is diametrically opposite to the one Stalin seeks to depict. In our opinion it is by no means excluded that strikes are once again taking place in factories. The last time there were strikes was early in January, immediately after the passage of the Draconian labor laws, the primary intent of which was precisely to halt the labor turnover. In January, too, Pravda ceased for a few days to publish the key data for production. Stalin's latest "victories" are proving to be the most disastrous for his regime.

# West Coast Sailors Chalk Up New Victory

(Continued from Page 1) was a clear case of giving the shipowners the advantage. The shipowners wanted to negotiate in mid-winter when shipping is at its lowest point. Also the shipowners recognize the bootlicking policy of Bridges and hoped to make the S.U.P. dependent upon the phoney Communist party line.

By holding out and preparing to strike the Coast if necessary the S.U.P. completely reversed

the shipowner-Stalinist strategy. By demanding either a settlement or a strike within seven days the S.U.P. put the buck squarely on the shoulders of the bosses and their stooges. As a result it won a wage increase and a sliding scale of wages, through overtime working rules.

## Militancy the Key

The S.U.P. proved again that militant action can force the bosses into line. It proved that the 60-day extension was a farce—a phoney demand. Further, the 60-day extension signed by the Stalinists merely served to demoralize the ranks of the Longshoremen and other maritime unions. The membership of these unions can now see the situation clearly. The whole attempt of the Stalinists and shipowners to dump the Sailors Union of the Pacific proved to be a boomerang.

The S.U.P. negotiating committee reported progress on the Steamship agreement, and expects negotiations will be completed this week. Main questions—wages, flat rate for handling cargo and the six-hour day—are yet to be discussed. The strike vote on these negotiations is still held in abeyance.

opportunity for intervening a little more deeply in the European conflict, has made one of his customary hypocritical appeals for "justice" in the form of a declaration to the Moscow government on behalf of Finland. Ambassador Steinhardt apparently conveyed the Roosevelt view on Finland to the Soviet government in his interview with Molotov.

So far as is known, Roosevelt has not protested against the continuing suppression of Puerto Rican independence and sovereignty which is being carried out by his own government and its armed forces. That (and similar things) is evidently a horse of a different color.

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The Labor Bookshop has recently received a boxful of rare books and pamphlets written by Lenin, Trotsky and other labor writers. Those who write or visit us immediately will receive first choice. Write now and tell us of your needs. THE LABOR BOOKSHOP, 116 University Pl., N.Y.C., will fill all orders promptly.

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## CHAMBERLAIN

## REJECTS

## HITLER TERMS

(Continued from Page 1) united front against Russia, and the aspiration of all the bandit empires to reduce the Soviet Union to a colony divided among themselves, remains to be seen.

## Baltic Moves

Meanwhile, the Stalinist regime is continuing its course of expansion and consolidation of position in and around the Baltic sea and lands. After having imposed "mutual assistance" pacts upon Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia, it is now preparing to proceed full steam ahead against Finland. It is still too early to say whether or not the Finnish bourgeoisie will carry out its declaration that it will not "surrender its sovereignty" without an armed struggle. In any case, its "independence" and "sovereignty" have been pretty mythical since 1917-1918, when it separated from Russia, and became a mere satellite of one or another of the big imperialist powers. The alternative for the Finnish bourgeoisie is now to continue its function of old, or to come under the none-too-gentle heel of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Roosevelt, ready to seize any



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FELIX MORROW

EMANUEL GARRETT  
Assistant Manager:  
SHERMAN STANLEY

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12. Full social, political and economic equality for the Negro people.

## A Matter of Taste

"The war of the Soviet Union against fascism will be the most just and most legitimate of all wars that humanity has known. It will be a war for the liberation of the oppressed nations reduced to slavery. It will be for the defense of the international proletariat and the culture of the whole of progressive humanity against fascist barbarism."

In these resounding words did *Pravda*, Stalin's organ, express itself a few weeks ago, August 14, 1939.

By October 9, however, *Izvestia*, the Stalin government organ, could declare:

"One may respect or hate Hitlerism, just as any other system of political views. This is a matter of taste. But to undertake war for 'annihilation of Hitlerism' means to commit criminal folly in politics."

