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



Socialist Appeal



3c a Copy

Official Organ of the Socialist Workers Party, Section of the Fourth International-Issued Twice Weekly

NEW YORK, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 20, 1939

VOL. III, NO. 80

BEGIN DRIVE FOR CANADA ANTI-WAR MILITANT

WALL ST.

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 were told to work harder and Then the whole line was speeded up to keep up with the young fellows who were green and did not realize the fink 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 slowdown 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, Flymouth and many other divisions of the corporation.

Effects of Speed-up In answer to a full page newspaper blast by the Chrysler poration the UAW-CIO is

their lives. These workers DEFENSE SHATTERS FRAME-UP faster than anyone else if they wanted to keep their jobs. 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, be gan today. A total of 193 WPA strikers have been indicted. The Unforgotten Man

167

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 (Special to the Socialist Appeal) (dled the lies of the cops, proj-New Dealers as spokesmen of American im-MINNEAPOLIS, Minn. - ect supervisors and scabs who perialism who seek to drag the US into the

drive to lift the arms embargo so as to help Anglo-French imperialism. Even after the outbreak of the war in Eur-

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.



Protest High-handed

Procedure of Board

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 mil-Anti-War Candidates lionaires 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

Appearing before the Board wealth is in danger, they can of Elections Monday morning, afford \$1 30 and 85 cents living October 16, to protest its action allowance to these same unemin ruling his name off the bal-ployed to fight for Canada. For lot, George Lyman Paine, whose Canada? Not ours: wo Councilmanic Candidate of the own nothing. The unemployed Socialist Workers Party for are being paid only to become Manhattan, charged the Board cannon - fodder of imperialism. with "a high-handed disregard Workers, let us first own Canafor the unmistakable mandate | da before we fight for it." of thousands of workers," the

sued the following statement: "The fact that the Chrysler

Corporation is attempting a Brilliant testimony of defense were paraded on the stand last present war. speed-up in several depart- witnesses shattered the feder- week by Federal Attorney Vicments cannot be disputed. In al government's frame-up ac- tor Anderson. Dodge crankshaft department cusations against the WPA men are lifting almost three strikers on trial here, for "contons a day. The management spiracy, intimidation, etc." has refused to install hoists. As Star defendant on the stand in Minneapolis was part of a

a result several workers have was Carl Pemble, steward of nation-wide protest movement he Federal Workers Section, against the relief cuts, and that Local 544. His testimony rid- reports of the protest through-

Nation-Wide Action

(Continued on Page 2)

been ruptured.'



Japan is meeting with a good their capacity to penetrate the deal of trouble in its effort to Chinese hinterland

bring the war in China to a In the political domain the Japanese achievement has likerapid close. Following the outbreak of the wise been something less than

war in Europe and the conclu- brilliant so far.

sion of its own armistice with In these spheres the main ele-Russia, Japan embarked upon ments are the creation of a will make tough headway aga policy of has: ening termina- new central puppet regime and ainst such testimony. tion of the China campaign in the continued probing for points **Repeats Strike Speech** order to free Japanese arms for, of support within the Kuominfuture eventualities. To this tang regime at Chungking. The end it equipped itself with a proposed puppet government, brand new government and a with the miserable Wang pressive device of standing in was signed. So long as Stalin sought a milibrand new high comand on the Ching-wei its leader-designate, the courtroom and delivering a tary alliance with the democratic imperialist China fronts and simultaneous- has had a sad buffeting from 10-minute speech identical to powers and believed that American imperially launched fresh military and circumstances on and off dur- the talk he delivered July 10th ism would be his ally in a war against Gerpolitical drives to "settle the ing the past year.

'the last date set for its in- ers. So far the results have prov- augural was Oct. 10-the Chi- He told of coming to work champion of the people against Wall Street China incident." ed something less than neglig- nese national holiday. But this and finding other workers in- monopoly, the democratic opponent of the imible. The first large scale mili- was put off because the Japan- specting the bulletin board no- perialist section of the capitalist class. Whotary offensive in a year was be- ese hoped their truce with Rus- tice informing them their wag- ever challenged this lying propaganda was gun in Central China. It was sia would make Chungking es had been cut and their hours condemned as an agent of fascism. stopped in less than a month. more amenable to peace over-lengthened.

Columns attempting to con- tures. But the Russian truce is verge on Changsha, capital of already cracking if it has not Hunan province, were turned already been broken. The Kuo-said. "I urge you to come to a policy of "national unity" for "continental deback with severe losses. Mili- mintang leaders are not likely meeting of WPA workers and fense," that is, imperialist domination over tary experts of other powers to hasten any settlement with vote on the question of strik- the Latin American peoples, and his pledge began to wonder if the Japan- Japan until the further clarifi- ing. The papers tell us that W- to aid Canada in case it was attacked. They (Continued on Page 3) (Continued on Page 3) ese had reached the limits of

"Pressed by the imperialist bourgeoisie." declares the latest resolution of the Political Committee of the Communist Party, "the Roosevelt government despite its avowed in-In his testimony, Pemble tention of 'keeping out of war,' more and more showed that the WPA protest akes a course which threatens to involve the 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 out the nation were published in direction of the struggle of the working class

the daily press. As for the ridiculous charge and its allies as they formerly did in the perof "conspiracy," Pemble show- iod of the struggle for the anti-fascist peace ed that he did not know any of front and pepole's front." Under such condithe seven other defendants save tions the difference "between the New Deal Wachter until the strike began, and anti-New Deal camps is losing its former and that he had not discussed significance. Both are parties of the bourgeoisthe strike with Wachter. Con- ie and seek in various ways to realize and nell and Phillips, two other de- promote the predatory interests of American fendants, also later testified imperialism in the war and both are following they knew none of the other de- policies which threaten to involve the US in fendants until after the strike the present war."

began. The framed-up "conspir-Alliance Dictated Turn acy" charge of the government

As foretold by the Socialist Appeal, the abrupt turn-about-face of the Communist Party from enthusiastic support of Roosevelt's war At one point in his testimony program to opposition to it, was in the cards Monday, Pemble used the im- as soon as the Stalin-Hitler military alliance before his fellow WPA work- man Fascism and Japan, the Communist Party was ordered to support Roosevelt as the

The Stalinists hailed every pro-war move of "You workers must go out the President as a blow for democracy and supported his rearmament program, and his

, 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 polices. Has it suddenly discover-

ed 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 up against Stalin by his letter to the Kremlin on Finland.

These unscrupulous henchmen of the Kremfor socialism. How strange it must be for members of the CP to read the present resleaders have drilled into their minds that the grace." democratic sections of the capitalist class must be supported against the fascist sections; that ing class, progress and socialism. Now . . .

