

## Stalin--The Temporary Holder Of the Ukraine

By Leon Trotsky

(The following is a translation of a statement by Leon Trotsky given to the press about the time of the Stalinist invasion of Poland. We reprint it from the organ of the Mexican section of the Fourth International.—Ed.)

War, like revolution, is distinguished by the fact that at a blow it destroys idiotic formulas and reveals the naked reality underneath. "Defense of democracy" is an empty formula. The invasion of Poland is a bloody reality.

Today it is clear that in the very same years in which the Comintern was bringing to a head its clamorous campaign for an alliance of the democracies against Fascism, the Kremlin was preparing a military understanding with Hitler against the so-called democracies. Even complete idiots will have to understand now that the Moscow Trials, with the aid of which the Bolshevik Old Guard was destroyed under the accusation of collaboration with the Nazis, were nothing but camouflage for the Stalinist alliance with Hitler. The secret is out. While the British and French missions were discussing with Voroshilov the problem of the most effective defense of Poland, the same Voroshilov, together with the representatives of the German General Staff, was discussing the best manner in which to smash and divide Poland. The Kremlin not only deceived Chamberlain, Daladier and Beck, but also, and systematically, the working classes of the Soviet Union and the entire world.

### By the Terms of the Pact

Some fatuous people and snobs accuse me of being impelled to make horrible predictions out of "hatred" of Stalin. As if serious people allow themselves to be swayed by their personal feelings in questions of historical importance! The inexorable facts prove that reality is more horrible than all the predictions that I made. In entering Polish territory, the Soviet armies knew beforehand at what point they would meet—and as allies, not as enemies—with the armies of Hitler. The operation was determined in its main points by the secret clauses of the Germano-Soviet pact; the general staffs of both countries were to be found in constant collaboration; the Stalinist invasion is nothing but a symmetrical supplement of the Hitlerite operations. Such are the facts.

Until very recently the Kremlin, trying to gain the friendship of Warsaw (in the given case, to deceive it), declared that the slogan of self-determination for Western Ukraine (Eastern Galicia) was criminal. The purges and executions in the Soviet Ukraine were provoked mainly by the fact that the Ukrainian revolutionists, against the will of Moscow, aspired to the liberation of Galicia from Polish oppression. Now the Kremlin covers its intervention in Poland with a penitent concern for the "liberation" and "unification" of the Ukrainian and White Russian peoples. In reality, the Soviet "unification," more than any other part of the Soviet Union, is bound by the ferocious chains of the Muscovite bureaucracy. The aspirations of various sections of the Ukrainian nation for their liberation and independence are completely legitimate and have a very intense character. But these aspirations are directed also against the Kremlin. If the invasion gains its end, the Ukrainian people will find itself "unified," not in national liberty, but in bureaucratic enslavement.

### Facilitating Hitler's Objectives

The Hitlerite press gives absolute approval to the "unification" and "liberation" of the Ukrainians under the claws of the Kremlin. With this Hitler is accomplishing two tasks: first, drawing the Soviet Union into his military orbit; second, taking a further preparatory step on the road towards

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## Behind the Lines

By GEORGE STERN

In speculating over the precise significance of the new Franco-British pact with Turkey it is well to remember once more that pacts these days are not everything they seem. Few chapters in recent tangled diplomatic history have been more thoroughly befogged than the negotiations which have now resulted in an apparent breakdown of Russo-Turkish talks and the conclusion of an Anglo-Franco-Turkish pact of mutual assistance. Not even the newspapers, which have a glib explanation for everything, seem to be able to decide who won and who lost in this rather important skirmish on the diplomatic front.

Out of the many obscurities of the situation, nevertheless, a few salient facts emerge quite clearly. Stalin was trying to use the negotiations with Turkey as a form of insurance against future eventualities. He first of all wanted to be sure that through the closing of the Dardanelles his Black Sea trade with Germany would not be affected. He also—and this was even more important—wanted to make sure of immobilizing Turkey when the time comes for carving up the Balkans again—especially Rumania. In these aims he has apparently failed for the time being. In this respect the outcome of the Turkish talks must be taken together with the obvious toning down of the demands made upon Finland as a check on the Kremlin's diplomatic blitzkrieg.

But this is by no means the final word. In the pact signed by Turkey with Britain and France there is a little clause that may turn out to be the jok-

er in the deck. It is agreed that in no circumstances will Turkey go to war with Russia.

This leaves pretty much as before a big question mark next to Turkey's name in the war lineup. Events—and not this pact—will tell what Turkey will actually do when the Hitler-Stalin partnership goes to work in its own peculiar way in southeastern Europe.

There is another version also of these same events. Stalin is depicted as having been virtually ready to join Turkey and, indirectly, Britain and France, in guaranteeing the status quo in the Balkans. At the last minute Hitler is said to have served peremptory demands on his Kremlin ally, with the result that Stalin introduced fresh claims upon Turkey in the conversations with Saragoclu which Turkey, under Anglo-French pressure, refused to accept.

In London a good deal of effort is being extended to put this face on things, to make it appear for Hitler's benefit that Stalin has actually been trying to put over a back-door double-cross on his German ally and may still do so. This is not because the British desire to win Stalin over to their side against Hitler. It is because they are hoping still to win Hitler over against Stalin by breaking the Moscow-Berlin axis.

But either eventually still is a ways off, for both with respect to northern Europe and the Balkans, both Germany and Russia still have too much to gain by working together to sacrifice it by beginning, prematurely, to pull apart.

## Cast Your Anti-War Vote for Shachtman and Paine!

# Socialist Appeal

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# J. L. LEWIS OPENS DRIVE IN CIO TO "CLEAN HOUSE" OF STALINISTS

## Defense to Appeal Mpls. Trial Convictions

Time-Worn "Conspiracy" Formula Used to Frame WPA Prisoners

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

MINNEAPOLIS, Oct. 20

—The Roosevelt administration won the first round in its persecution of the W P A strikers here.

Five out of eight defendants in the first WPA trial were found guilty in Judge Joyce's Federal court Tuesday morning.

A second trial, of four defendants, is now under way. A third trial, involving 25 other defendants, begins October 30. A total of 193 strikers have been indicted so far.

**Under Woodrum Law**  
All are being tried under a provision of the Roosevelt-Woodrum Relief Law, making it a crime to "interfere with" or "intimidate" WPA project workers.

The five convicted Tuesday were Carl Pemble, Myron Phillips, Richard Connell, Ben Palmer and Leslie Wachter. They were found guilty of "intimidation," in an altercation on a project, although unrefuted testimony established that a fascist on the job, Philip Slaughter, had attacked the strikers with a knife.

**Danger to Labor**  
Four of them were also found guilty of "conspiracy" to interfere with WPA workers. In his charge to the jury, Judge Joyce practically ordered the jury to find the defendants guilty on this count by his broad definition of conspiracy.

The use of this conspiracy charge by the Federal government is seen here as the gravest danger to all organized labor. It represents a revival, at this late date, of a juridical formula long discredited as a deliberate device employed against the labor movement when judges and employers could not prove overt acts. In English common law, any "conspiracy" was per se illegal. This formula was dug up and applied to organized labor first in the 1880's and enabled prosecutors and judges to prosecute unions even though the authorities could point to no acts committed by the union men. The mere organization of a union, for example, was called a conspiracy.

Strenuous struggles by organized labor over many decades finally forced the conspiracy

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## In The Fight Against War!

# Socialist Appeal

Official Organ Socialist Workers Party, New York Campaign Edition

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY, 116 University Place, New York City

## VOTE FOR THE ONLY ANTI-WAR CANDIDATES IN N. Y. ELECTION

—This Is YOUR Program!

### Platform of the Socialist Workers Party

The Socialist Workers Party has no interests separate and apart from those of labor. Today, when the whole world is on the brink of war, the Socialist Workers Party is the ONLY party that fights against capitalist war—a war to redivide the world markets and profits. It is in the forefront of the struggle against Fascism. It has a concrete program which alone can immediately help labor.