What is Stalin's taste in this matter? Not to make war on Hitlerism, that is clear enough. But to make war on behalf of Hitlerism? If we are to believe the plain meaning of words, Stalin is prepared now, not merely to solidarize himself with Hitler on "peace terms", as he did in the *Izvestia* editorial quoted above, but to back Hitler in the prosecution of the war.

So we are informed, if we understand English, by Mr. Harry Gannes, foreign editor of Stalin's American organ, the *Daily Worker*. In the October 10 issue, Mr. Gannes says: "If London and Paris are counting on their blockade and talk of raw material shortage in Germany as a means of continuing the imperialist war, the Soviet Union will soon remedy that."

And, along the same line, the Stalinists have dropped all references to both imperialist camps being "equally guilty." This radical formulation (used for but a few weeks) is now dropped; in its place one finds only the Anglo-French camp described as "war-mongers."

This new line—more exactly, this latest unfolding of the pro-Hitler line, was ushered in by the *Daily Worker* with a tremendous front-page editorial on October 10. That Hitler has war aims is not even implied. Indeed, the only reference to Hitler is this sentence: "German imperialism, with Hitler at its head, has been forced to propose peace." Peace? Forced? By whom? Why? These key questions are not answered by Gannes or by Stalin, for the good and sufficient reason that they are conniving with Hitler in his war demagoguery.

If the Stalinists are silent about Hitler's war aims, they are eloquent on the subject of his opponents' war aims, which are the only war aims they mention. Here is the characterisation of the war in that big *Daily Worker* editorial:

"And 'Whose war is it?' as Earl Browder asks. It is an imperialist war, a slaughter for conquest and domination of the world, in which the Anglo-French imperialists propose to kill off millions of people to achieve the aims of Chamberlain, Churchill, Daladier and Bonnet."

Hitler's name used to be the only one mentioned. Then it led all the rest. Then it was mentioned equally with Chamberlain et al. Now it disappears from the list. The Stalinists have completed the transition from the camp of Anglo-French imperialism to the camp of Hitler. Just a matter of taste, you see.

## Poor Little Finland

The patriots do not miss a single trick in their campaign to whip up the war fever among the masses. One day it is poor little Poland whose independence and democratic regime ought to be saved by a world war. Another day it is poor little Latvia or Lithuania, with their no less notoriously democratic regimes that ought to be rescued by imperialism. This week it is poor (but honest) little Finland over which the patriotic scribbles are spilling their ink.

Our views on Stalin's course in the World War have been stated often in these columns. It is reactionary through and through. The pretexts for the subjugation of Finland are just as foul and fraudulent and hypocritical as they were in the case of Poland.

But no less foul, fraudulent and hypocritical are the tears and lamentations of the patriots. To hear and read them, you would think that Finland is just a quiet little mouse that wants nothing better than to live and let live. That the people of the country enjoy as close to a paradise as sinful humanity can ever hope to attain. That the government is composed of such nice people, as democratic as the dickens, and very meticulous about paying their debts.

Therefore, long live Finland's brave little army, and its heroic Field Marshal, Baron Karl Gustav Emil Mannerheim!

But Finland, after having been granted its independence from Russia by a quick stroke of Lenin's pen, has been a hearth of reaction for years. How can any informed person forget the unspeakable Mannerheim, Finland's master today—or at least its master tomorrow? Of all the butchers of the post-war White Terror against the working class of Europe, Mannerheim was perhaps the most infamous. After the Russian revolution, the Finnish workers and peasants tried to take power in Finland. They had to pay for this crime with the lives of their best sons. The Marshal of the White Terror was the same Mannerheim who today heads Finland's army. In a country of little more than 3,000,000 people, he slaughtered 30,000 workers—about one out of every hundred in the population—slaughtered them like cattle in a packing house.

Who financed the Finnish counter-revolution, who helped to consolidate it? The German Kaiser, the Anglo-French imperialists, and the United States! The debt which Finland's ruling class has been paying back to the United States with such singular regularity, is dyed with the blood of the country's martyred thousands.

So again, long live General Baron Karl Mannerheim and poor little Finland! Long live the sacred, progressive, democratic war to save and protect Roosevelt's pal—the Finnish butcher!