"The merciless enemy of the workers alclass. This is so regardless of the particular taken into the courts." 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 day called upon the workers of the effects of the present war, times of war or peace.'

Drop Criticism of Fascists

What honest and intelligent worker can any Socialist candidate will not ap- behalf it is supposedly waged. longer he fooled by the lying and hypocritical pear on the ballot for Manhatslogans of the Stalinists who mask their own tan if the Board of Elections is workers and genuine fighters reactionary aims-the victory of the Stalin- permitted to stand on its rul- for liberty throughout America.

Campaign Committee disclosed today.

Flimsy Pretext

ures.

For these remarks Watson was convicted on September 21 Acting on the flimsiest tech- of "making statements likely

nicality to disqualify the only to prejudice recruiting of His anti-war candidate for Manhat- Majesty's Fores." On Septemtan, the Board of Elections rul- ber 28 he was sentenced to six ed that Paine's nominating pe- months imprisonment plus antitions were "improperly not other six months or \$300 fine. arized and marked by eras-Since the defendant is practic-

ally destitute the sentence is actually a one year's term of Pointing out that there were imprisonment.

sufficient number of signed The American Labor Aid petitions to cover any irregu- received an appeal for help larities, Paine charged that the from many individuals, memally of Stalin; today Roosevelt is already an Board was acting on a "flimsy bers of the Canadian Commonally of Chamberlain and Daladier who are pretext to deny thousands of wealth Federation, the Socialengaged in a war against Hitler, the present workers in this city the oppor- ist Workers League and other partner of Stalin. Roosevelt has already lined tunity to register their anti-war labor organizations constituted vote with the regularly nomin- as the Watson Defense Commitated candidate of the Socialist tee who have rallied to Wat-

Workers Party. In the face of son's defense in the Dominion, lin autocrat now use the phrases of militant the incontrovertible evidence at and are now engaged in obtainworking class struggle against capitalism and hand that there is no ground to ing a review of the case in the rule my name off the ballot," higher courts. In reply to their Paine declared, "the action of appeal, the ALA has created olution of their Political Committee. Their this Board is an outrageous dis- the Watson Defense Fund.

"In the speech for which he The Campaign Committee an- was convicted," Miss Green nounced today that the drive said in the statement issued. democratic imperialist governments could to elect Paine to the City Coun- "Watson warned that 'the first conduct a just war deserving the support of the cil will continue unabated. casualty in the "war for demasses; that anyone who denied these bits Dwight Macdonald, Secretary mocracy" is democracy itselfof Stalinist wisdom were enemies of the work- of the Committee, stated late the workers rights of free today that "unless the Board of speech and assembly.' The vi-Elections reverses itself, the cious sentence imposed upon ways has been, is and will be: the capitalist fight to restore the name of our him has furnished living proof candidate on the ballot will be for his contention."

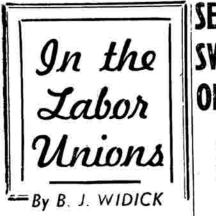
Danger Signal

"The Watson case is the first Send In Protests The Campaign Committee to- example on our continent of

it masks the imperialist aims, whether in New York to make known their conducted in the name of a protests to the Board of Elec-struggle against so-called Hittions. "This will be the first lerism, upon the rights and libtime in dozens of years that a erties of the people on whose

"It is a danger signal to (Continued on Page 2) (Continued on Page 2) (Continued on Page 2)

The World in Flames Again By Friday, Oct. 20 WAR--WHAT FOR? James P. **Irving Plaza** 8:30 P.M. The Real Meaning of the (Irving Pl. & 15th St.) Cannon Present War The Last of a Series of Friday Night Lectures ADMISSION-25c



SEEK TO RULE SWP NOMINEES OFF N.Y. BALLOT

Party Publishes 4-**Page Election Issue** Of Socialist Appeal

John L. Lewis waited until the last days of the CIO convention and the meeting of the executive council afterwards to

(Continued from Page 1) ing," Dwight Macdonald stated. "The workers of New York make a cautious move against must fight that ruling," he went the Stalinist machine within the organization.

on, " or they will lose the only opportunity they may have for First dispute between the years to express their Socialist CIO leaders and their Stalinist sympathies at the polls." allies threatened to arise over Meanwhile, the six day dead-

the election of a vice president. line for the remittance of spec-Emil Rieve, backed by Sidney ifications outlining the chal-Hillman was put up to oppose lenge to Max Shachtman's Joe Curran, Stalinist candidate. Bronx candidacy had passed, Rieve is from the textile workthe Campaign Committee disers union. Curran is the boss closed. of the National Maritime Union.

Clipping the C.P.

Comenting on the efforts to remove Shachtman's name

from the ballot, Secretary Mac-At the last minute the Stalindonald stated, "Like the manists retreated and Curran withner in which George Lyman drew his name. So the Stalin-Paine's candidacy was thrown ists found themselves without a man among the six vice presidents elected by the convention. the machinations of the Board in withholding its brief chal-

However, the real defeat for lenging Shachtman's candidacy them came when the CIO exec- is an obvious maneuver to ntive council announced that keep another genuine anti-war Harry Bridges was only Call- candidate off the ballot. But fornia director of the CIO, in-the Board had better watch its stead of West Coast director. A couple of Lewis men were given "The number of signed nominthe northwest territory. John Brophy, pious fellow-man's name on the ballot is

traveler of the C.P. who was three times the number legally national director of the CIO, required. It will be interesting was also clipped. He was re-placed by Allan Haywood, New dig up this time. In any case, York ClO director. the hearings before the Board

While Haywood has played of Elections on Shachtman's ball with the Stalinists in New challenge are to begin Monday, York, he is a one hundred per October 23, at 10 a.m.," he concent Lewis man. Since we cluded.

worked together for a year in the United Rubber Workers Union, I could not accept the arguments of some progres- announced today that thoussives who insisted Haywood ands of letters are being mailed

was a Stalinist. Incidentally, Haywood is a in the Bronx sympathetic to the capable organizer and negotiat- candidacy of Shachtman. The or, whose abilities will mean letters will contain the facts on considerable improvement in the efforts of the Board of El-

the activities of the CIO from ections to rule Shachtman off Washington. Adolph Germer is being workers opposed to the war to transferred from the Michigan rally behind the candidate of CIO directorship to a post in the Socialist Workers Party. Washington.

Tightening Hold

In essence, the meaning of these moves is that Lewis is tightening his hold organizationally on the CIO by putting "reliable" Mine Workers Union officials in all key CIO posts.