The Socialist Workers Party is running two candidates for the office of Councilman in New York City:

Max Schachtman in the borough of Bronx

George Lyman Paine in the borough of Manhattan

Vote for the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party

They are pledged to fight for the following program:

**1. Put an End to Capitalist War!**

Roosevelt and the Democrats have scrapped all the progressive legislation they promised the Forgotten Man in 1932. Even relief for the unemployed has been laid on the chopping block. Roosevelt himself started the backslide out of relief appropriations.

Roosevelt promised a NEW DEAL. He handed out a WAR DEAL.

Now Roosevelt and all his supporters are working overtime to convert the Forgotten Man into the Unknown Soldier.

Under capitalism the youth has no future except that of becoming cannon fodder.

Roosevelt is dumping four billion dollars a year into the most costly war machine in history.

The first World War cost more than 350 billion dollars—enough money to provide an income of \$2,000 a year for 12 years to 15 million unemployed! The Second World War will cost many times that staggering amount.

Labor has no more to gain from the war that is now raging than from the last one. The last World War cost more than 13 million lives. You and yours may be among the many times 13 million who will be slaughtered in the next world war. The flower of our youth will come back—those who do come back— "Over There" shell-shocked, gassed, mutilated.

Why not use the war funds to end unemployment and hunger?

Why not?

But Roosevelt and all his friends oppose even the right of the people to VOTE—whether or not this country shall enter the war.

Together with Congress, Roosevelt is so anxious for war that he refuses to permit a referendum vote of the people on the question.

If the people are fit to face bayonets and bullets and to pay the colossal cost of war, they are fit to decide whether they shall die on foreign battlefields!

ALL WAR FUNDS TO THE UNEMPLOYED!

TAKE THE WAR-MAKING POWER AWAY FROM CONGRESS—LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE!

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Max Schachtman, S.W.P. Candidate

For Council for the Bronx

George Lyman Paine, S.W.P. Candidate

For Council for Manhattan

### Fight War Plans In Campaign

The campaign to place Max Schachtman and George Lyman Paine as the Socialist Workers Party candidates in the New York City Council election is being carried on with the help of thousands of signatures collected in addition to those required by the election law.

As the campaign goes on, it is daily becoming more apparent that the program of the Socialist Workers Party is the only one that is being carried on by the New York people for the election law.

My other party had taken a fortuitous position on the most important question of the day—war.

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## Strikes First Blow by Removing CP Clique From Strategic Posts

Lewis Crusade Spells End of the Stalinist Union-Wreckers in CIO—Conflict Breaks On Choice of Allied or Hitler-Stalin War Camp

By GEORGE CLARKE

John L. Lewis' announcement that the CIO will clean house of "Communists" means in simple English the beginning of the end of Stalinist power in the American union movement.

The authoritative story of Louis Stark in the *N. Y. Times* (Oct. 17), reporting the coup of John L. Lewis in the Executive Board tersely states the plan:

"John L. Lewis is determined to rid the Congress of Industrial Organizations of all

Communist influence in the next year, according to reports here today concerning the crusade which he set in motion at the meeting of the Executive committee which followed the close of the CIO convention in San Francisco."

Stark goes on to report the replacing of the Executive Committee of forty-two as the policy-making power within the CIO by a board of eight. The Executive Committee of forty-two members was heavy with Stalinist supporters, half or more of whom being members or fellow-travellers of the Communist Party. The new board of eight is composed of individuals openly known to be anti-Stalinists. Harry Bridges was left off the board and his power as Regional Director of the West Coast curtailed to include only the State of California. Just an entree to the main course still to be served.

**Stalinists Done For**  
The "crusade" will now begin in earnest. Lewis' long experience in slugging his opposition out of business in the United Mine Workers can very well serve as a preview of the events to come in the CIO. In every International Union, city and state CIO Council, in every local union the Stalinist union officials will feel the mailed fist of the generalissimo of the CIO. They will either renounce their former affiliations and scurry like rats for cover—as most of them will—or find themselves on the outside looking in. Where they make any attempt at organized resistance, their charters will speedily find themselves in the wastebasket, or the officials and bureaucrats placed on war-time rations without benefit of the fat CIO subsidies.

The calamity is upon the Stalinists. There is neither retreat or escape for them. They are finished in the CIO.

**Union-Wreckers**  
What has brought them to this sorry pass? Why has Lewis suddenly brought his long-standing alliance with the union-wreckers to an abrupt termination?

Ever since the inception of the CIO revolutionists, radicals and progressives have warned day in, day out of the disastrous effects Stalinism would have on the most promising union movement to arise in this country for decades. These predictions and these warnings were confirmed every inch of the way. Stalinist infiltration into the SWOC helped weaken the eventually lost "Little Steel" strike. Stalinist operatives almost devitalized the great auto workers union by a debilitating faction struggle. Stalinist bur-

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The above is a reproduction of the front page of the special four-page New York Election issue of the Socialist Appeal which was this week published by the New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party. The Election Issue contains the New York election program, statements by Schachtman and Paine as well as other material.

## Union Puts the Lie to Phoney Charges Made by Auto Moguls

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

**DETROIT, Oct. 20**—The Chrysler Corporation is covering its vicious speed-up by a barrage of words. But all of Herman Weckler's (corporation vice-president) spouting can't hide the facts: the workers have been locked out of the factories because they couldn't stand a speed of production that broke their backs and shattered their nerves. Weckler's straw bosses fired men

as can be seen from their refusal to mediate the dispute before the State Labor Mediation Board at Lansing. This mediation board, it will be remembered,

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### NOTICE!

There will be an important membership meeting of Local New York this Sunday, October 22. All members of the SWP and YPSL are instructed to be at Beethoven Hall, 5th Street between 2nd and 3rd Ave., at 3 p. m. sharp.

Let the People Vote on War!

## FUNDS URGENTLY NEEDED FOR WATSON DEFENSE!

Rallying to the aid of one of the first victims of war-time persecution, American militants, in a living demonstration of international solidarity, formed this week the Watson Defense Fund in behalf of Frank Watson, English-Canadian worker arrested on the streets of Toronto Sept. 15 by the Dominion police for his outspoken denunciation of the imperialist war.

The American Labor Aid, initiator of the Defense Fund, had been approached with appeals

from members of Canadian labor organizations to assist them in the struggle for Watson's liberation. Despite the war-time dictatorship that exists in the Dominion, making extremely difficult the distribution of propaganda calling upon Canadian workers to support the struggle for Watson's freedom, many individuals and members of the Canadian Commonwealth Federation, the Fourth Internationalist Socialist Workers League and other labor organizations have already been

active in the Watson Defense Committee.

### A Call to Arms

Mary Green, National Secretary of the American Labor Aid, commenting on the arrest of the Canadian militant, stated, "The Watson case is the first example on our continent of the effects of the present war upon the rights and liberties of the people on whose behalf it is supposedly waged. It is a danger signal to the workers and genuine fighters for liberty throughout America. It is a call

to arms in the defense of civil liberties in order to move about, rights during the difficult period of a democracy which confiscates the land of Kenya farmers and

Arrested one week after Canada forces them into wage labor at a declaration of war upon starvation rates. The British Germany, Watson, speaking in Empire," Watson continued, "is Toronto from the platform of democracy but a ragbag of the Socialist Workers League, territories stolen from other declared, 'We are being asked to fight for a democracy which years.'

forces women to work at nine cents a day in the coal mines of Canada to resist and oppose a India, which compels the Ne-war in which they have nothing go workers of South Africa to gain and everything to lose, live in a pestilential ghetto and Watson exclaimed, 'Workers, to carry as many as eleven

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# "War Is the Issue!" - Says Call to Writers and Professionals

## In the Labor Unions

By B. J. WIDICK

A conference on war prices was initiated by Labor's Non-Partisan League of Massachusetts for the coming week end at Boston.