## Nazi on Voroshilov

The *Deutsche Zeitung von Mexico*, a Nazi organ directed and financed by Goebbels, published a long article of admiration for "Marshal Voroshilov" on Sept. 30, 1939. The author of the article is a Nazi diplomat, who has also worked in the Soviet Union. He says: "I myself met Voroshilov only a few times at official receptions in the years of my activity in the Soviet Union; but I know many of his friends including those who were in constant political and military contact with him."

The Nazi diplomat narrates in his article some heroic anecdotes about Voroshilov, and then reports about the rise of the present Marshal after the Russian civil war:

"As early as 1924, he was summoned by Stalin to Moscow as the commander of the Moscow Military District. Lenin had died meanwhile and Stalin became his successor. One of his first measures was to overturn Trotsky as War Commissar; and now it was necessary for Stalin to create a firm and reliable prop against Trotsky's supporters in the Moscow garrison, and Voroshilov was the indicated man. Only a few months later . . . in 1925, Voroshilov became Soviet Russian Minister of War and Supreme Commander of the Red Army, a post which he has occupied uninterruptedly until today, and during this period he proved to be a sincere friend of Stalin and a splendid organizer of the Soviet Russian army."

But more interesting and important is what the Nazis think today about this sincere friend of Stalin:

"The path that Voroshilov has trod, from shepherd boy to first Marshal of the Soviet Russian army is undoubtedly a most exceptional one, even for Russian conditions. It is a course achieved only by those geniuses who are born only once a century. But perhaps the military career of Klim Voroshilov is not the most important one of his life. Much more extraordinary is really the ideological reversal he went through. The little mechanic of Lugansk, one of the oldest Bolsheviks . . . who was an outspoken opponent of all state order, is now one of the first statesmen of the Soviet Union, the supreme commander of the army which has the task not only of defending the Soviet Russian frontiers but also takes care of maintaining order at home. Its needle-tempered sword strikes every one who dares to undermine the state order, destroys every one who still dares today to propagate revolutionary ideas of class struggle, of fraternity of the peoples and of world revolution. And in this sense, the life of Klim Voroshilov is at the same time a mirror of the history of the evolution of the Bolshevik party of Russia which, under the leadership of Stalin, developed from a Bolshevik party with world revolutionary aims into a national-Russian party."

## Every Worker Opposed to the War Must Take a Position Against Both War-Mongering Camps in the ALP

(Continued from Page 1)  
from either camp must be carefully analysed to squeeze from it its real meaning.

### LOVESTONEITES COME TO DEFENSE OF RESOLUTION

We now have before us the latest "left wing" attempt to confuse the issue: the Lovestone ("Independent Labor League") explanation of why its members voted for the pro-Ally resolution. Let us analyse the explanation, because it is a particularly "clever" defense of the ALP resolution. In analysing it, we will be enabled all the better to see the full implications of the ALP resolution.

The heading of the Lovestone explanation ("Workers Age", October 14) is: "ALP brands Stalinists as enemies of labor—denounces CP for backing Hitler pact." Neither in the head nor anywhere in the story is there a single hint that the ALP resolution declares for the Anglo-French camp! There is not a single quotation from the resolution!

On the resolution, all that the Lovestone story gives is this very brief (and untrue) description:

"This resolution was an illogical combination of two unrelated matters—an endorsement of the Administration policy of repeal of the arms embargo, too strongly stressing the necessity of keeping America out of war; and a condemnation of the Russo-German pact and Stalinism in America. The discussion was largely centered around the latter point, which was obviously uppermost in the hearts and minds of the assembled delegates. . . . The . . . viewpoint on the embargo was defended by Julius Hochman, general manager of the Dressmakers Joint Board, Alex Rose, state secretary of the ALP and other, who, however, stressed that with them too, keeping America out of war was uppermost in their minds."