Besides, Lewis gave an interview to the West Coast press in which he made his first public pronouncement on the question

Minimum Guaranteed

Earnings!!

WANTED-Men, Women and Students

to sell the Socialist Appeal as

a part time job. Socialist Ap-

peal now selling very fast on

the streets. One dollar a day

guaranteed. Possible to make

much more. Apply all day

from 12 o'clock on at 116

University Pl., Abe Miller.

(Continued from Page 1)

The opposition of the Communist Party to

The "united front" of the Communist Party

and the Nazi Bund has gone so far that there

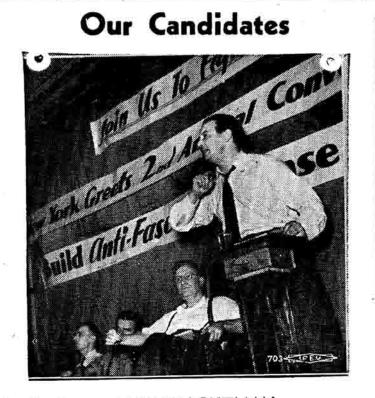
is not a single word of criticism of fascism in

he resolution of the Political Committee of

the CP! In fact the resolution prepares the

way for open support of German Fascism by

the Communist Party.



In the Bronx—MAX SHACHTMAN



GIRD AGAINST OIL PROPERTIES **BOSS ATTACK** (Special to the Socialist Appeal) TULSA, Okla .- The tenmonth struggle of the Oil Workers Union against the Mid - Continent Petroleum Lockout Is Union-Corp. received fresh impetus this week when it was dis-**Smashing Foretaste** covered that company officials had hired agents pro-Of War-Time Rule vocateurs to dynamite com-

AUTO WORKERS

"In Department 107, Dodge, so fast is the rate of production demanded by the company that new automatic machines are burned up, and the workers with them."

In the Plymouth plant the speed decreed in turning out bearing blocks is so high that men cannot keep pace. One man lost four fingers as a result. "In the McGee wire depart-

ment at Plymouth production demands have been stepped up 20 per cent.

ed to discuss these affairs have been fired.' Dozens of workers have been fired in the Chrysler plants for refusing to accede to the speedup demands.

GENERAL MOTORS ALSO TRIES SPEED-UP

tors, following up Chrysler's blocks, the company is import- cockles of the heart of even a man.

ues.

a strike. The Chevrolet local of the UAW-CIO is taking a strike vote provocation in the plants.

women, the speed-up was so un-"Shop stewards who attempters marched in a body to the down to a reasonable speed.

footsteps, has begun a terrific ing southern youths to aid in great (?) humanitarian like speed-up campaign in all the forcing double time production. plants which has precipitated a Foremen and superintendents wave of protest among the are lashing the men to the workers that may culminate in point of exhaustion in many divisions.

Great Test Labor in the auto industry this week end, after wholesale now faces a great test. All intle will develop unless the com-

COMPANY SPIES

DYNAMITED OKLA.

pany property and blame

Elmer Davis, NLRB attor-

ney, announced at the hear-

ing on charges against the

company that he would pre-

sent evidence proving this

Previously, the company,

through control of the local

city officials had arrested

and sought to frame over 100

strikers on charges of vio-

freed by jury decision.

lence. The victims were

strikers.

damaging point.

WORKERS' FORUM

The followng squib appeared tarian alright. He gives jobs to in the Minneapolis Star-Jour- cripples. While other bosses exnal: "WAR NEWS: The Minne- ploit able-bodied workers, Ray apolis Artificial Limb Co. has Trautman lives off the backs of already received instructions to cripples! Be assured that no have 3,000 artificial limbs per boss supports his workers. All year ready for government pur- supporting is done the other chase if and when the United way around, in case you aren't States enters the war." After familiar with this elementary reading this, Harold Swanson economic fact. wrote the following letter, a Ray Trautman, it is clear,

copy of which he sent to the thrives on the misfortunes of Socialist Appeal. Mr. Raymond Trautman Mpls. Artificial Limb Co. Minneapolis, Minn. Dear Sir:

the

his fellow human beings. He belongs in the same category with those other peerless philanthropists, Morgan, DuPont, Rockefeller, and Carnegie. A few

A few weeks ago I visited you crumbs for charity with frontwith the object of securing sup- page publicity and dirty deals port for a drive against the war. for sordid profits at the postern-It was your privilege to refuse gate! What a typical picture of aid for this worthy cause, but the average business man the discourteous reception world over! Luxuries for the which I received was not only few at the expense of destitubecoming a great (?) American tion and misery for the many! businessman, but it raised You won't give a nickel for doubts in my mind about your "propaganda". It won't be necanti-war sentiment. The above essary. The anti-war sentiments bearable that 50 women work- clipping confirms these doubts. of the working class will find Ray Trautman is not against expression one way or another, manager's office, protesting the war. Peace is inimical to the if not at the polls, then by rate of production and signify- artificial limb interests. Auto- other means. And all the blurbs ing their determination to hold mobiles plus liquor keep the of patrioitc propaganda dished business going in the dull years out by the capitalistic pigs will Things were smoothed over, between wars, but when the not prevail against an outraged but the speed-up drive contin- surviving cannon-fodder - the working class, determined to flower of youth - comes back crush the war-lords and secure In Buick, huge Flint division from the inhuman carnage mi- its freedom from boss tyranny! of General Motors, with plants nus arms, minus legs - Ah! Oh yes! Your true sentiments FLINT, Mich.—General Mo- covering an area of over 15 that's something to warm the are crystal-clear, Mr. Traut-

Ray Trautman! Ray Trautman is a humani-

Yours for a popular referendum on war! HAROLD SWANSON

N.Y. Workers! Buy the Appeal this week end, after wholesale now faces a great test. All in-discrimination, speed-up and dications are that a great bat-dications are that a great bat-

of "communists in the CIO." paign issue of the Socialist Ap-

"If there are any budding peal in tabloid form will appear young communists who think this week. The tabloid will conthey can make a life work of tain the election platform of the taking over the CIO for the Socialist Workers Party and Communist Party they had bet- statements by the Manhattan ter forget it," Lewis is quoted and Bronx candidates. The as saying.

"The Communist Party sent called upon all sympathizers of mittee to brag about their dom- tripute to the election fund. Ons the Party," he added. paign will enable the Commit-

"There will be no witch hunts tee to distribute 200 copies of or red hunts and any union has the tabloid. Cash and money the right to elect or select any- orders should be mailed to one it chooses to lead it, how- Dwight Macdonald, Shachtma ever I will insist that CIO lead- and Paine Campaign Commiters give their entire allegiance tee, 116 University Place, New to the organization," Lewis de- York City. clared.