No doubt, this is the beginning of a national move on this problem by affiliates of the CIO and by certain forces within the union movement, and it deserves considerable attention.

The official call for the conference states:

"One week after the beginning of war, wholesale prices of 30 foods had jumped 17 per cent.

"No one knows how soon still higher prices, speculative or real, may seriously confront one and one half million in Massachusetts.

"The time to begin to organize for action is NOW.

"Labor, consumer, cooperative, farmer and social groups are cooperating to make this conference an effective step to protect standards of living.

### Price Councils

"We urge you to take part in this program, which includes the following definite objectives:

"1. To create permanent War Price Councils, on a state, city and neighborhood basis.

"2. To support utmost use of existing federal, state and municipal safeguards against unjustified price increases.

"3. To supplement legislation defending living standards. To create neighborhood buying groups, able to deal directly with farmers' marketing cooperatives."

The quick response of the CIO unions to the pressure of increased cost of living this fall indicates that such an appeal will meet with general approval. Many CIO unions have demanded a revision of contracts to allow for negotiations on immediate wage increases, as we recently discussed in this column.

### Action Is Real Key

Direct action by the CIO unions is still the main job in the next period. However, there is nothing wrong in supplementary action provided it takes a proper course. Neither, it must be added, can take the place of a serious struggle against war, as the main way of fighting the evils attending imperialism.

Participation in this and other conferences of a similar nature must proceed from this point of view if the labor movement is to accomplish its aims. A blunt warning is in order too. Grave doubt can be expressed about the real nature and meaning of the Massachusetts conference under its present auspices.

Knowing what a stranglehold the Stalinists have had of the LNPL in that area, this looks suspiciously like another device to create a new "front" organization to replace those collapsing under the stigma of "stooge outfits."

Every serious trade unionist must fight strongly against any attempt of the Stalinists to capture control or maintain it over an organization which many workers want.

Unless this is a preliminary step of the genuine union elements, the conference and similar ones will be sterile and serve only the interests of the Stalinists.

### Too Vague

The vague character of the three-point program likewise doesn't tend to create enthusiasm for what it claims to be its purpose.

The first conference if it is to have value, must answer more specifically how the war price councils will fight against increasing costs of living.

Getting more concrete about utilizing federal, state and municipal safeguards against "unjustified" price increases is also highly in order.

Unless these qualifications can be removed, one must state categorically that the whole move is doomed in advance to mere shadow-boxing with the problem of increased cost of living, with the additional curse of Stalinism tainting it.

## WIDE INTEREST SHOWN IN S.W.P. CANDIDATES

4-Page Campaign Issue of Appeal Gives Full Party Program

(Continued from Page 1)

Library Staff Association, the Citizens Union of the City of New York, the Joint Committee of Teachers Organizations and the New York City League of Women Voters, the Campaign Committee announced today.

Requesting that Candidate Shachtman express himself on the issue of fascism, the South Bronx Committee For Tolerance, 403 E. 138 St., writes, "Desirous of ascertaining your stand with regard to the organizations known as the 'Christian Front' and the 'Christian Mobilizers.' Your reply will be publicly read at a mass meeting which we will hold on October 25, 1939, at P.S. 65, 141 St. and Cypress Avenue, in the Borough of the Bronx." (The answer by Candidate Shachtman appears elsewhere in this issue.)

Accepting their invitation, Candidate Shachtman will speak at a public mass meeting of the New York League of Women Voters, Monday Evening, October 23, at Bronx High School of Science, 184 Street and Creston Ave., the Campaign Committee announced.

The Campaign Committee also announced today that Candidates Shachtman and Paine will appear at a meeting of the Women's City Club of New York, 25 West 51 Street, on Wednesday, November 1.

Removed from the ballot on a mere technicality by the Board of Elections, George Lyman Paine was conferring with legal counsel on the next move in the fight to restore his name to the voting lists, the Campaign Committee declared.

"Despite the efforts of the Board of Elections to deny the voters of Manhattan an opportunity to solidarize themselves with the only anti-war candidate now up for election in that Borough," Dwight MacDonald stated, "the wide interest already displayed in the Manhattan candidate of the Socialist Workers Party speaks well for the vote he will roll up on election day."

In an edition of thousands of copies, the Campaign Committee issued the first of its special tabloid supplements of the Socialist Appeal Wednesday, containing the election platform of the Socialist Workers Party and the statements of the two candidates. Questions requesting further information on the campaign are flooding the offices of the Committee for Shachtman and Paine. Dwight MacDonald made known today. The tabloid campaign edition amplifies the anti-war, anti-fascist platform of the S.W.P., declaring for a Popular Referendum on War, and the formation of Workers Defense Guards against fascist provocation. Full rights for the Negro people and an end to the gouging of the poor round out the election platform.

Speaking before another well-attended election campaign rally Wednesday, October 18, at Hollywood Gardens, Prospect Avenue and 162 Street, Shachtman stated, "I have been surrounded on all sides by questions requesting me to state my position on County Reform. Yes, I am for County Reform. I'm for it one hundred percent. As a matter of fact, I'm for it so much that I would like to see the present crowd of officeholders dispersed and in their stead have this County administered by subway workers, needle trades workers, longshoremen and building trades workers. In other words, I'm for County Reform to the extent that the workers themselves engage directly in running the affairs of government."

Monday, October 23, Shachtman will speak at Bronx Terrace, Third Ave., at Claremont Parkway, at another of the series of election rallies arranged by the Campaign Committee. Earlier that same evening, Shachtman will address the New York City League of Women Voters at the Bronx High School of Science, 184 St. and Creston Ave.

Subscribe to the SOCIALIST APPEAL

## League for Cultural Freedom And Socialism Condemns War Plans of American Profiteers

Signed by 59 radical writers, a statement issued last week by the League for Cultural Freedom and Socialism pointed to the war as the great issue of the day, and called upon writers and professional workers to join with them in opposing the war and the war-makers. The statement, which speaks for itself as an outspoken declaration against the imperialist war now raging in Europe as well as against the Roosevelt-Wall Street War Deal which is seeking to drag the people into the war, is here printed in full:

Several months ago the League for Cultural Freedom and Socialism addressed its founding statement "to all artists and writers concerned about the present drift of the United States to reaction and war."

"Cultural circles, formerly 'progressive,' we wrote then, 'are now capitulating to the spirit of fascism while ostensibly combatting its letter. . . . To the war drive of the fascist powers, they reply with a war drive of their own. . . . Inspired by Stalinist and social-reformist propaganda, they advocate a new war for 'democracy.' Yet this war must give birth to military dictatorship and to forms of intellectual repression far more violent than those evoked by the last war."

Since this was written, the Stalinist regime has joined hands with Hitler, and Poland has been partitioned between Nazi Germany and Stalinist Russia. The thunder of the second world war is now shaking Europe. These great historical events have shattered old alignments over here and are creating new groupings. Less than a week before the Berlin-Moscow pact was announced, for example, four hundred American writers, artists, educators and intellectuals signed their names to a statement of faith in the Soviet Union as a bulwark of "democracy." Clearly worried by the formation of the LCFS and similar groups, the four hundred sharply rebuked all critics of Stalinism as friends of fascism. This document has now become a historical curiosity.

### Roosevelt Joins Allied Cause

But this is no time for crying, "We told you so!" The actual outbreak of war in Europe has reduced even the Stalin-Hitler pact to a second-rate question. The great question now is: what is the attitude of American intellectuals, regardless of past illusions, towards American participation in the war? War has become the issue.

