

# Pile Up an Anti-War Vote, By Voting for SWP Candidates!

WORKERS OF THE  
WORLD UNITE!

## Socialist Appeal

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LET THE PEOPLE  
VOTE ON WAR

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# BEGIN DRIVE FOR CANADA ANTI-WAR MILITANT

## Auto Workers Gird for Action Against Inhuman Speed-up and Lockout Attack on Unionization

FLINT, Mich., Oct. 14.—General warfare in the auto industry threatened this week end as the big corporations, leading off with the Chrysler speed-up and lockout, began a smashing attack against organized labor.

In Detroit the Chrysler Corporation locked out about 55,000 workers, who had refused to be made the victims of an inhuman speed-up that was taking its terrible toll in workers' sweat and blood.

In anticipation of pre-war military orders, the auto moguls are trying to clear the plants of organization, smash wages, and initiate a speed-up never before seen in the auto area.

The Chrysler lock-out was as brazen a union-smashing maneuver as the auto industry ever has attempted. The company first herded into the plants scores of young inexperienced workers who in most cases

had never had a job before in their lives. These workers were told to work harder and faster than anyone else if they wanted to keep their jobs. Then the whole line was speeded up to keep up with the young fellows who were green and did not realize the flink role they were playing.

However, union men in the plants saw through this ruse immediately and refused to step up production. They stuck to a normal speed. Immediately the company charged a slow-down strike, yelled bloody murder about the CIO taking "control" of the plants, and following a big publicity campaign, locked out 55,000 workers.

The Chrysler division of the UAW-CIO has notified the company of its intention to strike and Tuesday will be the deadline. The lockout affects Chrysler, Briggs, Dodge, Plymouth and many other divisions of the corporation.

**Effects of Speed-up**  
In answer to a full page newspaper blast by the Chrysler corporation the UAW-CIO issued the following statement:  
"The fact that the Chrysler Corporation is attempting a speed-up in several departments cannot be disputed. In Dodge crankshaft department men are lifting almost three tons a day. The management has refused to install hoists. As a result several workers have been ruptured."

## Behind the Lines

By GEORGE STERN

Japan is meeting with a good deal of trouble in its effort to bring the war in China to a rapid close.

Following the outbreak of the war in Europe and the conclusion of its own armistice with Russia, Japan embarked upon a policy of hastening termination of the China campaign in order to free Japanese arms for future eventualities. To this end it equipped itself with a brand new government and a brand new high command on the China fronts and simultaneously launched fresh military and political drives to "settle the China incident."

So far the results have proved something less than negligible. The first large scale military offensive in a year was begun in Central China. It was stopped in less than a month. Columns attempting to converge on Changsha, capital of Hunan province, were turned back with severe losses. Military experts of other powers began to wonder if the Japanese had reached the limits of

their capacity to penetrate the Chinese hinterland.

In the political domain the Japanese achievement has likewise been something less than brilliant so far.

In these spheres the main elements are the creation of a new central puppet regime and the continued probing for points of support within the Kuomintang regime at Chungking. The proposed puppet government, with the miserable Wang Ching-wei its leader-designate, has had a sad buffeting from circumstances on and off during the past year.

The last date set for its inaugural was Oct. 10—the Chinese national holiday. But this was put off because the Japanese hoped their truce with Russia would make Chungking more amenable to peace overtures. But the Russian truce is already cracking if it has not already been broken. The Kuomintang leaders are not likely to hasten any settlement with Japan until the further clarification.

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## DEFENSE SHATTERS FRAME-UP TESTIMONY IN MINNEAPOLIS TRIAL OF W.P.A. STRIKERS

### Flash!

MINNEAPOLIS, Oct. 17.—The first trial of WPA strikers ended today, with five convicted and three acquitted, by a jury carefully chosen to include no working class elements.

The five convicted—Carl Pemble, Myron Phillips, Richard Connell, Ben Palmer and Leslie Wachter—were members of the Federal Workers Section of General Drivers Local 544.

Arnold Mullen was acquitted by the jury, and the judge directed verdicts of acquittal for Gordon Smith and John Marshall, the latter the only Workers Alliance member on trial.

The indictment under which the strikers were tried was based on a provision of the relief law forbidding "interference" with WPA workers.

A second trial, involving four other WPA strikers, began today. A total of 193 WPA strikers have been indicted.

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn. — Brilliant testimony of defense witnesses shattered the federal government's frame-up accusations against the WPA strikers on trial here, for "conspiracy, intimidation, etc."

Star defendant on the stand was Carl Pemble, steward of the Federal Workers Section, Local 544. His testimony rid-

dled the lies of the cops, project supervisors and scabs who were paraded on the stand last week by Federal Attorney Victor Anderson.

### Nation-Wide Action

In his testimony, Pemble showed that the WPA protest in Minneapolis was part of a nation-wide protest movement against the relief cuts, and that reports of the protest throughout the nation were published in the daily press.

As for the ridiculous charge of "conspiracy," Pemble showed that he did not know any of the seven other defendants save Wachter until the strike began, and that he had not discussed the strike with Wachter, Connell and Phillips, two other defendants, also later testified they knew none of the other defendants until after the strike began. The framed-up "conspiracy" charge of the government will make tough headway against such testimony.

### Repeats Strike Speech

At one point in his testimony Monday, Pemble used the impressive device of standing in the courtroom and delivering a 10-minute speech identical to the talk he delivered July 10th before his fellow WPA workers.

He told of coming to work and finding other workers inspecting the bulletin board notice informing them their wages had been cut and their hours lengthened.

"You workers must go out and protest this action," he said. "I urge you to come to a meeting of WPA workers and vote on the question of striking. The papers tell us that W-

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## The Unforgotten Man



## Stalinists Break With F. D. R. To Aid Stalin-Hitler Alliance

By JOSEPH CARTER

As agents of the Stalin-Hitler war alliance and "peace proposals" the Communist Party has begun an open attack on Roosevelt and the New Dealers as spokesmen of American imperialism who seek to drag the US into the present war.

"Pressed by the imperialist bourgeoisie," declares the latest resolution of the Political Committee of the Communist Party, "the Roosevelt government despite its avowed intention of 'keeping out of war,' more and more takes a course which threatens to involve the USA in the imperialist war." (Daily Worker, Oct. 15, 1939.)

In the present situation, we are told "the slogans of anti-fascism no longer give the main direction of the struggle of the working class and its allies as they formerly did in the period of the struggle for the anti-fascist peace front and people's front." Under such conditions the difference "between the New Deal and anti-New Deal camps is losing its former significance. Both are parties of the bourgeoisie and seek in various ways to realize and promote the predatory interests of American imperialism in the war and both are following policies which threaten to involve the US in the present war."