This is the first direct attack on the Stalinists in the CIO that Lewis has made. It takes considerable significance, therefore.

Purge in Offing

Naturally the question arises: Will there be a purge of the Stalinists in the CIO, and on what basis?

A preliminary examination of the moves indicates that a purge in one form or another is in the offing, However, Lewis reveals his caution by the statement that there will be no **Stalinists Break with** witch hunt. The Stalinists, after all, are strongly entrenched in some CIO unions, and besides, Lewis hates to admit that he F.D.R. to Aid Stalinwas wrong all this time in having an alliance with them.

The attitude of the Stalinists Hitler War Alliance on the Lewis moves has not yet been made public since the Daily Worker simply refuses to Hitler war alliance-with the cloak of indeprint any news of the situation pendent workers' action against war? to date. Naturally, they are bitter and strongly opposed but Roosevelt's War Deal has as little in common the question is: can they afford with genuine working class opposition as the to make a public attack on the campaign of the German Bund-the agents of Hitler in the US-against American intervennew Lewis position?

The next week or so will give tion in the present war. The immediate aims a clearer answer to the ques- of Earl Browder and Fritz Kuhn are identical: tions posed by the Lewis state- the victory of the joint war of their paymasment and his organizational ters! maneuvers.

Let the People Vote on War!

Campaign Committee today from 7 branches of the Socialist delegate described how the war sion of the preparations of our Workers Party in Ohio and is already affecting the unions. party to carry on the fight in witnesses to the Dies Com- the Socialist candidates to con- Michigan, was held here Sun- The bosses are beginning to against the war.

day afternoon, October 8. 58 crack down on the job commitination of the CIO and build up dollar submitted to the cam- delegates attended, including tees in the auto plants, using The conference was truly inspiring as a demonstration of leading trade-unionists from au- the pretext of government war the vigorous working-class comto, steel, rubber and other orders to curb any opposition to position of the party in the Ohiomass industries in Flint, Det-speed-ups, wage-cuts and the Michigan district and the firm roit, Toledo, Cleveland, Akron, firing of union militants. Price and unflinching determination Youngstown and New Castle. rises have already taken a of the party here to carry The conference included a re- heavy slash in every worker's through to the end its share of port of the activities of the pay. Extension of hours and the fight against the war and branches in the district during technological improvements are the war system.

the recent War Referendum already proving sufficient to campaign and a discussion of guarantee against any great

ways to conduct a continuation reduction of unemployment. Whip of War Persecution of the anti-war campaign with It was agreed by the deleeven greater success. Every gates that, despite all the rebranch spoke with great favor pressions in the war, the workof the campaign method, and ers of this country would face Falls on Four in Canada the such misery and so many blows enthusiasm of the conferees in- at their union rights and living dicated the activization which standards that the objective the campaign gave all the conditions will exist for the revbranches olutionary socialists to lead the

Discuss Unions A considerable portion of the against the bosses and their conference dealt with a discus- war.

> "are equally guilty" for the present war the ber 4 and arrested them on a sional Committee for the Deresolution states that one of the main aims of Anglo-French imperialism in their war ag- sive literature." ainst Hitler is "to try to bring to power in Germany that section of the bourgeoisie which will Bartollotti, Ruggero Benvenuti, immediately engage in military intervention Ernest Gava and Marco Joachagainst the USSR".

A New Theory Being Born

Yesterday the policy of Peoples Frontism Canadian War Measures Act, was defended on the theory that fascism (par- these militants face heavy pristicularly, Hitlerism) represented the most re- on sentences or worse. actionary, most chauvinistic, most imperialistic and most anti-Soviet section of the bourgeoisie. Therefore, it was concluded, a bloc four men, the Toronto Daily was necessary with the "democratic section" Star points out that the authorof the ruling class against fascism. Would it ities refused to disclose the nabe surprising if tomorrow the Stalinists con- ture of the "subversive literacoct a new theory that a bloc is necessary be- ture." tween the working class, and the sections of Since the Dominion govern-

the German bourgeoisie which are not in favor ment cannot charge these four of an imemdiate war against the Soviet Union workers with any real or overt -the supporters of Hitler, who apparently are crime, it has resorted to the less reactionary, etc. - against the extreme age-old subterfuge of accusing German imperialists who are allies of Cham- them of possessing "subversive berlain? The new resolution opens the door literature.' wide for this development.

In the battle to stem the rise

SOCIALIST APPEAL NOW AVAILABLE First 6 months of 1939 (52 issues) \$2.00, including postage Order now from: SOCIALIST APPEAL 116 University Pl. New York City

Join the Socialist Workers Party

workers in great class-struggles result of his denunciation of tims, workers everywhere must than the more cheaply paid-off Gandhi's speech. Canadian participation in the come to their immediate de- Gandhi.

imperialist war, the Royal Can-fense. adian Mounted Police, aided by Funds for the release of the

the Toronto police, raided the four imprisoned workers should

The four workers, Arthur Street, New York City.

By J. R. Johnson A message that affects the life of every Negro!

ORDER NOW!

Price-5c per copy. Bundle rates-10 to 50-3c per copy. 50 or more-21/2c per copy

SPECIAL RATES TO ORGANIZATIONS

PIONEER PUBLISHERS 116 University Place, N.Y.C.

Gandhi Admits Large Indian **Opposition to War Policy**

Mahatma Gandhi, loyal sup-|on before the Congress Execuporter of the Allied powers in tive Committee.

the war, has made a most sig-One-fourth of the Executive nificant admission in a speech Committee - representing the delivered by him in Wardha, left wing of the Congress-vot-India. ed against this resolution be-

The aged Mahatma stands al- cause they refused to support most all by himself in his will- the British under any and all ingness to give unconditional circumstances. On the consupport to the British in their trary, they demanded active war. opposition to the war on the

The entire Working Commit- part of the Congress. They detee-the leading body-of the manded the launching of a real Indian Nationalist Congress is struggle for the freedom of Inprepared to give support with dia from its slave holders.