### THE RESOLUTION SPEAKS OUT CLEARLY FOR ALLIES

Now let us compare this description of the resolution with what the resolution really says:

1. The fundamental motivation of the resolution is given in these paragraphs:

" . . . we herewith give expression to our views on the present conflict abroad. . . . 'The great majority of the American people have looked forward to the day when the remaining democracies on the European continent would find the strength to resist the brazen aggression of Hitlerism. The present war in Europe—the direct result of the Nazi invasion of Poland—has finally brought to a decisive struggle the conflict between the European democracies and the Hitler regime. In this struggle the fate of Europe hangs in the balance. A victory for Hitlerism will inevitably mean further territorial aggression, the spread of intolerance, the ruthless suppression of civil liberties and personal freedom and perhaps the final destruction of civilized life—as we know it—on the European continent."

"The American Labor party has consistently and emphatically opposed dictatorship everywhere, in any form—both from the right and the left. . . ."

In another paragraph the resolution says:

"The great majority of the American people have watched the developments of the last few weeks in Europe with deep sympathy for the cause of the Western democracies that are fighting for the preservation of those democratic values and liberties which we in this country treasure so dearly."

Such is the political position on the war laid down in the ALP resolution of October 4: unequivocal alignment on the side of the Anglo-French imperialists.

2. It is from this pro-Ally standpoint that the resolution condemns the Stalinists and the Stalin alliance with Hitler. It says:

"They (the Stalinists) know that the democratic institutions in all the democracies of Europe, as well as the fate of millions of workers are at stake. Their callous disregard of this fact stamps them as anti-democratic, anti-humanitarian, anti-labor, and the blind servants of Russian in-

ternational policy."

It is, therefore, as democratic-imperialist patriots, and not as working class internationalists, that the ALP leaders attack the Stalin alliance.

3. The same patriotic standpoint is the motivation for the resolution's support of Roosevelt's proposal to lift the embargo in order to aid Anglo-French imperialism. This is the real and logical motivation for lifting the embargo. In order, however, not to embarrass Roosevelt, the ALP resolution supports the Roosevelt proposals in Roosevelt's hypocritical terms, as a "neutrality" measure, although its assertion of neutrality at that point is in flagrant contradiction to its lengthy declaration in favor of the Allies.

### COVERING UP THE ALP POSITION

We are now in a position to contrast the actual content of the ALP resolution with the Lovestone description of it. The Lovestone description conceals the pro-Ally motivation of the document. The Lovestone description conceals the fact that the resolution's attack on Stalin flows solely from this democratic-imperialist standpoint. The Lovestone description repeats at face value the hypocritical alibi of the ALP bureaucrats that, though supporting the lifting of the embargo, they "stressed that with them too, keeping America out of war was uppermost in their minds." In all these ways the Lovestone description is a deliberate falsification, designed to cover up the war-mongering ALP bureaucrats.

The Lovestoneites voted for that war-mongering resolution. The only explanation they offer for their vote is this sentence: "Since it proved impossible to divide the resolution, it was voted on as a whole and carried 605 to 94, the latter figure indicating the strength mustered by the Stalinists and their sympathizers."

That explanation is as spurious as the Lovestone description of the resolution.

At the October 4 city conference of the ALP, to which the sentence refers, NOBODY demanded a vote to divide the resolution. Neither the Lovestoneites nor the Norman Thomas Socialists attempted to employ the many parliamentary methods available—division of the resolution, separation of the questions, amendment, substitute motion, etc., etc.—to separate the pro-Ally and pro-Roosevelt sections from that dealing with the Hitler-Stalin pact. So much for the question of fact.

Far more important, however, is the question whether "to divide the resolution" would have made any difference. If it could have been divided, the Lovestoneites are saying, then a proletarian internationalist would have been flawlessly correct in voting for the sections dealing with the Hitler-Stalin pact.

Absolutely false! The proletarian internationalist criticism of the Stalin regime has nothing whatsoever in common with the anti-Stalin attacks of imper-

ialist patriots. Isn't it obvious? Coughlin attacks the Stalinists, but we don't vote for his attacks. The Pope denounces the Stalinists, but no Marxist can associate himself with those denunciations, nor with those of Hearst. Neither can a Marxist associate himself with the attacks on the Pact of any agent of imperialism, even if that imperialist agent is an ALP bureaucrat.