### Alliance Dictated Turn

As foretold by the Socialist Appeal, the abrupt turn-about-face of the Communist Party from enthusiastic support of Roosevelt's war program to opposition to it, was in the cards as soon as the Stalin-Hitler military alliance was signed. So long as Stalin sought a military alliance with the democratic imperialist powers and believed that American imperialism would be his ally in a war against German Fascism and Japan, the Communist Party was ordered to support Roosevelt as the champion of the people against Wall Street monopoly, the democratic opponent of the imperialist section of the capitalist class. Whoever challenged this lying propaganda was condemned as an agent of fascism.

The Stalinists hailed every pro-war move of the President as a blow for democracy and against imperialist war. They supported his policy of "national unity" for "continental defense," that is, imperialist domination over the Latin American peoples, and his pledge to aid Canada in case it was attacked. They supported his rearmament program, and his

drive to lift the arms embargo so as to help Anglo-French imperialism.

Even after the outbreak of the war in Europe, the Daily Worker greeted Roosevelt's fake promises to keep America out of the war as good coin. In the trade unions, at the conventions of the Rubber Workers Union, the Transport Workers Union, and the recent CIO congress the Stalinists supported resolutions which endorsed Roosevelt's "peace" policy.

### Talk Militant—But Why?

Now the Communist Party has thrown overboard these policies. Has it suddenly discovered that Roosevelt, the New Dealers and the Old Dealers are class enemies of the toilers, imperialist spokesmen irrespective of the secondary differences among them? Hardly! However, yesterday Roosevelt was a potential ally of Stalin; today Roosevelt is already an ally of Chamberlain and Daladier who are engaged in a war against Hitler, the present partner of Stalin. Roosevelt has already lined up against Stalin by his letter to the Kremlin on Finland.

These unscrupulous henchmen of the Kremlin autocrat now use the phrases of militant working class struggle against capitalism and for socialism. How strange it must be for members of the CP to read the present resolution of their Political Committee. Their leaders have drilled into their minds that the democratic sections of the capitalist class must be supported against the fascist sections; that democratic imperialist governments could conduct a just war deserving the support of the masses; that anyone who denied these bits of Stalinist wisdom were enemies of the working class, progress and socialism. Now . . .

"The merciless enemy of the workers always has been, is and will be: the capitalist class. This is so regardless of the particular political face with which the capitalist class appears, regardless of the political form in which it shields its domination, regardless of the lying and hypocritical slogans with which it masks the imperialist aims, whether in times of war or peace."

### Drop Criticism of Fascists

What honest and intelligent worker can any longer be fooled by the lying and hypocritical slogans of the Stalinists who mask their own reactionary aims—the victory of the Stalin-

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## American Labor Aid Calls for Funds to Help Watson Defense

Cannon Hails Creation of Watson Defense Fund as Demonstration of International Labor Solidarity Against the War

NEW YORK—In a statement issued today, Mary Green, National Secretary of the American Labor Aid, announced the creation of a Watson Defense Fund to obtain full moral and material support in the United States for Frank Watson, Toronto anti-war militant convicted under the War Measures Act for speaking at a public meeting of the Socialist Workers League, Canadian Section of the Fourth International.

Watson was arrested on September 15 after a speech in which he denounced British imperialist policy in the colonies and possessions. "Workers, when they tell you to fight for democracy in Europe," he called out to the crowd, "reply by fighting for it here. . . .

"When the Canadian millionaires felt that their wealth was safe," Watson concluded, "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 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 cannon-fodder of imperialism. Workers, let us first own Canada before we fight for it."

**Year's Sentence**  
For these remarks Watson was convicted on September 21 of "making statements likely to prejudice recruiting of His Majesty's Forces." On September 28 he was sentenced to six months imprisonment plus another six months or \$300 fine. Since the defendant is practically destitute the sentence is actually a one year's term of imprisonment.

The American Labor Aid received an appeal for help from many individuals, members of the Canadian Commonwealth Federation, the Socialist Workers League and other labor organizations constituted as the Watson Defense Committee who have rallied to Watson's defense in the Dominion, and are now engaged in obtaining a review of the case in the higher courts. In reply to their appeal, the ALA has created the Watson Defense Fund.

"In the speech for which he was convicted," Miss Green said in the statement issued, "Watson warned that 'the first casualty' in the 'war for democracy' is democracy itself—the workers' rights of free speech and assembly. The vicious sentence imposed upon him has furnished living proof for his contention."

**Danger Signal**  
"The Watson case is the first example on our continent of the effects of the present war, conducted in the name of a struggle against so-called Hitlers, upon the rights and liberties of the people on whose behalf it is supposedly waged. It is a danger signal to workers and genuine fighters for liberty throughout America."

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## SEEK TO RULE SWP NOMINEES OFF N.Y. BALLOT

Appearing before the Board of Elections Monday morning, October 16, to protest its action in ruling his name off the ballot, George Lyman Paine, Councilman Candidate of the Socialist Workers Party for Manhattan, charged the Board with "a high-handed disregard for the unmistakable mandate of thousands of workers," the Campaign Committee disclosed today.

Acting on the flimsiest technicality to disqualify the only anti-war candidate for Manhattan, the Board of Elections ruled that Paine's nominating petitions were "improperly notarized and marked by erasures."

### Filmy Pretext

Pointing out that there were a sufficient number of signed petitions to cover any irregularities, Paine charged that the Board was acting on a "filmy pretext to deny thousands of workers in this city the opportunity to register their anti-war vote with the regularly nominated candidate of the Socialist Workers Party. In the face of the incontrovertible evidence at hand that there is no ground to rule my name off the ballot," Paine declared, "the action of this Board is an outrageous disgrace."

The Campaign Committee announced today that the drive to elect Paine to the City Council will continue unabated. Dwight Macdonald, Secretary of the Committee, stated late today that "unless the Board of Elections reverses itself, the fight to restore the name of our candidate on the ballot will be taken into the courts."

### Send In Protests

The Campaign Committee today called upon the workers of New York to make known their protests to the Board of Elections. "This will be the first time in dozens of years that a Socialist candidate will not appear on the ballot for Manhattan if the Board of Elections is permitted to stand on its rule-

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# WAR--WHAT FOR?