Following the arrest of Frank of war hysteria, of which these conditions-that is, they are India has not been lined up! Watson on September 15 as a four Italian workers are vic- holding out for a higher price That is the clear admission of

Spectre of Revolution

The actual figures point to In his speech, however, Gandhi admitted that the re- this. The Congress membership cent resolution adopted by the is 5,000,000-the largest in its While stating that all the belligerent powers homes of four workers on Octo- be sent to the Vanguard Provi- Congress Working Committee history. The left-wing-controlwhich demanded that the Brit- ling 25 per cent of the votes on charge of possessing "subver- fense of Bartollotti, Benvenuti, ish state their war aims with the Executive Committee-acregard to India did not pass tually has a much greater fol-Gava and Joachim, 45 West 17 unanimously when it was voted lowing among the Congress

rank-and-file. But even if we take only 25 per cent of the Congress membership, then there are 1,250,000 Indian workers and peasants clamoring for a fighting resistance to the British. And since every Congress member influences at least 30-40 Indian people (the Congress usually gets 90 per cent of the votes in all election campaigns) we can conservatively estimate that 50,000,000 workers and peasants of colonial India would actively participate in a struggle for their freedom. This is the explanation be-

hind the trembling fears of Chamberlain and Co. that this war will see the finish of the British Slave Empire.

JUST OUT!! "Why Negroes Should Oppose the War"

Age-Old Charge

im, are being held without bail. If found guilty under the new

In reporting the arrests of the



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 pepole 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 bourgeoisle, 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.

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 entry 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 Lou Montgomery, star Boston entry into the army. If any Negro is ass enough to wish to go to back, watched the game from fight for American "democracy" of his own free will, it is his the stands. Mainstay of his contemporary American demprivilege to do so. The paper has a great reputation among the team, Montgomery was yanked Negroes. It sells for ten cents which the poorer Negroes cannot pay. It maintains a large staff and is essentially the paper of the vance.

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 to the sports columnist of the the utmost importance for the revolutionary movement.

On March 29, the Courier published a cartoon on the war entilled Ringside Seat. The cartoon showed two boxers, one labeled "Democracies" 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.

he referee is IMPERIALISM, who stands ready to award



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 he conspiracy indictments against 52 coal mine owners in Harlan, Kentucky.

In the Kentucky situation, the federal government had is sued the indictments after an 11-weeks' trial had shown that he 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 sinned 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)

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 computer rules. It was SPORTS—EXCEPT FOR NEGROES

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) BOSTON - When Boston College locked horns with Florida taken from the line-up. this Saturday in an important That the color of skin is intersectional gridiron contest, enough to upset the beauties of crat, reported the news that cultural sport is another of the lessons cultural freedom does not exto be assimilated in a study of ocracy.

from the line-up days in ad-

Reason for his absence from DEFENSE SHATTERS the game is that Lou Montgomery, popularly known as the FRAME-UP EVIDENCE 'Ebony Eel," is a Negro. Gil

Dobie, Boston coach, according IN MPLS. TRIAL

withdrew Montgomery "as a

(Continued from Page 1) sop to the ethnological preju-PA workers all over the coun dices of the Southern team." try are walking off WPA jobs. Boston College might have resisted the "ethnological preju-You have a right to strike and HOOK COMMITTEE FORUM GOES The _____ IN FOR SOME DIGNIFIED AND **DEMOCRATIC WAR-MONGERING**

"Fresh" Wind

see from the free debates in

Hyde Park still lives."

By TONY CHAPMAN

Assembling a not inconsiderable number of dignitaries, the Committee for Cultural Free-Against Totalitarianism, held alism." Not many esoteric paryear-old career at Town Hall, hopefully exclaimed that "A Friday evening, October 14. fresh wind has blown through Apprehensive lest his guests progressive America." This excompromise the Committee a ponent of cultural freedom inwarned the audience at the America can learn more from Board. opening of the meeting that the thoroughly native philoso-'Each speaker does not neces- phy of John Dewey, Justice sarily speak for the Committee Brandeis or of Henry David for Cultural Freedom. Each Thoreau than from the deterspeaker speaks for himself." minist theories of Karl Marx. Walter G. Krivitsky, former

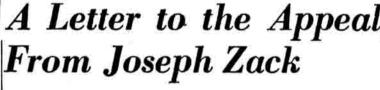
Big Hearted Mr. Hook, who refused to Stalinist chief in the Red Army, take responsibility for the proin a fifteen minute speech, told nouncements of his guests, the audience that Stalin is a tohypocritically attacked the Sotalitarian-a real revelation. cialist Appeal as a "totalitarian But of the menacing enmidget" in view of the fact that its editors refused, said Mr. freedom in the "democratic" Hook, "to print a notice of the nations no one had much to say. meeting because they didn't George Hartman, of Teachers like what the speakers were going to say.' of cultural restrictions in Eng-

Mr. Hook, although anxiously land and France, but declared warning the audience against the speakers, was nevertheless sufficiently ample-hearted to sponsor a meeting for them. But his anxiety could hardly parliament." which the British workers enhave been unjustified, for joy now that totalitarian war is among his celebrated guests were war-mongering college presidents and social democrats, and pro-war labor bureaucrats.

Not one person attending the Although cultural freedom, such as it is under capitalism, meeting could have learned is being rapidly extinguished from any of the speakers that everywhere under the heels of the United States is being totalitarian war, the majority drawn into the world war, with of speakers confined them- a resultant abrogation of culment in this once classic city of selves to attacks upon Nazi tural, political, social and eco-Abolitionism, Montgomery was Germany, Fascist Italy and nomic freedom. Indeed, not one

Stalin's Russia. speaker believed it politic to Willi Schlamm, social demo- mention the inroads against freedom already threatened in this country as a ist in Nazi Germany. result of President Roosevelt's Frances Winwar, declared decree proclaiming a state of

that under Mussolini only sec- limited national emergency. ond rate authors are able to Their silence on this point was painfully evident. flourish.



In reference to the issue of

ing the Negro back if only to to be careful, however. There In an edition of your publica- the possible suppression of the affirm the principle of racial are always a few screwballs tion (Trotskyite), of October 6. Communist Party, I am of ia, or Jugoslavia, her allies....

affirm the principle of racial are always a new screwballs tion (1105 spite), of october of course in favor of fighting to equality. Had the "ethnological and hotheads around, not to 1939, you are quite free in the limit any movement that be useless to speculate what the practical value of the Treaty prejudices" of the Southern mention the provocateurs and epithets you use of condemning the limit any movement that, will be, but there seems to be no doubt that it is a step in t 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." It is only fair to say that the National Industrial Conference Board arrived at the conclusions quoted above in the most imin certain essential projects, munist Party, and if you did that the public and the workers peccably 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 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.