It took almost three years to swing the United States into the last war. Already the Roosevelt administration has served notice that it will attempt to do in months what the Wilson administration took years to achieve. Already it is devoting its chief energies not to domestic reform but to foreign policy. So far as it lies in the power of the New Deal, American blood and treasure will be lavishly expended to help France and England crush once more their ancient imperialist rival.

We loathe and abominate fascism as the chief enemy of all culture, all real democracy, all social progress. But the last war showed only too clearly that we can have no faith in imperialist crusades to bring freedom to any people. Our entry into the war, under the slogan of "Stop Hitler!" would actually result in the immediate introduction of totalitarianism over here. Only the German people can free themselves of the fascist yoke. The American masses can best help them by fighting at home to keep their own liberties.

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### ANNOUNCEMENTS

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

An attractive poster has been prepared to advertise the column in the Socialist Appeal by J. R. Johnson on "The Negro Question." The use of these posters on newsstands and at meetings will help to increase the sale of

the paper to the Negro workers. The posters are on sale for five cents by the National Negro Dept., 116 University Place, New York City.

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### The Duty of Artists and Writers

The war issue most intimately concerns American intellectuals. Farrington summarizes the effects of the last war on our culture: "With the entry of America into the war came a sharp change in literary development. Regimentation due to war psychology destroyed the movement of social criticism. . . . The liberal movement in economics and politics came to an abrupt end." Nor can we have any illusions about the effect on our cultural life of American entry into this war. It will mean corruption for those who accept it, spiritual if not physical imprisonment for those who refuse to conform. Every branch of our culture will be set back for decades.

What can American artists and writers do at this time?

In a practical, immediate sense, they can help make articulate the strong opposition which the great majority of the American people still feel to our entry into the war. The masses, who have nothing to gain and everything to lose from another war, are far from endorsing the President's foreign policy. But this sentiment can again be cheated, deceived, propagandized out of existence as it was in the last war, unless it is made conscious and given organized expression. Here the intellectuals can be of the greatest service.

In a more general sense, American writers and artists must put themselves on record against the war as a symbol of their acceptance of the responsibilities of their profession. In the last war, a whole generation of writers committed spiritual suicide by taking part in the orgy. If only for the sake of their own integrity, American intellectuals must now signalize their opposition not only to war in the abstract but specifically to American entry into this war. It would be a betrayal of the human spirit for them to keep silent at this time.

War is the great issue today. We call upon all American artists, writers and professional workers to join us in this statement of implacable opposition to this dance of war in which Wall Street joins with the Roosevelt administration.

(Signed) Lionel Abel, Kay Boyle, James Burnham, V. F. Calverton, Eleanor Clark, James Peter Cooney, James Decker, David C. DeJong, Paul Dobbs, F. W. Dupee, James T. Farrell, Charles Henri Ford, Philip H. Gray, Jr., Clement Greenberg, William Gruen, Esther D. Hamill, Robert Hivnor, Melvin J. Laszky, James Laughlin IV, Dwight Macdonald, John McDonald, Sherry Mangan, Ralph Manheim, Alan Mather, Clark Mills, Norman Mini, George L. K. Morris, Culbertson Myers, Gilbert Neiman, Helen Neville, George Novack, Lyman Paine, Kenneth Patchen, Carl Peterson, William Phillips, Arthur Pincus, Fairfield Porter, Philip Rahv, Kenneth Rexroth, T. C. Robinson, James Rorty, Harold Rosenberg, Harry Roskolenko, Meyer Shapiro, Delmore Schwartz, Winfield T. Scott, Gordon Sylander, John Wheelwright, William Carlos Williams, Bertram D. Wolfe.

—for the LEAGUE FOR CULTURAL FREEDOM AND SOCIALISM

The following non-members of the League have also signed the above statement:

Louise Bogan, Anita Brenner, Joseph Cornell, Robert Fitzgerald, Malcolm Greene, Weldon Kees, Victor Lawson, Gorham B. Munson, Katharine Anne Porter.

(Please address all communications to: Dwight Macdonald, 117 East 10 St., N. Y. C.)

### LIFE ISN'T HARD FOR ALL PEOPLE IN HITLER-LAND

According to the Reich Statistical Bureau, German National Socialism has given to at least one portion of the population butter as well as guns.

Since the Nazis seized power in 1933, the small number of Germans earning above \$40,000 a year has increased their total income by four hundred percent.

Thus, while this small group eked out a mere total income of \$140,800,000 in 1936, their earnings have increased to \$584,000,000 in 1939. Which, as the saying goes, is plenty of butter.

The lone dissident note struck by the official income figures reveal that fifty-five percent of the population made less than \$12 a week in 1938. This evil majority, the figures disclose, embracing the lowest income brackets, earn as low as \$480 a year, or 23 percent of the total national income. In contrast, the 1.2 percent of the population at the top receive 14 per cent of the total national income.

Help Us Distribute The Socialist Appeal—The Anti-War Paper

## DEFENSE WILL APPEAL MPLS CONVICTIONS

AFL Convention Protested Anti-Labor Indictments

(Continued from Page 1) formula into disuse. Now, at the direction of Attorney General Murphy, it is revived again by the Federal government itself!

### Prepare Appeal

The WPA Defense Committee, set up by the Central Labor Union, central body of all AFL unions here, is appealing the convictions to the next higher court, the Federal circuit court.

The defense committee will hold a joint meeting today with the defense committee set up by the St. Paul AFL central body to plan the next steps in defending the Twin City labor movement against the government prosecutions. An appeal for financial and moral support of the WPA defendants will go out to all unions throughout the state.

### AFL Protests Action

The possibility of a national trade union appeal on behalf of the victims was indicated, when the AFL national executive council sent the following wire to George Murk, chairman of the Minneapolis defense committee. The wire said:

"Executive council passed resolution protesting against activities of federal courts for proceeding in several instances against labor unions or members in efforts to discipline them for union activity which the labor unions have a perfect right to exercise as members of organized labor. Will send you copies of resolution." The telegram was signed by Joseph N. Webber, AFL vice-president, for the executive council.

## LEWIS CRUSADE SPELLS END OF C P INFLUENCE IN CIO

(Continued from Page 1) question of war. Not, to be sure, between a pro-war and an anti-war policy. Far, far from that. It is a conflict between two camps of war-mongers; Lewis supporting the camp of Roosevelt and his "democratic" allies and the Stalinists backing the Hitler-Stalin combination, both of them in hostile opposition to the real interests of the workers on the question of war. The issue of the war makes the divorce final and irrevocable.

Will the patriots of the Stalin-Hitler alliance resist Lewis' purge? On what ground? On the grounds of bureaucracy, on the grounds of the invasion of local and international autonomy by Lewis and Co.? What a pitiful song for them to chant after they established themselves beyond the slightest doubt as the champions of the bureaucratic intervention of Hillman and Murray in the factional struggle in the United Automobile Workers Union. They are not likely to get much attention from the rank and file of the CIO unions, who are quite familiar with their records, on such a program. The rights of minorities, the right to hold political opinions, in a word, inner-union democracy—this is the very last program on which the Stalinist wreckers, bureaucrats and dictators can expect to get even the slightest hearing.

Union militants and progressives who will fight to the end against any manifestation of bureaucracy, can have little sympathy for the Stalinist wreckers themselves. The Stalinists are reaping the harvest of the rotten seeds they have been sowing in the CIO movement. Their conflict with Lewis is in no way progressive—it is a conflict between two imperialist flags.

### Break on War

As Stark points out, the complaints of Murray and Hillman over increasing Stalinist influence in the CIO had little effect until now. Until—

... the recent Hitler-Stalin pact led to the sudden abandonment of the Communist fight against fascism and nazism, and affected the Communist policy in the trade unions where they were influential."

The conflict between Lewis and the Stalinists has drawn to the sharpest point over the



### MARITIME WORKERS DO THE BEST JOB

A couple of maritime workers, B. and G., carried on the most effective work recently on behalf of the Press. They proceed to contact sympathetic longshoremen and teamsters in San Francisco and collected a sum of \$24.00 for the anti-war Press, the Socialist Appeal and The New Internationalist. That is what we call very fine work, and the two comrades are here publicly thanked.