### FAR FROM BEING A MARXIST CRITICISM

How, we ask, can anyone who calls himself a Marxist, internationalist, revolutionist, vote for the democratic-imperialist denunciation of Stalinism contained in the ALP resolution? What is the crime of Stalin and the Communist parties, according to those sections of the resolution (we have already quoted the relevant parts above)? The crime adduced is that the Stalinists have a "callous disregard" for the fate of the Anglo-French camp. To vote for these sections of the resolution could only mean, logically, the opposite of the Stalinist "callous disregard"—namely, to express a warm regard for the fate of the Anglo-French camp. It means to be a partisan of the Anglo-French camp. That's what the writers of the resolution meant it to be! No Marxist could vote for that. But the Lovestoneites did. And the Thomasites did.

The condemnation of the Pact for which a Marxist would vote would be one which no Antonini, Rose, Hochman, or other ALP bureaucrat could vote for. For that criticism would stigmatize as the root cause of all the other crimes of Stalinism the Stalinist abandonment of international revolution—and the ALP bureaucrats stand with Stalin on this basic question. As for the crimes which flowed from Stalin's anti-revolutionary policy and the consequent conversion of the Communist parties into agents of his reactionary foreign policy, so many of these crimes were heartily approved by these ALP bureaucrats! The Franco-Soviet pact and the consequent subordination of the French working class to their bosses via the Popular Front, in the midst of the revolutionary strikes of June, 1936; the Stalinist-Socialist votes for the French military budgets and the military loan to Poland; the crushing of the Spanish revolution in favor of bourgeois democracy (which meant in reality in favor of Franco); the subordination of the American trade unions to Roosevelt—none of this could be left out in characterizing Stalinism, and none of this could the ALP bureaucrats vote for, since they and their European brothers were with Stalin in all these crimes.

Under no circumstances, we conclude, could internationalists and democratic-imperialists vote for a common denunciation of the war position of Stalinism. In that very phrase, "to divide the resolution," the Lovestoneites reveal their complete inability (or unwillingness) to understand the difference between proletarian and bourgeois criticism of Stalin.

## CIO Convention Yields to Pressure of War Dealers

The United States Department of Labor headed by Madame Perkins also came in for its share of criticism because of its attitude towards the labor movement.

Considerable significance can also be attached to the fact that Harry Bridges, Stalinist director of the West Coast CIO, was chosen by the CIO executive board to act as chairman and introduce Lewis when he made his main report to the convention. It was a symbol of the continued alliance between the Lewis bureaucracy and the Stalinists.

Thus far Lewis has been successful in patching up the differences within the CIO and putting up a solid front for the entire industrial union movement.

But this one fact stands out, Lewis has already capitulated before the pressure of the Roosevelt administration and is going to support America in an imperialist war. In this he joins the AFL bureaucracy.

There can be no question that the majority of the delegates at the CIO convention—as well

as at the AFL convention—were opposed to war. They thought they were voting for resolutions which would help keep American workers from being dragged into war. The blunt truth is that the Roosevelt policies which the conventions endorsed mean an acceleration of the drive towards war, as the *Socialist Appeal* has often explained.

In the bitter speeches against the various Roosevelt government agencies, the CIO leaders have proved that the New Deal has been turned into the War Deal, and labor is getting the short end of the deal. This is the meaning of the attacks on the NLRB, the labor department and the administration of the wages and hour law.

The vacillation of the CIO leaders on a program for the convention is explained by this contradiction. However, in the final analysis, the bureaucrats chose the road of capitulation instead of struggle against the Roosevelt anti-labor drive.

Let the People  
Vote on War!

## IN THIS CORNER

By Max Shachtman

The Lovestoneites and Thomasites, who so painstakingly restrained their opposition to war when Alex Rose and Luigi Antonini, with their support, rammed the pro-war resolution down the throat of the ALP, are bravely giving their opposition free play in a concerted attack upon us.

They, you see, really oppose the entry of the United States into the war and they believe that their objective can be accomplished if they can find enough men and women of good will to associate with them. On the other hand, we, benighted Trotskyists, are paralyzing the struggle against war because we say that American participation in the World War is inevitable.

"Leon Trotsky's hate of Stalin rather than any logic makes him insist that the United States must get into this war. Inevitability is born of his personal desire. That kind of 'inevitability' is paralyzing, to any social determination of destiny." Thus Norman Thomas in the Call (formerly the Socialist Call).