The Last of a Series of Friday Night Lectures

By  
James P.  
Cannon

The World in Flames Again  
The Real Meaning of the  
Present War

Friday, Oct. 20  
Irving Plaza  
8:30 P.M.  
(Irving Pl. & 15th St.)  
ADMISSION—25c







# THE NEGRO QUESTION

By J. R. JOHNSON

## What Do the Negroes Themselves Think About the War?

To this question a Marxist replies automatically. "Which class of Negro are you inquiring about? Do you mean Negro workers and farmers or the Negro petty bourgeoisie—the lawyers, the doctors, the small businessmen, the stage performers?" In the party pamphlet, "Why Negroes Should Oppose the War" (J. R. Johnson, 32 pages, 5c), there is a section on the Negro petty bourgeoisie and the war. There it is pointed out that because he has a standard of living higher than that of the average Negro workers, farmer, or unemployed, the Negro petty bourgeois act essentially as agents of American imperialism. To quote one passage from the pamphlet, (p. 22):

"And so, for the sake of the crumbs and bones that they get from the big table, they are quite prepared to sacrifice the interests of the majority of the Negroes. They are the most dangerous people. It is they who deceive the Negroes every time. They, despite their black skin, are no more than agents of the white imperialists. They are not saying much now, but when the time comes, they are going to shout for 'democracy' as loudly as the American ruling class. . . . Meetings will be held at which these Negro traitors will speak and agitate and do their best to bluff the Negro people to take part in a war and be deceived and maltreated just as they were in the last war for 'democracy.' The bait that they will dangle will be promises of a better world," etc., etc.

Now this is undoubtedly true. And we have evidence of it already. But the Negro petty bourgeoisie, unlike the white petty bourgeoisie, is cut off very sharply from participation in the general life of American capitalist society. American race prejudice, designed to keep the Negro in a state of subjection and to maintain a division between the Negro and the white workers, differentiates very little between the poor Negro and the middle-class Negro. Both suffer almost equally from racial discrimination. Thus the Negro petty-bourgeois press reflects the sentiments of the large masses of Negroes, even though, when things come to a showdown, it declares for the program and policy of American imperialism. Nowhere can this be seen more clearly than in the writings of the Negro press on the war and the present international situation.

## The Negro Press on the War

The Pittsburgh Courier is one of the best of the Negro weekly sheets. It fights some valiant battles for the Negro cause. It was one of the few Negro papers to wage a campaign on behalf of Negro entry into and support of the CIO, (one of the three greatest steps forward of the Negro in American history during the last hundred years.) The Courier has taken the lead in the struggle for the entry of Negro players into major-league baseball. It has battled for the right of Negroes to enter into the American army on the same conditions as the whites and for equal facilities in training as air pilots. The Socialist Workers Party, the Fourth International, are opposed to imperialist war. But the Socialist Workers Party fully supports the rights of Negroes to participate in American life with the fullest equality, including entry into the army. If any Negro is ass enough to wish to go to fight for American "democracy" of his own free will, it is his privilege to do so. The paper has a great reputation among the Negroes. It sells for ten cents which the poorer Negroes cannot pay. It maintains a large staff and is essentially the paper of the Negro petty bourgeoisie. The Pittsburgh Courier has on its staff Mr. George Schuyler, one of the most brilliant journalists in America (of whom more later). It is not in any sense of the word a revolutionary paper.

The Pittsburgh Courier has naturally been commenting on the war. What it says, and still more what it does not say, is of the utmost importance for the revolutionary movement.

On March 29, the Courier published a cartoon on the war entitled Ringside Seat. The cartoon showed two boxers, one labeled "Democracy" and the other "Dictatorships." The referee was a military-looking gentleman labeled "Imperialism." In the ringside seats were Africans, American Negroes, Mongolians, Pacific Islanders, and Malays. The chief editorial of that issue expressed the following sentiments:

"The 'democracies' and the 'dictatorships' are preparing to do BATTLE in the near future.

"The referee is IMPERIALISM, who stands ready to award the decision to the VICTOR.

"The stake is the right to EXPLOIT the darker peoples of the world.

"The audience consists of the vast MAJORITY of those who happen to be NON-WHITES.

"They have NO FAVORITE, because it makes NO DIFFERENCE to them which party WINS the fight.

"They are ONLY interested in the bout taking place AS SOON AS POSSIBLE."

Now this on the surface is a most bloodthirsty attitude. But the editorial had its very good reason for wishing this destruction:

"The AUDIENCE knows that the destruction of white civilization means the EMANCIPATION of colored people, and that explains why they eagerly await the opening gong."

The editorial is anxious for the destruction of both camps because it knows that there is no essential difference as far as colored people are concerned between "democratic" imperialism and fascist imperialism. It explains this in detail:

"The democracies which now CONTROL the dark world have never extended DEMOCRACY to the dark world.

"THEIR meaning of democracy is for WHITE PEOPLE only, and just a FEW of them.

"The dictatorships FRANKLY DECLARE that if they win THEY will do as the democracies HAVE DONE in the past.

"The democracies as frankly declare that IF they win they will CONTINUE to do as they HAVE BEEN doing."

## An Indication of Revolutionary Instincts

Here is an astonishingly clear characterization of the real nature of the great forces which are now tearing civilization apart. Note particularly that sentence which states that even among the whites democracy is only for a few of them.

This clear vision into the fundamental nature of modern society, this rage at its pretences, this desire for emancipation at whatever cost, are what we mean by the revolutionary instinct of the Negroes. And this is why the Fourth International states that the place of the Negro is in the vanguard and not at the tail of the revolutionary movement.

The Courier editorial naturally makes a great error in thinking that the blacks can stand aside in the coming war. Colored people were compelled to fight in the last war. The Africans are being compelled to fight in this one, and if the workers of America, black and white, do not stop Roosevelt by working class action, then the American Negroes will be compelled to fight when American capitalism goes in.

## The Petty Bourgeoisie Cannot Lead

The Courier makes a still greater error when it thinks that emancipation for Negroes can come from the mutual destruction of the groups of white imperialists, with the people of color just stepping in to gather up the spoils. The root of this monumental error lies in the neglect of that most important fact which the editorial noted—that even among the white people "democracy" is only for the few. That is the key to the emancipation of Negroes and the oppressed colonial peoples. The political battle is unity among both these groups who recognize that in essentials capitalist democracy is a fraud for all the working people, white and black, and offers them nothing but continual crises, fascist dictatorships, and ultimately imperialist war. That is the unshakable basis of the Fourth International.

But what we must note is this. If the Negro petty bourgeois expresses himself in these drastic terms about imperialist war, we can have some conception of what are the real sentiments of the great masses of Negroes in every country who feel upon their backs the unmitigated blows of capitalism.

# For the Goose, Not the Gander

A particularly striking example of the state of justice in the United States is provided by contrasting the fate of the conspiracy indictments against Minneapolis WPA workers, and the conspiracy indictments against 52 coal mine owners in Harlan, Kentucky.