WAR DEAL By DWIGHT MACDONALD -

This week I am turning over this department to the National Dr. Harry D. Gideonse, pres- Industrial Conference Board, a statistical and research agency ident of Brooklyn College, in- financed by big business. In 1929 the Board published a volume toned that "We are experienc- entitled A Picture of World Economic Conditions at the Begindom, formerly the League ing an Indian Summer of liber- ning of 1929. This was a most cheerful and optimistic work: the booming twenties were at their highest period of prosperity, war the first public meeting of its agraphs later, Dr. Gideonse 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 little beyond the possibility of dexed his cosmic views by re- world capitalism has gone to pieces in the last decade is to be apology, Sidney Hook, chair- minding the audience that "Any- found in the opening pages of this 1929 survey. So without further man of the Committee and one interested in the mainte- comment on my part-which would be merely gilding the lily-I mainstay of its existence, nance of cultural freedom in turn over this column to the National Industrial Conference

'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 deepseated maladies 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; croachments upon cultural 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 College, did deplore the signs 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 nevertheless that "Britain still of international relations based on mutual understanding and a preserves freedom, as one can universal will to maintain peace.

Enter the "Practical Business Man"

The freedom "In their efforts to maintain harmonious relations among the nations, the governments have been materially assisted by privon the order of the day, Mr. ate individuals. The work of diplomats and statesmen, of mill Hartman explained away with tary experts and professional politicians is being supplemented the phrase that "The spirit of 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, Ruman-

dices" of the Floridans by us- a right to picket. I warn you Dear Sir:

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 FAVOIRITE, because it makes NO DIF-FERENCE 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 civili zation 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:

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 gauged by their experiences of 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 in- They are, moreover, likely to stinct of the Negroes. And this is why the Fourth International states that the place of the Negro is in the vanguard and not at make their new creation look the tail of the revolutionary movement.

The Courier editorial naturally makes a great error in badly-stuffed corpse. thinking that the blacks can stand aside in the coming war. Colored people were compelled to fight in the last war. The tions with respect to China re-Africans are being compelled to fight in this one, and if the main studiedly obscure. If it workers of America, black and white, do not stop Roosevelt by is true that hostilities have been working class action, then the American Negroes will be com- or are about to be resumed or pelled to fight when American capitalism goes in.

The Petty Bourgeoisie Cannot Lead

The Courier makes a still greater error when it thinks that participated in last week's raid 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 matic blitzkrieg with Far Easteditorial noted-that even among the white people "democracy" is only for he 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 dous revolutionary drive of the Negroes, is in reality one of the how the newspapers report any I, and others, however, who the great masses of Negroes in every country who feel upon their most dangerous forces misleading the Negroes in the present testimory, this of course is be- see in Socialism a system which backs the unmitigated blows of capitalism.

team risen to the point where spies. You understand if any-Ben Gitlow and myself for ap- if it would come to power. they refused to take the field, one gets tough with you, you pearing before the Dies Com- would suppress everyone else. Boston College would have won have got to take it. . . . by default. Injury to Montgomthe chauvinist Southerners. pressure of anti-Negro senti-



(Continued from Page 1)

cation of the war situation shows them what side their tered on. They will not move projects.

until the United States takes ac tion of some kind in the way

ANNOUNCEMENTS and Russia's intentions become clearer. The Japanese have consequently announced their inten-

tion of going ahead next month with their puppet government plans. Just how much success they are likely to have can be

the past two years with the cats meow . . . goblins row . impotent regimes they have set up in different parts of China. Center, 51 E. 7 St., Saturday, be given even less time now to Oct. 21 at 8:30 P.M. Enterlike something more than a

Meanwhile Russia's inten University Place, N.Y.C. the Mongolian frontier and if it is true that Russian planes

'A World in Flames" Speaker: on Japanese-occupied Hankow, ALBERT GOLDMAN Stalin may be planning to implement his European diplo-St. Paul SWP Headquarters 147 West 5th St. ern moves sooner than the Jap-OCTOBER 25th-8 P.M. anese, at least, had expected.

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 transthe war? Not at all. The outstanding characteristic of the petty the extreme. As to what the explains better than anything their own con bourgeoisie is instability, and in succeeding articles we shall see Dies Committee does or intends your stand on this question and how the Negro petty bourgeoisie, while reflecting the tremencrisis.

mittee. You raise the issue I don't have to tell you that the Explaining to the Jury, Mr. there of the possible suppres- Communist Party utilizes the ery, deliberately engineered by Pemble declared that he and sion of the Communist Party available democracy in this the other WPA workers were resulting from the activities of country for no other purpose would have had its desirable ef. protesting in the best tradition the Dies Committee, condemn- than to suppress it completely fect among the Boston rooters, of the American working class ing those who appear before the and entirely for their own ben-Instead, under the increasing against the savage attack on Dies Committee as aiding in efit, the same as the Bund pressure of anti-Negro senti- living standards. "We that suppression. would do if they had a chance, were only exercising our con- May I ask you whether you the same as they have done in stitutional right to strike and yourself would refuse to appear those countries where they have picket," he explained, adding there if subpeonaed and run the acquired power. I would prefer

that the issue of free speech risk of going to jail for con- however, that they be "supand other civil liberties was al- tempt? May I also ask you pressed" by public ostracism The "Practical Business Man" Again whether you, when appearing, rather than by any administra-Pemble stated that workers would lie in favor of the Com- tive measures, for it is obvious such as nursing were not asked lie, what good would that do to in particular will come to the

to go on strike and were allow- you, in face of the fact that the same conclusion as the resolu-"The democracies which now CONTROL the dark world bread is likely to be best but ed free exit and entry to their Dies Committee could prove tion adopted by the American out of your own printed articles Labor Party, namely that they the names of all the various are "anti-democratic, anti-huunions and other organizations manitarian, anti-labor and the that the Communist Party con- servants of Stalin's dictatortrols. Would you undertake to ship, brutal betrayers of the la-SEE SPLENDID FRENCH deny that the Stalin G.P.U. bor movement."