In his column in the Lovestoneite Workers Age, Bertram D. Wolfe takes up the cry against us. He reproaches "the Trotskyites for the pseudo-Marxist theory of 'inevitability' and fatalism. We assumed we were dealing with sincere opponents of our entrance into war and we limited ourselves to warning that the doctrine of 'inevitable involvement' was theoretically false, refuted by history; that involvement or non-involvement would depend upon a living struggle which would be paralyzed by the wide acceptance of the fatalistic doctrine of inevitability."

### Exposing a Fraud

Although things look pretty black for us, we shall nevertheless try to explain our position on the question—our real position, of course. It will then be easy to understand what a deliberate fraud is being practised by Messrs. Thomas and Wolfe.

Let us consider Thomas and his S.P. first. He doesn't believe America is bound to enter the war; it is not inevitable; it must be stopped; it can be stopped. Good. But if that is the case, why does Travers Clement, National Secretary of Thomas' Socialist Party, send out a National Office Bulletin over his signature, dated October 1, 1939, and addressed "To All State, Local and Branch Secretaries" which contains the following "paralyzing" and "pessimistic" paragraph:

"In a few months, despite our efforts and those of all anti-war forces, we must realize that the United States may be plunged into this war. If that day comes, we shall be hounded as never before in our history."

When Norman Thomas doesn't let his right hand know what his left hand is doing, isn't that just a little bit of duplicity?

The case of Wolfe is even more deplorable, if only because he knows better than Thomas. He never believed it, in his old Stalinist days, when he bracketed Trotsky with the bourgeoisie and the counter-revolution. He doesn't believe it now, when he brackets us in his column with Roosevelt and Browder.

Wolfe knows perfectly well—he taught it long enough—that so long as capitalist imperialism lives, war is just as inevitable as crises and other manifestations of the inherent contradictions of modern class society. He knows also that in the present World War, the inevitability of involvement applies to a far greater number of countries than were affected in the last war. (A glance at the newspaper accounts of developments in the Scandinavian countries and Finland will help illustrate this point.)

Does this mean that the United States is bound to enter this war and enter it now? The question is concrete and specific and Wolfe knows the answer to it as well as we do. And he knows also that when a Marxist declares that America's entry into the Second World War is inevitable, he means:

So long as the Roosevelt pro-war regime, authentic representative of American imperialism and its interests, is in power in the country, participation in the war is inevitable. In point of fact, the United States already has at least one leg in the war. What else does Roosevelt's declaration on the defense of Canada mean? What else is the meaning of the Panama Declaration brought home by Sumner Welles?

### Truth Must Be Known

Do pessimistic conclusions follow from this? Does this mean paralyzing the struggle against war? Not at all. In general, the workers cannot carry on any effective struggle without knowing the truth. At bottom, Thomas and Wolfe are really saying that the workers will oppose war more strongly if they are kidded about the realities of the situation. The truth, the realities, are that under a capitalist government in this country, the entrance of the United States into the war is dead certain. Conclusion? Drive the present government out of power and put in its place a genuine government of peace. And that can only mean a workers' government. Whoever tells the workers less than this is at best a miserable pacifist phrasemonger who is doing his own bit towards dragging the workers into war by distracting them with utopias and drugging them with illusions. Whoever tells them less than this is failing to lay the basis today for the only serious struggle that can be conducted against the war after it has broken out.

### A Correction

Our attention has been called to the need of correcting a wrong impression created in last week's issue. We did not mean to imply that all the signers of the "open letter" to the League of American Writers were members of the League for Cultural Freedom. Some of them, like James T. Farrell, Philip Rahv, William Phillips and a few others, are not. Nor did we mean to imply, as some readers seem to have concluded, that we were ignorant of the position on the war question taken by this or that individual. We were and are interested in the position on the war question of the League for Cultural Freedom as an organization, for the signatories to the open letter include all the recognized spokesmen of the League. They demand a formal statement from the League of American Writers. And we demanded the same kind of statement from the Hook Committee. Thus far, of course, with no results but the continued silence of the past.

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