In the Kentucky situation, the federal government had issued the indictments after an 11-weeks' trial had shown that the coal bosses were guilty of perpetrating a reign of terror in which organizers were shadowed, beaten and fired upon; union meetings were dispersed, union sympathizers beaten and imprisoned and the son of a union organizer slain. But Harlan County is an old story in the United States—Harlan County is an outstanding example of the bosses' idea of industrial democracy.

**Indictments against Bosses Are Dropped**  
Did the federal government press the indictments against the coal bosses? IT DID NOT. On October 2nd, this year the federal government moved for a dismissal of conspiracy charges against the fifty-two coal companies and operators named. And did the federal judge chime in with this move? HE DID. "The propriety and wisdom of the government's action (in moving for the dismissal of the indictments) seems so meritorious I have no other action to take," said Federal Judge Ford.

But in Minneapolis federal indictments for conspiracy are being placed against poor people, against jobless workers. It was these jobless workers who were singled against by the government, who were shot at and gassed and wounded and slain and thrown in jail at outrageous bail and treated like felons.

**Indictments against Workers Are Pressed**  
Yet, has the federal government moved for a dismissal of the indictments against the Minneapolis workers? IT HAS NOT. It is pressing them ever more harshly.

Justice is of two kinds in these so-called democratic United States. There is the kind of justice the employers receive. And there is the kind of justice the workers get.

It is this sort of "democracy" that the war-mongers are preparing to ask us to defend. Ugh!

(From the Northwest Organizer, October 12, 1939)

# ALL'S FAIR AND SQUARE IN SPORTS—EXCEPT FOR NEGROES

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

**BOSTON**—When Boston College locked horns with Florida this Saturday in an important intersectional gridiron contest, Lou Montgomery, star Boston back, watched the game from the stands. Mainstay of his team, Montgomery was yanked from the line-up days in advance.

Reason for his absence from the game is that Lou Montgomery, popularly known as the "Ebony Eel," is a Negro. Gil Dobie, Boston coach, according to the sports columnist of the Boston Evening American, withdrew Montgomery "as a sop to the ethnological prejudices of the Southern team."

Boston College might have resisted the "ethnological prejudices" of the Floridians by using the Negro back if only to affirm the principle of racial equality. Had the "ethnological prejudices" of the Southern team risen to the point where they refused to take the field, Boston College would have won by default. Injury to Montgomery, deliberately engineered by the chauvinist Southerners, would have had its desirable effect among the Boston rooters. Instead, under the increasing pressure of anti-Negro sentiment in this once classic city of Abolitionism, Montgomery was taken from the line-up.

That the color of skin is enough to upset the beauties of sport is another of the lessons to be assimilated in a study of contemporary American democracy.

**DEFENSE SHATTERS FRAME-UP EVIDENCE IN MPLS. TRIAL**  
(Continued from Page 1)  
PA workers all over the country are walking off WPA jobs. You have a right to strike and a right to picket. I warn you to be careful, however. There are always a few screwballs and hotheads around, not to mention the provocateurs and spies. You understand if anyone gets tough with you, you have got to take it. . . .

Explaining to the jury, Mr. Pemble declared that he and the other WPA workers were protesting in the best tradition of the American working class against the savage attack on their living standards. "We were only exercising our constitutional right to strike and picket," he explained, adding that the issue of free speech and other civil liberties was also involved in the protest.

Pemble stated that workers in certain essential projects, such as nursing were not asked to go on strike and were allowed free exit and entry to their projects.

**ANNOUNCEMENTS**  
**SEE SPLENDID FRENCH FILM, "End of a Day."** The art party, Oct. 23 thru 27. Tickets: Downtown Labor Center, 51 E. 7 St., or National Office (Caldwell), 65c.

**BLACKWITCH RIDES AGAIN!** cats meow . . . goblins row . . . ANTE - HALLOWE'EN ANTICS at the Downtown Labor Center, 51 E. 7 St., Saturday, Oct. 21 at 8:30 P.M. Entertainment (Honest!).

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

**"A World in Flames"**  
Speaker: **ALBERT GOLDMAN** at St. Paul SWP Headquarters 147 West 5th St. **OCTOBER 25th—8 P.M.**

But can the Negro petty bourgeoisie give trustworthy revolutionary leadership? Can we trust it to correct itself and give the Negroes political leadership and organization necessary to translate this powerful revolutionary urge into concrete action against the war? Not at all. The outstanding characteristic of the petty bourgeoisie is instability, and in succeeding articles we shall see how the Negro petty bourgeoisie, while reflecting the tremendous revolutionary drive of the Negroes, is in reality one of the most dangerous forces misleading the Negroes in the present crisis.

# HOOK COMMITTEE FORUM GOES IN FOR SOME DIGNIFIED AND DEMOCRATIC WAR-MONGERING

By TONY CHAPMAN

Assembling a not inconsiderable number of dignitaries, the Committee for Cultural Freedom, formerly the League Against Totalitarianism, held the first public meeting of its year-old career at Town Hall, Friday evening, October 14.

Comprehensive test his guests compromise the Committee a little beyond the possibility of apology, Sidney Hook, chairman of the Committee and mainstay of its existence, warned the audience at the opening of the meeting that "Each speaker does not necessarily speak for the Committee for Cultural Freedom. Each speaker speaks for himself."

**Big Hearted**  
Mr. Hook, who refused to take responsibility for the pronouncements of his guests, hypocritically attacked the Socialist Appeal as a "totalitarian midget" in view of the fact that its editors refused, said Mr. Hook, "to print a notice of the meeting because they didn't like what the speakers were going to say."

Mr. Hook, although anxiously warning the audience against the speakers, was nevertheless sufficiently ample-hearted to sponsor a meeting for them. But his anxiety could hardly have been unjustified, for among his celebrated guests were war-mongering college presidents and social democrats, and pro-war labor bureaucrats.

Although cultural freedom, such as it is under capitalism, is being rapidly extinguished everywhere under the heels of totalitarian war, the majority of speakers confined themselves to attacks upon Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy and Stalin's Russia.

Will Schlamm, social democrat, reported the news that cultural freedom does not exist in Nazi Germany.

Frances Winwar, declared that under Mussolini only second rate authors are able to flourish.

"Fresh" Wind

Dr. Harry D. Gideonse, president of Brooklyn College, intoned that "We are experiencing an Indian Summer of liberalism." Not many esoteric paragraphs later, Dr. Gideonse hopefully exclaimed that "A fresh wind has blown through progressive America." This exponent of cultural freedom indexed his cosmic views by reminding the audience that "Anyone interested in the maintenance of cultural freedom in America can learn more from the thoroughly native philosophy of John Dewey, Justice Brandeis or of Henry David Thoreau than from the determinist theories of Karl Marx."