FILM, "End of a Day." The- (Russian Secret Service), in You know as well as I do that atre party, Oct. 23 thru 27. fact, controls the activities of even the most reactionary dem-Tickets: Downtown Labor the Communist Party here, ocrat in this country is far Conter, 51 E. 7 St., or Na- when, in fact, the Dies Commit- more democratic than Stalin's tional Office (Caldwell). 65c. tee could quote your own print- mercenaries, who parade their

BLACK WITCH RIDES AGAIN! ed words to that effect. alleged radicalism as a mere You will probably say that trap to the workers. The democyou would make speeches racy in this country with all its TICS at the Downtown Labor against the Dies Committee at faults and essentially capitalthe same time as you affirm istic character does not depend the facts, in which case, let me on Mr. Dies or any other indiassure you that the speeches viduals. It is inherent in the you would make would appear system but the system of one SOOKS BOUGHT in lots or in nowhere except in your own lit- party domination of govern-

single volumes. Estimates the paper, whereas, the facts ment ownership by the bureaugiven on request. Write or you would affirm would be cracy of all economic and povisit Labor Bookshop, 116 flashed across all the newspa- litical institutions has been repers of the country, in a man- vealed as the instrumentality to ner that you would not like, expropriate not only the capbut over which you, the same italists, but to expropriate also as myself, would have absolute- the workers of all their rights. ly no control. When I was first The workers cannot be exprointerviewed by the counsel of priated of property which they

the Dies Committee two months do not own, but when they are ago, I said to him that if sub-(expropriated of their rights, es over all peonaed I could of course not then a country becomes a huge and political. refuse to appear and when ap-'concentration camp, regiment- main intransit

pearing I would not lie in favor ed by a bureaucracy, organized the kind of sli of the Communist Party. Would into a totalitarian party. Under parties and such a set-up, one or more in- springs stand f you do otherwise?

It is not my fault if the mere dividuals can engineer a des- be it from n statement of known facts about potism over all. This kind of sympathize w late this powerful revolutionary urge into concrete action against that party discredits them in slavery for which you too stand, even if they

> Very 1 to do with my testimony, or the nonsense of your polemic. (See editorial page 4 for our gives more rights to the mass- answer.)

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,	ONLY -5- DAYS LEFT Special Pre-Publication Offer TROTSKY'S BOOK ON STALIN		
as he gave the man's skull another caress with his nightstick.	PRICE for 2 vol-\$3.00 (In Russian) (POST-PUBLICATION PRICE-\$4.00)		
es over all things, economic and political, shall and will re- main intransigent opponents of the kind of slavery totalitarian parties and their splinter off- springs 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	Help Us Distribute		

JOSEPH ZACK The Socialist Appeal-The Anti-War Paper

yond my control.

tainment (Honest!).

Vol. III, No. 80

FELIX MORROW

General Manager: MARTIN ARERN

workers' control.

9. No secret diplomacy.

and Fascist attacks.

for the Negro people.

10. An independent Labor Party.

all jobs.

pension

and housing program.

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Published Twice-Weekly by the

at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y. Telephone: ALgonquin 4-8547

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year: \$1.00 for six months. For even \$3.00 per year, \$1.50 for six months. Hundle orders 2 cents per copy in the United States: 3 cents per copy a 4 foreign countries. Single copies: 3 cents.

"Recentered as second class matter September 29, 1939, at ne post office at New York N.1. under the Act of March 1879

MAN SHACHTMAN

FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST

WORKERS PARTY FOR:

1. A job and a decent living for every worker.

2. Open the idle factories-operate them under

3. A Twenty-Billion dollar Federal public works

4. Thirty-thirty! \$30-weekly minimum wage-

5. Thirty dollar weekly old-age and disability

8. A people's referendum on any and all wars.

11. Workers' Defense Guards against vigilante

12. Full social, political and economic equality

30-hour weekly maximum for all workers on

Associate Editors EMANUEL GARRETT

Assistant Manager : SHERMAN STANLEY

Bronx and Manhattan subscriptions are. \$1.50 for

SOCIALIST APPEAL PUBLISHING ASS'N .

Friday, October 20, 1039

ternational pointed out to the "anti-po itical" 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 polition of the I.W.W., and when he demanded a Congresssional Committee to investigate conditions in Lawrence, Mass.

Victor Berger, however, who was a Socialist Party member of the House of Representatives, spo e 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 peop.e as Git.ow, 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 Git.ow. The Git.ows and Ma.kins, however, only proved that they remained the same patriotic renegades during their testimony that they were before it.

For Frank Watson

6. Expropriate the Sixty Families.

7. All war funds to the unemployed.

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 Yok, 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

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 Minneapo is, entered into its third

in connection with Billings' release, as we were told when Mooney was freed.

ocracy, we reply.

crime charged against him, as virtually every-

Their By James Burnham Tovernment

and all the set that the

"It is not for us to denounce

the immediate choices of our

It is in the same strain, no

To vote against the pro-wan

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 de feat 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 no.ning 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 antiwar sentiments of the people, and as a pacifist cover for the war preparations of US imperialism. Fai 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.

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,

A murderous condemnation of your fake dem-

Bilings, like Mooney, was innocent of the body 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.

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, "vation"? The Call does not "bey discipline.") fficial organ of the Thomas So- say, nor does it accurately de- DO NOT DENOUNCE cialists, proudly announced that scribe who he is. Gerhart Se- The Call, issue after issue ger may speak on behalf of the prints reams from Devere Al wo well-known Socialists." 'German labor delegation" in len, national executive commit Harry Laidler and Frank Crosswaith, had been nominated as America, but that means speak- tee member, now in Brussels New York City councilmanic ing on behalf of those who, hav- who cannot find warm-enough candidates by the American ing capitulated to Hitler with- words with which to praise the out a struggle, now are making Catholic-Socialist coalition gov Labor Farty.

On Oct. 4, the state execu- as much propaganda as they ernment of Belgium (and the tive committee of the ALP ad- can for their present program Congo) which is operating, he opted a "special resolution on which is: their return to Ger- says, "with a spirit of poise and he European conflict" which many behind British and sincerity which must evoke the put the ALP on the side of An- French-and American - bayo- admiration of the world." As glo-French imperialism and on nets. Seger is one of that des- for example-Mr. Allen doesn't the basis of this fundamental picable group of war-mongers mention it-the Belgian govern who are providing "German" ment's recent arrest of Walter orientation drew two immediate corollaries: support of testimonials to the purity of the Dauge, leader of the Revolu Roosevelt's proposals to aid war aims of Anglo-French im- tionary Socialist Party (Fourth Anglo-French imperialism by perialism. That he receives a International) for issuing a maifting the embargo on muni- tremendous ovation from the nifesto calling for struggle ag tions; and denunciation of Stal- AFL convention is an "encour- ainst the war in and the Stalinists for shift- aging note," says The Call. Ening from Anglo-French imperi- couraging to whom? More things of the same kid- European comrades in their alism to Hitler. The next day the ALP state executive com- ney find room in the issues of present terrible dilemma, mittee made "subscribing to The Call which keep silent ab- wrote the Socialist Party in its and reaffirming" this pro-war out the ALP resolution. The "Declaration Against the War" resolution mandatory upon all Call had printed a message (The Call, September 23). ALP candidates, and an "acid from the "German Independent Labor Party," ostensibly as doubt, that The Call feels that test" of ALP membership. an anti-war document. Not be- it is not for it to denounce the The resolution was submitted to a city conference of ALP del- ing anti-war, Alfred Baker immediate choice of its Ameri egates on the night of Oct. 4. Lewis, state secretary of the can comrades in their present Socialist Party of Massachus- terrible dilemma in the Ameri and, along with the war-monetts, writes a communication can Labor Party. gering Louis Waldmans and assorted pro-Roosevelt labor in The Call, October 14, "I skates, the Norman Thomas so- think it is only fair to your resolution - why that would maders to state that the mes-mean a break with the Dubin cialists, led by Jack Altman. voted for the pro-war resolu- sage from the German Inde- skys and Hillmans and all the tion. Shordy afterward the pendent Labor Party . . . also other bureaucrats in the needle press reported that the "well- included a statement from the trades; would mean that the known socialist," Frank Cross- Society of Sudeten Germans Jack Altmans would no longer which reads: 'Hitler's defeat be welcome in the corridors of waith, had "expressed unqualiis an aim common to all those the union officialdom; it would ied approval for the resolution." The terms in which his loving peace, liberty and hu- mean to put their much-touted fellow-socialist, Harry Laidler, manity. We are in accord with principles above the interests accepted the resolution have the British and French peoples of the Crosswaiths and other re not been published, but it was who stand up for the freedom tainers of the union bureaucra