It can be said, too, that local San Francisco is now among those in the forefront when it comes to systematic distribution and sale of the Socialist Appeal. Under the very able direction of Eloise Booth, the Literature Committee and the comrades generally are taking seriously the task of circulating our Press. Also several subscriptions have come in lately from there.

San Francisco has three squads of three each, which rotate over three districts, North Beach, Mission and Fillmore. Two meetings are held per week in each district. The crowds are big and sympathetic. Oakland holds a meeting each Friday with a speaker from San Francisco. On occasions as many as 60 papers have been sold at a single meeting and the average is about 35.

### OTHER BRANCHES INCREASE ORDERS

A new order of five copies has been placed from Ithaca, New York.

The Harvard Socialist League in Cambridge, Massachusetts, has placed an order for 30 copies of each issue.

Minneapolis has taken steps recently to improve the sales and distribution of the Socialist Appeal by covering more systematically the largest and most important newsstands in the city. Comrade Chester Johnson reports that the results of these renewed efforts merit very close and sustained attention. Also they expect to be able

to utilize their forum season for increased sales and subscriptions both of the Socialist Appeal and The New Internationalist.

In the matter of subscriptions in the past week Chicago, Los Angeles and Plentywood, Montana obtained the best results. Chicago sent in four new subscriptions and four renewals; Los Angeles, five new subscriptions and Plentywood, four. The record for the past week is 28 new subscriptions and 13 renewals as follows:

	Re-	New
	new	
Chicago	4	4
Los Angeles	5	
Minneapolis	2	3
Plentywood	4	
St. Paul	2	2
New York City	2	2
Boston	3	1
Rochester	2	
New Haven	1	
Allentown	1	
Cleveland	1	
Illinois	1	1
Missouri	1	
<b>Total</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>13</b>

Among the cities that are doing very well in systematic distribution of the Press are Rochester, New York and Lynn, Massachusetts.

Boston expects to be able to utilize various forums for sale of the Press, having had some successes recently in that respect.

South Bend now has a new agent, Luther J., and Frank Dart is the new agent in Flint, Michigan.

Jack Glover in Los Angeles is achieving more success in building a systematic circulation of the paper.

### PAYMENTS MUST BE MADE PROMPTLY

The attention of agents and branches is called again to the imperative necessity for payments to be made promptly and completely on the bundle accounts. A few important cities have been a little lax in recent days, but they report that this will be remedied quickly.

minds of the Stalinist crowd, from Bridges, Curran, Quill down to the lowliest business agent.

Lewis gave them a little word of advice, says Stark: "He is said to have bluntly told those in the room [the executive committee meeting] that there was no room for promotion in the CIO for any one who was affiliated with or tried to carry out the Communist party's policies. Any one hoping for a labor career, he said, should not become a member of the Communist party."

This ukase will wreak havoc with the Stalinist forces in the CIO movement. Not only will the leaders know which side their bread is buttered on—but the supporters, members and fellow-travelers of the C.P. in the unions will fall away like chaff before the wind. All the young hopefuls, the career boys who hopped on the C.P. bandwagon to get a job, will hop off with very indecent haste, all the fellow-travelers who wanted to be on the "right side" will become the most rabid opponents of the Communist party. The air will reek with disclaimers—more people will "deny" affiliation with the Stalinists than most people ever believed belonged to them.

The decapitation of Stalinist influence in the trade unions will cleanse it of a virulent poison. The method of their elimination, the issue that provoked it, unfortunately will not strengthen militancy and democracy—it will strengthen the hand, for the time being, of the war-mongering Lewis clique. But only for the time being. The real struggle of the rank and file will rise with greater force in the days and months to come.

Class conscious militants must take care not to line up with either of these imperialist camps expressed in the struggle between the Stalinists and the Lewis bureaucracy. Their duty is clearly indicated. It is the formation of the third camp against imperialist war and its recruiting sergeants in the labor movement. The purge of the Stalinists—by all means! But class conscious workers will organize to extend this purge to the other camp as well, the Lewis-Hillman gang. And that purge can only be carried out with healthful effects for the union movement when it is carried through by democratic means which brings the rank and file into action.

## THE NEGRO QUESTION

By J. R. JOHNSON

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

The Negro petty-bourgeoisie as represented for instance in the Pittsburgh Courier of April 29, can make clear analysis of such a fundamental conflict as imperialist war. It can point out that for the large masses of Negro and other colonial peoples of the world, victory for the "democracies" or victory for the dictatorships would make precious little difference. True the Courier drew the false conclusion that Negro and colonial emancipation could be gained by the imperialists destroying each other. The Courier saw that the majority of white people, i.e., the workers and farmers have little enough "democracy", not nearly enough to die for at any rate. But it failed to show that if white workers in Europe and America, and the millions of oppressed colonials in Africa, India and the West Indies all have nothing to gain by dying for imperialism, the thing to do is to unite against both types of imperialisms, whether fascist or "democratic".

Still the Courier is not a revolutionary Marxist journal. And its policy, muddled and impractical, is not to be lightly dismissed. It has the great advantage of recognizing the fact that violence on a large scale alone will suffice to break colonial slavery. But your petty-bourgeois of whatever race, however revolutionary he may sound, must have a powerful revolutionary party, based on the working class, or he will capitulate before the imperialists at the first sound of a gun.

### Courier Begins to Move Backward

War broke out on September 4. On September 9 the Courier still takes a radical position "The war in Europe need not detain us because it will make no difference to us who wins. Our immediate concern should be the war in which we ourselves are engaged and have been engaged for a long time. That war is at once external and internal against the oppression and exploitation from without and against disorganization and lack of confidence within."

The war of the Negro in this country is to acquire educational facilities for children, more jobs, greater progress in business, social equality in America, and above all self-respect, discipline and intelligent leadership among Negroes. "Our war" concludes this editorial "is no contest between dictatorship and democracy." "Our war is a contest between survival and destruction." When this is fully realized by all of us our progress will be much more rapid."

There are still some of the brave words of the April springtime. Neither "democracy" nor dictatorship. But gone is the idea of self-destruction by imperialism as the only way of Negroes earning full equality. The Courier thinks that when Negroes see things more clearly then "progress will be much more rapid."

How can you in April see hope only when the imperialists destroy each other and in September be sure of rapid progress as soon as you realize things more fully. You realized them fully enough six months ago.

In the following issue, September 16, the Courier takes a great step backward. It notes, in an editorial article, that Roosevelt has declared the United States neutral. But it sees and says that Roosevelt and American business are not really neutral. They want to help France and Britain by sending supplies and will do so as soon as convenient. Where, argues the Courier, do Negroes stand on this question. The reply is astounding. Negroes made great progress in the last war. If America does not export munitions there will be a job-slump (there is one on now, since 1929) and Negroes will suffer. So Negroes should support American sales to Britain and France and so assure jobs for themselves. "Oh, what a fall was there, my countrymen!" The great extermination of imperialism by which Negroes were to enter into the promised land has now shrunk into a war to help get jobs for Negroes. You never know where you are with a petty-bourgeois.

### See "Democracy" for What It Is

You never know where you are with them indeed. For in the next issue, September 23, the Courier takes a step forward. It denounces war for "democracy".

"Before any of our people get unduly excited about SAVING DEMOCRACY in Europe, it should be called to their attention that we have NOT YET ACHIEVED DEMOCRACY HERE.

"We cannot save what DOES NOT EXIST.

"None of the hundreds of millions of COLORED PEOPLE under the Union Jack have ANY VOICE in the British Parliament.

"They are ALL AT WAR with Germany, but they had NO VOTE in the matter.