Walter G. Krivitsky, former Stalinist chief in the Red Army, in a fifteen minute speech, told the audience that Stalin is a totalitarian—a real revelation.

But of the menacing encroachments upon cultural freedom in the "democratic" nations no one had much to say. George Hartman, of Teachers College, did deplore the signs of cultural restrictions in England and France, but declared nevertheless that "Britain still preserves freedom, as one can see from the free debates in parliament." The freedom which the British workers enjoy now that totalitarian war is on the order of the day, Mr. Hartman explained away with the phrase that "The spirit of Hyde Park still lives."

Not one person attending the meeting could have learned from any of the speakers that the United States is being drawn into the world war, with a resultant abrogation of cultural, political, social and economic freedom. Indeed, not one speaker believed it politic to mention the inroads against cultural freedom already threatened in this country as a result of President Roosevelt's decree proclaiming a state of limited national emergency. Their silence on this point was painfully evident.

# A Letter to the Appeal From Joseph Zack

Dear Sir:

In an edition of your publication (Trotskyite), of October 6, 1939, you are quite free in the epithets you use of condemning Ben Gitlow and myself for appearing before the Dies Committee. You raise the issue of the possible suppression of the Communist Party, resulting from the activities of the Dies Committee, condemning those who appear before the Dies Committee as aiding in that suppression.

May I ask you whether you yourself would refuse to appear there if subpoenaed and run the risk of going to jail for contempt? May I also ask you whether you, when appearing, would lie in favor of the Communist Party, and if you did lie, what good would that do you, in face of the fact that the Dies Committee could prove out of your own printed articles the names of all the various unions and other organizations that the Communist Party controls. Would you undertake to deny that the Stalin G.P.U. (Russian Secret Service), in fact, controls the activities of the Communist Party here, when, in fact, the Dies Committee could quote your own printed words to that effect.

You will probably say that you would make speeches against the Dies Committee at the same time as you affirm the facts, in which case, let me assure you that the speeches you would make would appear nowhere except in your own little paper, whereas, the facts you would affirm would be flashed across all the newspapers of the country, in a manner that you would not like, but over which you, the same as myself, would have absolutely no control. When I was first interviewed by the counsel of the Dies Committee two months ago, I said to him that if subpoenaed I could of course not refuse to appear and when appearing I would not lie in favor of the Communist Party. Would you do otherwise?

It is not my fault if the mere statement of known facts about that party discredits them in the extreme. As to what the Dies Committee does or intends to do with my testimony, or how the newspapers report my testimony, this of course is beyond my control.

# The WAR DEAL

By DWIGHT MACDONALD

This week I am turning over this department to the National Industrial Conference Board, a statistical and research agency financed by big business. In 1929 the Board published a volume entitled *A Picture of World Economic Conditions at the Beginning of 1929*. This was a most cheerful and optimistic work: the booming twenties were at their highest period of prosperity, war had been "outlawed" by the Kellogg Pact, and all was for the best in the best of all possible worlds. The speed and extent of the collapse of world capitalism since then is, of course, a dramatic proof of the superiority of Marxist to bourgeois economic theory. And an excellent index as to just how catastrophically world capitalism has gone to pieces in the last decade is to be found in the opening pages of this 1929 survey. So without further comment on my part—which would be merely gilding the lily—I turn over this column to the National Industrial Conference Board.

## "A Universal Will to Maintain Peace"

"The year 1928," begins the first chapter, "has witnessed many noteworthy developments in the field of international relations and in economic and political conditions in individual countries. These developments have on the whole been favorable to a continuation of the progress which has been made in recent years towards a complete recovery from the numerous and deep-seated malaises caused by the unprecedented economic and political upheaval of ten years ago. The formation of the League of Nations; the creation of the World Court; the establishment of the Dawes Plan; the Disarmament Conference in Washington; the admission of Germany to the League; the conclusion of the Locarno treaties; and finally, the signing of the Multilateral Treaty for the Renunciation of War by the United States, France, Great Britain, Germany, Italy, and ten other nations in Paris on August 27, 1928—all indicate that the nations of the world are replacing the old system of checks and balances, Ententes and defensive and offensive alliances by a new conception of international relations based on mutual understanding and a universal will to maintain peace."

## Enter the "Practical Business Man"

"In their efforts to maintain harmonious relations among the nations, the governments have been materially assisted by private individuals. The work of diplomats and statesmen, of military experts and professional politicians is being supplemented by that of practical business men, leaders of industry and finance, economists and statisticians. At no other time in the history of the world has the cooperation of public officers and private enterprise been so intimate and so forceful as during the last few years. Often in the past, the conflict of commercial interests has been the cause of, or the excuse for, war largely because the representatives of industry and trade had no opportunity to sit around a table and discuss their difficulties in a friendly manner. The growing influence of private business on state policies is a most encouraging sign of our era. A business man knows that the prosperity of his business is bound up with the general prosperity of his country; and this principle he applies to international relations: the prosperity of his country can not be maintained at the expense of other nations. . . . The leaders of industry are trying to eliminate one of the causes of war—unreasonable and illegitimate competition for world markets."

## Peace on Earth. . .

"The signing of the Multilateral Treaty for the Renunciation of War on August 27, 1928, by representatives of fifteen nations has been hailed throughout the world as a most significant contribution towards the advancement of peace. . . . As finally adopted and signed, the Treaty is a plain declaration on the part of the signatory powers that they 'condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another.' . . .

"The right of all states to wage a defensive war is not denied by the Treaty, nor does the Treaty define what constitutes a defensive war. Each nation is . . . the sole judge of what constitutes the right of self defense and the necessity and extent of the same. . . . The Treaty does not restrict the right of France, for example, to fight for Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, or Yugoslavia, her allies. . . .

"The Treaty enunciates a great moral principle. . . . It would be useless to speculate what the practical value of the Treaty will be, but there seems to be no doubt that it is a step in the right direction. For this reason, the signing of the Anti-War treaty stands out as the most notable achievement of 1928."

"The Kellogg Treaty is also responsible for the negotiations for the conclusion of treaties of mutual friendship between Russia and her other neighbors, particularly with Poland. . . .

"On the basis of a detailed analysis of the whole field of Germany's economic life, the Agent General for Reparation Payments concludes that 'Fundamentally, confidence has been restored, and Germany has been re-established as a going concern on a relatively high level of economic activity.'"