evidently satisfactory to the of the world.' It would be a mis- cy. As for the very thought of war - mongering ALP leader- take to leave the impression disciplinary action against the hip. All this was, of course, in that our courageous German war-mongers in the party like plain violation of the official comrades regard the outcome Crosswaith, Jack Aliman, Al stand of the Socialist party.

One awaited with interest, herefore, the following issues Nation and elsewhere, but that "leaders." For that's the So of The Call. Would the Socialist Party adhere to its official ani-war position and consequently condemn Jack Altman,

Farty in unequivocal opposition to the war-mongering res-Lovestoneite Workers Age, justify voting for the resolution?

These were the two horns of he dilemma which the national eaders of the Socialist Party

aced. How would they meet he problem? difficult period ahead. They have met the problem so far, in the two weeks since Oct. 4, by a very simple meth- pathizer of the workers' cause od: u.ter silence. The October has a direct stake in this case. all members of the Socialist 14 and 21 issues of The Call are Rally to the defense of Frank out, and they carry not a sin-. Watson. Rush funds at once to Peoples Socialist League and gle word on this important the Watson Defense Fund of the question! Nor have any state- American Labor Aid, .125 W. ments been issued to the press 33rd st., New York City." -other than Crosswaith's "unjualified approval of the resoluion." 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 "A-FL warns of war danger' '- a thorough and-to use the more war. accurate term-servile whitewash of the AFL bureaucracy. which, far from really fighting can Labor Aid," Comrade Canagainst the war, railroaded non said. "to undertake a cam- can Labor Aid, Watson Defense through the convention support vaign of support in behalf of Fund, 125 W. 33rd St. (Room for what the Socialist Party has Frank Watson, persecuted Ca- 201), New York City. called the first giant step to nadian anti-war militant, and war: Roosevelt's program to the Canadian section of the aid Anglo-French imperialism Fourth International for which by lifting the embargo. As if this were not enough, nary action in defense of civil the Oct. 21 issue of 'The Call rights. It is in the truest sense provided further whitewash: of the word a first step in a 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! WHERE THE CALL FINDS ENCOURAGEMENT The latest issues of The Call Single Combination have room for many things. That of October 14 wrote: "An encouraging note was struck by the AFL convention here when it gave a tremendous ovation to Gerhart Seger, former member of the German Reichstag, who spoke to the delegates on behalf of the German labor delegation in America." Why is "an encouraging note" that



of the war with indifference on fred Baker Lewis et. al.-ex

the ground that it is only a pulsions and such weapons are

clash between rival imperial- for the Altmans to employ ag

isms." (Mr. Lewis writes in ainst the left wingers in the

the same pro-Ally vein in The party, never against such

is all right in the Socialist Par- cialist Party of Norman Thom

(Continued from Page 1) It is a call to arms in the defense of civil rights during the

ty where only left wingers must as.

ine anti-war fighters whose rev

world - wide action to safeguard the rights of those genu-

olutionary action alone can put an end to the frightful holocaust

fully to the Watson Defense

Subscribe to the

THE CALL APPLIES GOBS OF WHITEWASH

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. every such case, what was decisive was the ca pacity in which they appeared and the attitud they took when they spoke.

And if one is compelled to speak, asks Zach shall he be silent about the Stalinists, especial when his position on Stalinism is known public ly? A revolutionist who appeared before th Dies Committee or any other committee. woul no more refrain from giving his position to

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 selirespect.

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 ru'e-like the Minneapolis WPA workers -who are now on trial for their freedom.

Sociali	st Ap	peal					
116 Un	iversi	ty Pla	ce				
New Y	ork C	ity.					
your p	aper,	the S	ociali	st App	eal,	ainted Please week	send
Nam	е			CALCULATION OF T		an an an a	li an
Addr	ess						
City							

"Every worker, every sym- which has been unleashed. "In this sense we call upon Workers Party and the Young all sympathizers and readers of our press to rally at once to the appeal of the American Labor . . . Aid, and to contribute bounti

Cannon Statement

Fund that it has created. James P. Cannon, National "International solidarity is Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, greeted the creation the first task of the hour for of the Watson Defense Fund as revolutionists. Concretely, that the most important act of in- means every ounce of support. ternational solidarity initiated every dollar that can be spar here since the outbreak of the ed, for the defense of Frank Watson and the Canadian

Fourth Internationalists." "The decision of the Ameri-Rush all funds to the Ameri-

he spoke, is not just an ordi SOCIALIST APPEAL

LIVING THOUGHTS OF MARX LEON TROTSKY

Single copies \$1.00 (less 10% cash discount) Special rates in bundles of 5 or more This new book is a condensation of Marx's CAPITAL by Otto Ruehle with a brilliant 93 page introduction by Leon Trotsky, dealing in the main with the American scene.

By special arrangement with the publisher (Longmans, Green & Co.) we are able to offer this new book in combination with the paper cover FASCISM AND BIG BUSINESS AT:

(1 book each) \$1.50 (3 books each) 3.75 **Combination of 3** (5 books each) 6.25 **Combination of 5**

RUSH YOUR ORDERS

PIONEER PUBLISHERS 116 UNIVERSITY PLACE New York City

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 redivision 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, Borahthat 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.