"None of the black people who live in the French Empire have ANY VOICE in the Chamber of Deputies except those from Senegal and Guadeloupe.

"Yet they are ALL AT WAR with Germany and must supply MEN and RESOURCES.

"If democracy means taxation and conscription WITHOUT REPRESENTATION, then these British and French colonials ARE living in democracies.

"There are really NO DEMOCRACIES where black people are concerned, and therefore any talk about black people fighting in democracy when they are fighting for France and England is POPPYCOCK.

"Black people may have a SMALL MEASURE of democracy in the United States, but a VERY small measure."

The article exposes the tricks of American capitalism in its plans on the Negro and ends: "He (the Negro) would have to have some AT HOME before fighting for any ABROAD."

Our petty-bourgeois is again uttering radical sentiments. There is only one point omitted. Suppose the Negro does not get "democracy" at home. What then? Fight against the withholders of democracy here? The Courier says nothing. Take a guess now at what will appear in the next issue. Step forward or backward? Backward you say? Absolutely correct.

### Prosperity Through What?

The Courier editorial column is once more urging American capitalism to use the war as a means of prosperity. Raise the embargo, create jobs and give some to Negroes. But about the destruction of American imperialism? You don't destroy something by making it prosperous. That is the kind of mess you get into when you have not a clear revolutionary program, opposed to imperialism, everywhere, at all times. What the Courier will do tomorrow or the day after we do not know but we can guess. Five steps backward and half a step forward. And if the workers and farmers do not prevent Roosevelt dragging this country into war, then when America enters, the Courier is going to call on Negroes everywhere to fight for "democracy", the "democracy" American capitalism has withheld from the Negro for 75 years and which will be promised after the new war is over.

How grand the beginning was in April! Let the imperialists destroy each other. Today it is a question of jobs. In our pamphlet "Why Negroes Should Oppose War" by J. R. Johnson (32 pages, 5 cents) we outline our policy on Negroes and war. But the Courier has no policy. It vacillates from the extreme of bloodthirstiness to using the war for jobs. There you have your petty-bourgeois complete, always grouping between the imperialist and the revolutionary workers. Are they lost? Not by any means. Quite a few can be won today and though some are born traitors, many can be won for the revolution tomorrow.

But there is only one way. Build a powerful revolutionary party. Let it look as if it means business. Let it act as if it does. And when it leads the masses into action on a grand scale, we have a chance to tear the petty-bourgeoisie away from the imperialists. It is power and power alone that keeps these wavering elements from wavering so much. They rush to the imperialists today. But an equal power can pull them away in time, the revolutionary power of the masses. It is up to us to build that power.

## SHACHTMAN SEES N.Y. HOUSING PROGRAM FLEEING THE POOR WHILE REALTORS LINE POCKETS

By RUTH JEFFREY

"2,500,000 New Yorkers, or one-third of the city's residents, live in houses unfit for human habitation," declared Max Shachtman, Socialist Workers Party councilman candidate, in launching his campaign for better housing of New York City's masses. "There are 17 square miles of crime and disease-ridden slum in the city. Basing ourselves on the estimates of the city Housing Authority itself, we see that thirty-five giant housing projects of Red Hook proportions would have to rise in the city each year for five years, in order to wipe out these areas of blight and misery."

"To fill this crying local need, \$2,500,000,000 would have to be expended," Comrade Shachtman pointed out. "In the light of these facts, the total New Deal allotment of \$800,000,000 for 'slum clearance' throughout the nation is seen for the miserable fraud that it is; and Federal Housing Commissioner Strauss, who tours the land boasting of New Deal slum clearance and rehousing, and calls on the workers to demonstrate their thankfulness with 'national unity', is seen for the fraudulent War Deal stooge that he is."

### Strauss' Aim

"When Strauss calls upon New York Housing Commissioner Rheinheim," Shachtman explained in discussing the much publicized Rheinheim resignation, "not to over-line the pockets of the big real estate boys with federal funds, he is not looking out for the 'public good'. Strauss is merely trying to stretch the ridiculously small federal housing grant, so that the flimsy smokescreen of 'New Deal' public works may not blow away entirely before Roosevelt leads us into the war. Strauss may also be ear-marking the valuable New York City Housing Commissioner's job for himself for the approaching day when the USHA folds up for lack of funds."

"However," said the Socialist Workers Party candidate, "to take up cudgels for Rheinheim would be merely to exchange one anti-labor housing commissioner for another. It is true that Rheinheim is an experienced builder and has directed most of whatever rehousing New York has seen. But in the process he has leaned over backwards to play ball with the bankers and the real estate interests to the extent of flaunting two of the relatively good provisions of the Federal Housing Act. The USHA's \$1399 ceiling on annual incomes of eligible tenants to housing projects gives a handful of relief families a chance to savor half-decent housing. Rheinheim and his banker friends are, of course, opposed to this frank acceptance of relief as a permanent factor in the government set-up and want this ceiling raised. They do not want to recognize the need for rehousing the dole-supported unemployed, who live in the very worst slums."

### Join the Socialist Workers Party

## Union Puts the Lie to Phoney Charges Made by Auto Moguls

(Continued from Page 1)

bered, was created on the insistence of the stooges of the auto corporations in the state legislature.

The Chrysler Corporation declares it is willing to negotiate. But behind this smiling front, is the blunt refusal to negotiate on the major points of the conflict—speed of production and the union shop.

### Vote for Strike

The United Automobile Workers (CIO) is backing an aggressive publicity campaign answering each lie of the corporation with pointed truths that cannot be denied or assailed. Meanwhile the workers in the Chrysler plants, Dodge main, Dodge Truck, De Soto, Kercheval-Jefferson, Chrysler Highland Park are casting overwhelming votes for a strike. As in the Briggs strike of last spring, the powerful UAW Chrysler organization will pour out the picket lines and compel the corporation to characterize demands for a union shop in slightly different terms than "sovietization".

"Again, the United States Housing Authority's ceiling of \$1.50 per square foot on the cost of land—which is, as you can see, \$15,000 for every little 100 x 100 parcel of land involved—already gives tacit approval to cold-blooded fleecing of the masses by the real estate interests. To ask, as Rheinheim does, for an even higher ceiling on land cost is to countenance highway robbery. It is not for nothing that Chambers of Commerce 'deplore' Rheinheim's resignation. Was it not Rheinheim who arranged that neat little deal in Queens which involved, not removal of slum-dwellings to make way for the Queensbridge project, but the purchase instead of expensive, vacant industrial land?"

"We must have done with grossly inadequate makeshifts of both the Strauss and the Rheinheim varieties. The slums of New York must go! The New York City Housing Authority itself asked the Federal government for \$1,500,000,000 in 1935, to finance the clearance and rehousing of the ten worst square miles of New York slum. But Roosevelt turned down this proposal."

"The people of New York demand the elimination of all 17 square miles of slum, once and for all. The easily-raised sum of \$2,500,000,000 is needed with which to do it."

"We further demand that the slum areas be expropriated by the city, with not a cent in payment to the blood-sucking landlords. These harpies have already received many times over the value of their property in the rentals they have extorted from generations of sweated slum-dwellers. They have cost the people of New York, for social work in these areas, many times what they have remitted in taxes. They have grown fat on the lifeblood of New York's poor. Not less important, expropriation of this land would appreciably lower the rental cost, to prospective tenants, of apartments in the new housing developments."

### SWEET LAND OF LIBERTY

## Garbage Is Yours For the Asking

GARY, Ind.—In a pathetic burst of benevolence, the graying City Fathers of Gary took what they believed to be a long step towards solving the annoying problem of the ill-fed, ill-housed, and ill-clothed.

From now on, it was announced from City Hall, it will be entirely legal for the underfed citizens here to search through garbage cans for surplus foods. According to the notice released by the City Fathers, all scavengers will be supplied with licenses. Applicants, however, must show that they are in real need. Those fortunates who receive the licenses must live up to the code governing the garbage hunt. They must keep their search on a neat and sanitary level.