"Among the so-called Succession States, which came into existence as a result of the Treaty of Versailles, Czechoslovakia has shown the greatest economic power and political stability."

## The "Practical Business Man" Again

It is only fair to say that the National Industrial Conference Board arrived at the conclusions quoted above in the most impeccably scientific manner. For each of these fantastic (as of 1939) misjudgements, there was the soundest statistical foundation. As President Alexander of the Board puts it in his Preface to the volume: "In the preparation of its publications, the National Industrial Conference Board avails itself of the experience and judgement of the business executives who compose its membership and of recognized authorities in special fields. . . . The publications of the Board thus finally represent the result of scientific investigation and broad business experience."

In other words, the National Industrial Conference Board is a solid, responsible scholarly institution which goes haywire only along lines approved of by the best business and statistical brains of the country. Its fantasies are not its own individual day-dreams but the hallucinations of the ruling class as a whole.

## INCIDENT

And then there is the story of the man who went to a socialist meeting to boo the speakers and was just in time to see the meeting broken up by the cops. "But I'm an anti-socialist!" he protested, "I don't give a damn what kind of socialist you are," roared the copper, as he gave the man's skull another caress with his nightstick.

es over all things, economic and political, shall and will remain intransigent opponents of the kind of slavery totalitarian parties and their splinter offsprings stand for. Therefore, far be it from me henceforth to sympathize with any of them, even if they get paid back in their own coin.

Very truly yours

JOSEPH ZACK

(See editorial page 4 for our answer.)

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## SOCIALIST APPEAL

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8. A people's referendum on any and all wars.
9. No secret diplomacy.
10. An independent Labor Party.
11. Workers' Defense Guards against vigilante and Fascist attacks.
12. Full social, political and economic equality for the Negro people.

## For Frank Watson

The Socialist Appeal endorses enthusiastically the call of the American Labor Aid for a solidarity fund for Frank Watson, that model working class militant who so fearlessly spoke in Toronto against the imperialist murderers of labor. Criminal as he properly is in the eyes of the cynical war-mongers, he is a hero in the eyes of the working class, a fighter captured by the enemy. This fighter must be freed and no stone must be left unturned to effect his liberation.

Support the American Labor Aid's special fund! Demonstrate your international solidarity! Demonstrate your hatred of the imperialist war! Send your contribution to the A.L.A. at 125 West 32nd Street, New York, N. Y.

## Dies Committee

The letter written to the editor by Joseph Zack, printed elsewhere in this issue, affords us an opportunity to clarify our position towards the Dies Committee and those who have testified before it.

On the aims of the Dies Committee there is no need to elaborate on what has been said here more than once: it seeks to lay the ground for the "big push" that is coming to crush every spark of militancy in the American labor movement, and as such it is part and parcel of the capitalist preparation for the war.

Its "exposures" of the fascist groups in this country is so much misleading farce, except in so far as it is seriously directed against the Bund on the good imperialist grounds that Fritz Kuhn and Co. represent a spy agency for a rival capitalist power.

Its attacks on the Communist Party however are not delivered on the ground that it represents a revolutionary movement, for the good and sufficient reason that every intelligent capitalist understands that the Stalinists are about as revolutionary as the Salvation Army. But, if we leave aside for a moment the foreign-political interests of American imperialism that are involved in these attacks, it would be blindness not to see that the offensive against the Stalinists is merely a preliminary to the very seriously meant offensive against the genuinely revolutionary movement, and particularly against the actual and potential anti-war forces in this country.

It is with this basic fact in mind that the question of the Dies Committee and its witnesses must be approached. Whoever aids Dies in the accomplishment of his ends, is striking a blow at labor.

The question raised by Zack about what to do when served by such a committee with a subpoena, is not very difficult to answer. Revolutionists have not only appeared in the past, either voluntarily or under compulsion, before governmental bodies, but even in capitalist courts. In every such case, what was decisive was the capacity in which they appeared and the attitude they took when they spoke.

And if one is compelled to speak, asks Zack, shall he be silent about the Stalinists, especially when his position on Stalinism is known publicly? A revolutionist who appeared before the Dies Committee or any other committee, would no more refrain from giving his position to-

wards Stalinism than he would if he were a United States Senator speaking in Congress. There again, what is decisive is what is said.

For example: In its day, the Communist International pointed out to the "anti-political" I.W.W. that its leader, William D. Haywood, had actually engaged in revolutionary political action when he made use of the platform offered him by the Industrial Relations Committee of Congress to testify on the labor situation and the position of the I.W.W., and when he demanded a Congressional Committee to investigate conditions in Lawrence, Mass.

Victor Berger, however, who was a Socialist Party member of the House of Representatives, spoke quite often on the floor of Congress, also speaking on labor problems and his attitude towards them.

Haywood, the "anti-political" I.W.W., remained a revolutionist before, during and after his testimony before the Committee.

Berger, the "political" Socialist, remained an incurable opportunist and social-patriot throughout his career, especially in his later years.

The "radicals" who have testified before the Dies Committee are, with perhaps one or two exceptions, ex-radicals, avowed turncoats. They do not testify as revolutionists. They testify as good Americans, good patriots. What else can anyone gather from the testimony of such people as Gitlow, Dubrowsky, Malkin? Disregarding for the moment our known political differences with Zack, we are ready to acknowledge that so far as the printed excerpts from his testimony are concerned, he did not act the Gitlowian penitent ex-revolutionist, and we were undoubtedly wrong a few weeks ago in bracketing him with Gitlow. The Gitlows and Malkins, however, only proved that they remained the same patriotic renegades during their testimony that they were before it.

## Billings Free

Just as the welcome news appeared that Warren K. Billings, together with Tom Mooney, the most famous class-war prisoner in the United States, had been freed by action of California's Gov. Olson, the trial of eight WPA workers framed-up on a "conspiracy" charge by the Government in Minneapolis, entered into its third week.

For our professional "democrats," the two events have no connection. For one who looks below the veil and sees the hideous class realities in America, the two are inseparably connected.

A great victory for democracy, we are told, in connection with Billings' release, as we were told when Mooney was freed.

A murderous condemnation of your fake democracy, we reply.

Billings, like Mooney, was innocent of the crime charged against him, as virtually everybody now admits. He was framed up—framed by the merchants and manufacturers, by the bankers and traction interests, by the courts and the prosecutor, by the press and all the other pillars of society. He went to prison at the age of 22, an innocent man. He stayed in prison for 22 years, innocent all the time.

Isn't that a magnificent tribute to American democracy?

That same democracy is now trying to railroad to the penitentiary the Minneapolis WPA workers who committed the unforgivable crime of being surplus mouths for capitalism to feed. Thrown out of work by a decayed system that can no longer even feed the people, they were finally given a pittance on WPA jobs. When the government tried to cut their already low wages to a still lower point, they fought back, as they had a right and duty to fight, for themselves, for their families, for their human dignity and self-respect.

But you have no right to fight your "democratic" government. The only right you have is to keep your damned trap shut and let yourself be reduced to a coolie level without protest. And, say our democrats, who framed-up Mooney and Billings, who framed-up the Centralia I.W.W.'s, whose last prisoner, Ray Becker, was released only the other day after 20 horrible years in a dungeon—if you do protest, if you don't keep your trap shut, you'll be framed-up and railroaded to prison too.

We hail Warren Billings on his release from California's prison. We feel that we have the right to call, in his name, in the name of every great labor fighter who sacrificed for his class, for an unceasing struggle to free every class-war prisoner in this and all other countries, and to prevent the imprisonment of those victims of class rule—like the Minneapolis WPA workers—who are now on trial for their freedom.

Socialist Appeal  
116 University Place  
New York City.

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

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The Socialist Party Meets the  
Problem of the ALP's War-  
Mongering by--Saying Nothing

By FELIX MORROW

The Oct. 7 issue of *The Call*, official organ of the Thomas Socialists, proudly announced that "two well-known Socialists," Harry Laidler and Frank Crosswaith, had been nominated as New York City councilman candidates by the American Labor Party.

On Oct. 4, the state executive committee of the ALP adopted a "special resolution on the European conflict" which put the ALP on the side of Anglo-French imperialism and on the basis of this fundamental orientation drew two immediate corollaries: support of Roosevelt's proposals to aid Anglo-French imperialism by lifting the embargo on munitions; and denunciation of Stalin and the Stalinists for shifting from Anglo-French imperialism to Hitler. The next day the ALP state executive committee made "subscribing to and reaffirming" this pro-war resolution mandatory upon all ALP candidates, and an "acid test" of ALP membership.

The resolution was submitted to a city conference of ALP delegates on the night of Oct. 4, and, along with the war-mongering Louis Waldmans and assorted pro-Roosevelt labor skates, the Norman Thomas Socialists, led by Jack Altman, voted for the pro-war resolution.

Shortly afterward the press reported that the "well-known socialist," Frank Crosswaith, had "expressed unqualified approval for the resolution." The terms in which his fellow-socialist, Harry Laidler, accepted the resolution have not been published, but it was evidently satisfactory to the war-mongering ALP leadership. All this was, of course, in plain violation of the official stand of the Socialist Party.

THE CALL APPLIES  
GOBS OF WHITEWASH

One awaited with interest, therefore, the following issues of *The Call*. Would the Socialist Party adhere to its official anti-war position and consequently condemn Jack Altman, Frank Crosswaith and Harry Laidler, and place the Socialist Party in unequivocal opposition to the war-mongering resolution? Or would it, like the Lovestonette Workers Age, justify voting for the resolution?

These were the two horns of the dilemma which the national leaders of the Socialist Party faced. How would they meet the problem?

They have met the problem so far, in the two weeks since Oct. 4, by a very simple method: utter silence. The October 14 and 21 issues of *The Call* are out, and they carry not a single word on this important question! Nor have any statements been issued to the press—other than Crosswaith's "unqualified approval of the resolution."

The latest issues of *The Call* find room for many things, if not for material on the crucial ALP resolution. The main headline in the Oct. 14 issue is "AFL warns of war danger"—a thorough and—use the more accurate term—servile whitewash of the AFL bureaucracy, which, far from really fighting against the war, railroaded through the convention support for what the Socialist Party has called the first giant step to war: Roosevelt's program to aid Anglo-French imperialism by lifting the embargo.

As if this were not enough, the Oct. 21 issue of *The Call* provided further whitewash: "There can be no question that the convention did plan and speak effectively for all labor in the matter of opposition not only to any involvement of the United States in war but as to the measures preparatory to war in terms of 'M' Day plans and war boards." Proof? The mealy-mouthed AFL resolution which proposed, as a solution for "war-time dictatorship"—that organized labor be represented on the war planning boards! In neither issue is there a single, solitary word about or against the convention's adherence to Roosevelt's program for lifting the embargo!

Seger received a "tremendous ovation"? The *Call* does not say, nor does it accurately describe who he is. Gerhart Seger may speak on behalf of the "German labor delegation" in America, but that means speaking on behalf of those who, having capitulated to Hitler without a struggle, now are making as much propaganda as they can for their present program which is: their return to Germany behind British and French—and American—bayonets. Seger is one of that despicable group of war-mongers who are providing "German" testimonials to the purity of the war aims of Anglo-French imperialism. That he receives a tremendous ovation from the AFL convention is an "encouraging note," says *The Call*. Encouraging to whom?

More things of the same kind find room in the issues of *The Call* which keep silent about the ALP resolution. *The Call* had printed a message from the "German Independent Labor Party," ostensibly as an anti-war document. Not being anti-war, Alfred Baker Lewis, state secretary of the Socialist Party of Massachusetts, writes a communication in *The Call*, October 14, "I think it is only fair to your readers to state that the message from the German Independent Labor Party... also included a statement from the Society of Sudeten Germans which reads: 'Hitler's defeat is an aim common to all those loving peace, liberty and humanity. We are in accord with the British and French peoples who stand up for the freedom of the world.' It would be a mistake to leave the impression that our courageous German comrades regard the outcome of the war with indifference on the ground that it is only a clash between rival imperialisms." (Mr. Lewis writes in the same pro-Ally vein in *The Nation* and elsewhere, but that is all right in the Socialist Party where only left wingers must as.

AMERICAN LABOR AID LAUNCHES  
DRIVE FOR DEFENSE OF WATSON

(Continued from Page 1)

It is a call to arms in the defense of civil rights during the difficult period ahead.

"Every worker, every sympathizer of the workers' cause has a direct stake in this case. Rally to the defense of Frank Watson. Rush funds at once to the Watson Defense Fund of the American Labor Aid, 125 W. 33rd St., New York City."

## Cannon Statement

James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, greeted the creation of the Watson Defense Fund as the most important act of international solidarity initiated here since the outbreak of the war.