In a good days search, it is believed here, an enterprising scavenger may be able to relieve both the garbage can and his hunger with any number of delectable items. Scraps of top-steak, slightly chewed tea biscuits, slightly burned food and cork-tipped cigarette butts are considered only an idle day's search.

The City Fathers were so elated with their new found "plan" that they posed for photographers in the act of issuing licenses to their less fortunate neighbors.

## An Answer to the Latest Hue and Cry Against the Marxist Position on the War

By FELIX MORROW

It is very hard to find a conscientious opponent of the revolutionary movement, remarked Lenin, and especially hard to find one among the centrists—those who stand between the brazen reformists and the revolutionists. At first thought, Lenin's remark may appear self-righteous, but all experience testifies that it is a simple truth.

A current example is the pro-Anglo-French resolution adopted Oct. 4 by the American Labor Party leadership. Those who wrote it—the needle trades bureaucracy and the Social Democratic Federation—on the whole make no bones about the meaning of the resolution. The real purveyors of confusion among the resolution's proponents are the "left wing": the Norman Thomas Socialists and the Lovestonites. Their vote for the resolution being in flagrant contradiction to their official anti-war stand, they are compelled to defend the resolution deviously and dishonestly, whereas the brazen war-mongers of the Social Democratic Federation can defend it for what it really is.

Instead of attempting to answer our sharp criticism of their cowardly capitulation to the trade union bureaucrats on this important question, the Thomasites and Lovestonites have now raised a hue and cry against the Trotskyist position on—the inevitability of American participation in the war!

In their indignant protests they are careful to leave unsaid what our complete position is: that American participation is inevitable if the workers permit the democratic-imperialist government to remain in power. But that is only part of what they leave out.

### What Is the Marxist Tradition?

Since the very beginning of our movement (and before that, in the Communist International of Lenin and Trotsky) we have predicted the inevitability of the present war, and the inevitability of American capitalism's participation in it. Yet now is the first time that the Lovestonites (I can't speak for the Thomasites, who never troubled much about theory) object to this theory. Up to yesterday, in fact, the Lovestonites (first as adherents of the Communist International, then as an opposition faction, then as an "independent Communist" tendency) avowedly and explicitly adhered to the same theory! When did they abandon it? Not anywhere explicitly, until they began to attack us for holding it.

To establish by documentation that the theory in question was a fundamental tenet of Leninism would not, however, impress the Thomasites, who were never Leninists, nor the Lovestonites, who have abandoned the fundamentals of Leninism. It is more to the point, therefore, to remind them that the theory of the inevitability of war under capitalism does not begin with Bolshevism. Before the revolutionary years of the Third International, that theory was a fundamental tenet of the Second (Socialist) International. One has but to recall the resolutions adopted by its various congresses. The Stuttgart (1907) resolution, for example, says, after describing the imperialist character of modern capitalism: "Wars, therefore, are part of the very nature of capitalism; they will cease only when the capitalist system is abolished."

The indignation of Messrs. Thomas, Bertram Wolfe and Lovestone should, therefore, be directed against the entire Marxist tradition on war. All their terms of reproach—"false in fact," "deadly poison to any real anti-war struggle," "fatalism, defeatism," etc.—should be directed against the delegates from all countries in the Stuttgart congress, who voted for this doctrine. True, there were those in the international Socialist movement who, even then, disagreed with the doctrine. Strange-

## RUSH FUNDS FOR DEFENSE OF WATSON!

(Continued from Page 1)

let us own Canada before we fight for it."

### Funds Needed

Swinging into the campaign to raise money for the struggle to obtain Watson's freedom, the American Labor Aid has already dispatched appeals to its branches all over the country.

James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, hailing the formation of the Defense Fund, called upon all members of the party and the Young Peoples Socialist League to contribute to the fund.

The Socialist Appeal, in a leading editorial on the Watson Defense Fund, stated, "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."

Friends are urged to rush all contributions to the American Labor Aid, Watson Defense Fund, 125 West 33 St., (Room 201), New York City.

## LARGE AUDIENCE TURNS OUT FOR GOLDMAN FORUM

CLEVELAND, Ohio—Albert Goldman spoke to a crowded hall on Sunday night, October 15.

The audience listened attentively as he analyzed the attitude of the European workers toward the war: their lack of enthusiasm and hatred of it. His closing words, which pointed to the road of liberation from war and fascism in the slogan "For the United Socialist States of Europe," received a volley of applause.

An extended question period, during which the audience sat tight, indicated the deep interest which the program and ideas of the Fourth International as expressed by Comrade Goldman held for the group.

This was the first of the weekly Sunday night anti-war forums which the Cleveland branch is holding.

ly enough, these dissidents did not include the real fighters against war—Lenin, Liebknecht, Luxemburg, Trotsky. For some reason which we should like our critics to explain, the real, the revolutionary fighters against war, were so little poisoned by the fatalistic theory to which they adhered, that their fight against the war put an end to it—by revolution, in Russia and Germany. No, to be blunt, those who opposed the theory of inevitability as "fatalistic determinism"—the Fabians in England, the right wing of the Social Democracy in Germany and France, etc.—were precisely those who first accepted the war, who became chauvinists.

### Our Theories Are a Guide to ACTION!

Are we saying that the Thomasites and Lovestonites will be chauvinists when America enters the war? We can only say, in answer, that we do not see how those who succumbed, on Oct. 4, to the pressure of the ALP bureaucrats, will be able to withstand the far more powerful pressure of the American capitalist government when it enters the war.

For us, the theory of American imperialist participation in the war (our critics concede that this already is the program of the American capitalist class and its government) is not a dogma, but a guide to action. Our strategy and tactics flow from this fundamental perspective.

Just a few examples:

1. Our immediate task is to arouse, to organize, to educate, as many workers as possible in a spirit of utterly irreconcilable opposition to the war, not only before the war—when it is easy enough—but during the war. It is with this purpose in mind that we fight for a popular referendum on war, against Roosevelt's proposal to lift the embargo, against conscription, etc. Our motivation for opposing Roosevelt's proposal is fundamentally different from the motivation of the isolationist Senators. We fight it because we are irreconcilable opponents of the war. They fight it because they consider that particular step inimical to the interests of American capitalism today. Simultaneously, they support Roosevelt in his armament program, in his declaration to defend one of the belligerent nations, Canada, in his hostility to the war referendum, etc. Their opposition to the lifting of the embargo serves, therefore, merely as a cover for the war preparations of American imperialism which they support. They are demagogic exploiters of the anti-war sentiments of the people. To build them up as anti-war fighters is to aid and abet war preparations, to help them delude and mislead the masses. But this is precisely what the Thomasites and Lovestonites do.

### They Capitulated on First Major Test

2. "War is the continuation of politics." Those who serve capitalism in peacetime will serve it in wartime. The labor bureaucracy, inextricably linked to the fortunes of capitalism, will support the war. That is why we do not give a moment's credence to the hypocritical pacifist remarks of a William Green or John L. Lewis, and exhortate every move they make in support of war preparations. But the Thomasites and Lovestonites, with the servility which characterizes them, play up every pacifist remark of Lewis and Green, and play down—conceal—the whole course of the AFL and CIO bureaucracy in support of Roosevelt's war plans. Read the last few issues of the "Workers Age" and "The Call," see their reports of the AFL and CIO conventions on the war question—and contrast them to the reports in the Socialist Appeal.

3. Irreconcilable opposition to the war-mongers in the labor movement—that is absolutely indispensable in the real fight against war. But the Thomasites whitewash their war-mongering, Judas-goat brothers in the Second International, and the Lovestonites whitewash their brothers, such as the impotent, cowardly Independent Labor Party of England. The first major test in this country came on the ALP resolution; the Thomasites and Lovestonites capitulated.