"The decision of the American Labor Aid," Comrade Cannon said, "to undertake a campaign of support in behalf of Frank Watson, persecuted Canadian anti-war militant, and the Canadian section of the Fourth International for which he spoke, is not just an ordinary action in defense of civil rights. It is in the truest sense of the word a first step in a

"OBEY DISCIPLINE."  
"THESE GENTLEMEN  
DO NOT DENOUNCE"

*The Call*, issue after issue, prints reams from Devere Allen, national executive committee member, now in Brussels, who cannot find warm-enough words with which to praise the Catholic-Socialist coalition government of Belgium (and the Congo) which is operating, he says, "with a spirit of poise and sincerity which must evoke the admiration of the world." As, for example—Mr. Allen doesn't mention it—the Belgian government's recent arrest of Walter Dauge, leader of the Revolutionary Socialist Party (Fourth International) for issuing a manifesto calling for struggle against the war.

"It is not for us to denounce the immediate choices of our European comrades in their present terrible dilemma," wrote the Socialist Party in its "Declaration Against the War" (*The Call*, September 23).

It is in the same strain, no doubt, that *The Call* feels that it is not for it to denounce the immediate choice of its American comrades in their present terrible dilemma in the American Labor Party.

To vote against the pro-war resolution—why that would mean a break with the Dubinskys and Hillmans and all the other bureaucrats in the needle trades; would mean that the Jack Altmans would no longer be welcome in the corridors of the union officialdom; it would mean to put their much-touted principles above the interests of the Crosswaiths and other retainers of the union bureaucracy. As for the very thought of disciplinary action against the war-mongers in the party like Crosswaith, Jack Altman, Alfred Baker Lewis et. al.—expulsions and such weapons are for the Altmans to employ against the left wingers in the party, never against such "leaders." For that's the Socialist Party of Norman Thomas.

world-wide action to safeguard the rights of those genuine anti-war fighters whose revolutionary action alone can put an end to the frightful holocaust which has been unleashed.

"In this sense we call upon all members of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Peoples Socialist League and all sympathizers and readers of our press to rally at once to the appeal of the American Labor Aid, and to contribute bountifully to the Watson Defense Fund that it has created.

"International solidarity is the first task of the hour for revolutionists. Concretely, that means every ounce of support, every dollar that can be spared, for the defense of Frank Watson and the Canadian Fourth Internationalists."

Rush all funds to the American Labor Aid, Watson Defense Fund, 125 W. 33rd St. (Room 201), New York City.

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## Their Government

By James Burnham

Since the beginning of the war, the isolationist Congressmen, especially the group of Senators headed by Borah, LaFollette, Nye and Vandenberg, have attempted to pose before the country as "the peace bloc," the aim of which is "to keep the country out of war." Several weeks of the Special Session provide us with new evidence upon which to judge their claim.

The isolationists continue their opposition to repeal of the arms embargo. On this particular point the Socialist Workers Party agrees with them. Nevertheless, agreement here or on any other single point does not in the least imply the slightest similarity in general policy toward the war. We must always ask what motivates the position taken on any given point that boils down to a "yes or no" question; and ask how this position is related to the whole policy pursued by any group or party.

The Nazi Bund and, today, the Stalinists also oppose repeal of the arms embargo. They do so for a clear and simple reason: because they favor the victory of Hitler, and, under the immediate circumstances, opposition to repeal happens to favor Hitler as against the Anglo-French coalition.

## Why the S.W.P. Opposes Repeal

The Socialist Workers Party stands for the defeat of both sides in the war, of Hitler and of Britain-France. The S.W.P. is opposed to repeal of the arms embargo because the SWP is against the war, and because Roosevelt's proposal to lift the embargo is a war act. This can be most obviously seen in the following two ways:

(1) Repeal of the embargo is a unilateral intervention by United States imperialism in the war, on the side of one of the belligerents. This is understood by everyone, and has been brought into the open during the Senate debates. Repeal will turn part of US industry into an armory for Britain-France. This intervention is necessarily a step, and a very important step, toward further involvement which must lead in the end to military entry.

(2) Even more important, however, is the fact that repeal of the embargo is a key part of the direct war preparations of the US military machine. The orders from Britain-France will enable the US armament industry to increase its plant and facilities and raise its capacity to war levels before formal declaration of war. From this point of view, opposition to repeal follows in exactly the same way as opposition to any and all military appropriations by the US or any other imperialist government.

At the same time, the SWP does not regard the embargo issue as decisive for war or peace. It refuses to delude itself or the workers. Retention of the embargo would prove only a minor bump in the path of the war machine.

## Why do the Isolationists

## Oppose Repeal?

A study of the conduct of the isolationists—not, of course, from the point of view of their psychological motives or moral ideals, but of the political meaning and function of their acts—proves that their opposition to repeal of the embargo has nothing in common with that of the SWP and of the militant anti-war fighters in general. On the contrary, their opposition can be correctly understood only as a demagogic exploitation of the anti-war sentiments of the people, and as a pacifist cover for the war preparations of US imperialism. Far from helping in the fight against the war, they are most dangerous—because deceptive—enemies of the anti-war fight, and allies of the war-mongers.

This judgment will sound harsh to sentimentalists, but no other conclusion is possible. Consider:

Not a single isolationist in the Congressional debate has called for the peoples' referendum on war. If the isolationists are sincere, if they really are against the war, if they really want the will of the people to be done, how can they possibly fail to make the referendum a central issue in their fight?

Not a single isolationist has had one word to say against the colossal armament expenditures of the government. Quite the contrary: many of them have been loudest in demanding great increases in armament expenditures. The only possible purpose for this mighty war machine is military entry into the war.

Not a single isolationist criticized Roosevelt's declaration that the armed forces of the United States would defend Canada—one of the belligerent nations. This declaration was itself an intervention in the war.

Not a single isolationist has even mildly criticized the Declaration of Panama which in actuality places the United States in the forefront even now of the world imperialist struggle for the re-division of the earth.

In other words and in general: on all major fronts the isolationists are in the vanguard of those who are pushing forward the aggressive war plans of US imperialism.

## Jumping the Gun

In fact, the isolationists are often well in advance of their "opponents." For example: it is on the initiative of the isolationists—specifically, Borah—that the present bill is now being amended to "relax the restrictions on shipping." As drawn up by the administration, all shipments in US vessels to ports of belligerents were to be prohibited. The amendments will prohibit shipments only to "belligerent zones," which will include only Europe, and will exclude the entire East—Australia, New Zealand, India, Hong Kong, Indo-China, etc.

But this is exactly the major strategy of US imperialism, which, stretching out from a stranglehold on Latin America has as its next immediate aim dominance of the East.

And it was the isolationist Shipstead who a few days ago gave more of the show away by openly proposing in the Senate that the United States take over Canada and the European possessions in this hemisphere.

Borah, let us remember, not merely voted for the declaration of war in 1917, but made the most rabid of all the speeches supporting it.