### There Is a Real Difference

4. From our conviction that American participation in the war can only be prevented by a socialist revolution, we draw the same conclusion as we draw from our conviction that in this epoch of capitalist decline only irreconcilable class struggle can win any concessions for the workers: we try to be the hardest fighters every step of the war. Only those can call our theory "poison" or "paralyzing," who have themselves in reality given up (if they ever held it) the perspective of a socialist revolution. This is enough to indicate what the real issue is between us and the Thomas-Lovestone camp. We are separated from them by an entirely different conception of the struggle against war. We are more than anxious to make this crystal-clear.

P. S. The latest issue of the "Workers Age" is not content with falsifying our position on war once more; it adds a new difference, on the Russian question, blandly putting into my mouth remarks which only a Stalinist could make. I brand Bertram Wolfe—who heard my own, actual remarks at a symposium in which he participated—as a deliberate liar. In the next issue I shall deal with his falsification of our position on the Soviet Union.

## Stalin--Temporary Holder of Ukraine

(Continued from Page 1)

the solution of his program of a "Greater Ukraine." Hitler's policy is the following: the establishment of a definite order for his conquests, one after the other, and the creation by each new conquest of a new system of "friendships". At the present stage Hitler concedes the Greater Ukraine to his friend Stalin as a temporary deposit. In the following stage he will pose the question of who is the owner of this Ukraine: Stalin or he, Hitler.

There are people who dare to compare the Stalin-Hitler alliance with the treaty of Brest-Litovsk. What a mockery! The Brest-Litovsk negotiations were carried out openly before all humanity. The Soviet revolution, at the end of 1917 and beginning of 1918, didn't even have a single battalion capable of carrying on the fight. Hohenzollern Germany attacked Russia, taking Soviet provinces and military supplies. The young government had no other physical possibility than to sign the peace treaty. This peace was openly defined by us as a capitulation of a disarmed revolution before a powerful enemy. We did not worship the Hohenzollerns but, rather, denounced the Brest-Litovsk peace publicly as extortion and robbery. We did not deceive the workers and peasants. The present Stalin-Hitler pact was concluded despite the existence of an army of several millions, and the immediate task of the pact was to facilitate Hitler's smashing of Poland and its division between Berlin and Moscow. Where is the analogy?

The words of Molotov to the effect that the Red Army would cover itself with "glory" in Poland, are to the ineradicable shame of the Kremlin. The Red Army received the order to defeat in Poland those who had been defeated by Hitler. This is the shameful and criminal task that the Red Army was assigned by the jackals of the Kremlin.

### "A World in Flames"

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## Roosevelt's Prisoners

Five workingmen of Minneapolis have been found guilty of the crime of intimidation, four of them also guilty of the crime of conspiracy.

A second trial of four more workingmen has already opened, and a third trial, involving another twenty-five men on the same charge, opens on October 30.

The "criminals" are WPA workers. The prosecutor is Victor Anderson, U. S. attorney, conducting the case under the direct instructions of United States Attorney-General Frank Murphy, appointed not so long ago by President Roosevelt.

What were the crimes of the convicted workers and those awaiting trial?

They were thrown out of their jobs not because they would not work but because a bankrupt and crisis-stricken social order could no longer even provide them with the means of making a livelihood. First crime.

The government, fearing the consequences to the rotten system of the growing restlessness of the masses, put some of these unemployed workers on relief or gave them work on WPA at wages way below the scale to which they had been accustomed. Second crime.

The government, in order to have more and more of its funds allotted to war-and-murder preparations, cut one billion dollars off the unemployed relief budget at the last session of Congress, a budget already below the elementary requirements of the people. The government commanded the unemployed to accept a vicious wage slash without protest. The workers did protest. In Minneapolis, as elsewhere, they went out on strike against the employer-government. Third "crime."

"You can't strike against the government," says Hitler, says Mussolini.

"You can't strike against the government," said Roosevelt.

The government can insult the workers to its heart's content. It can devote more money to preparing for the slaughter of the workers than it does to keeping them alive. It can cut their already low wages to the bone, regardless of the effect on men, women and children. It can refuse to meet with the delegated representatives of the workers. It can act like the most reactionary, labor-hating boss.

But — you can't fight the government! You can't strike against the government! You can't defend yourself from attacks on your living conditions, which are attacks on your life and the life of your family.

And if you do, as the stout-hearted workers in Minneapolis did, Roosevelt tries to smash you. His Attorney-General sent stool-pigeons to Minneapolis. His Federal Bureau of Investigation sent agents to Minneapolis to pick out the fighters and railroad them to prison. His prosecutor dug up one of the most discredited anti-union, anti-labor weapons in our history—the "conspiracy" charge. And now Mr. Roosevelt can congratulate himself on his signal victory: he's got his prisoners, he's taking his revenge for their impudence in wanting a decent living, he's putting them away where they can't make any more trouble for our Great Democratic Government. Maybe their fate will be a lesson to others who have the crazy idea that they have almost as much right to live as Barbara Hutton, Brenda Frazier, Tommy Manville and their similars.

But Mr. Roosevelt is mistaken. He doesn't yet have labor in this country under his heel like Hitler in Germany. Labor can and will fight the Jailor in the White House. It must fight him. It must force him to release his prisoners, who are flesh and blood of the working class.

So rally, all men and women of labor, to the defense of your brothers in Minneapolis! Do not let them rot in prison, as we have done so often in the past with labor's warriors. The united arms of labor are strong enough to tear down any prison wall.

Unite to free Roosevelt's Minneapolis prisoners!

## "Liberation"!

Writing on Sept. 25 on the probable course of events in the territories occupied by the Soviet Union, Leon Trotsky said:

"... The Moscow government will carry through the expropriation of the large land owners and statify the means of production. This variant is most probable, not because the bureaucracy remains true to the socialist program but because it neither desires nor is able to share the power, and the privileges connected with it, with the old ruling classes in the occupied territory..."

"This measure, revolutionary in character—the 'expropriation of the expropriators'—is in this case realized in a military-bureaucratic fashion. The appeal to independent activity on the part of the masses in the new territories—and without this appeal, extremely cautious as it may be, it is impossible to constitute a new regime—will on the morrow undoubtedly be suppressed by ruthless police measures in order to assure the preponderance of the bureaucracy over the awakened revolutionary masses."

A Moscow dispatch in the Oct. 19 issue of the New York Times reveals that already—so quickly!—the ruthless police measures have been instituted against the awakened masses.

"Spies and agents provocateurs" are being "found" by the GPU in the Red Militia of Lwow and other cities, and a purge of the Red Militias which arose to make the revolution, is already in full process. The claim of the Moscow authorities, that they are cleansing the Red Militias of "colonels and even generals," is manifestly absurd, for the Moscow press itself previously testified that the Red Militias were being formed by the most advanced workers. Any revolutionary body, of course, might find in its ranks some spies, but it is plain from the Moscow dispatch that the flood of stories in the Kremlin press about alleged spies and agents provocateurs indicates a mass purge of the Red Militias within a few short weeks of their formation.

It is characteristic that the Moscow press reports that it is being given information about these "spies" by "the former regular police." As in the Soviet Union proper, so in the occupied territories, the bureaucracy is taking into its service the former officials of the capitalist order.

This, then, is the "liberation" which Stalin has given to the occupied territories!

## New York Elections

Our renowned democracy does not appear to be holding up very well in the New York election campaign.

The four Councilmanic candidates of the Stalinist party have been ruled off the ballot on the most obviously flimsy grounds. There isn't a single serious person in the city who doubts that the Stalinists have more than enough signatures to comply with the legal requirements for placing candidates on the ballot.

At the same time, the two Councilmanic candidates of the Socialist Workers Party, Lyman Paine in Manhattan and Max Shachtman in the Bronx, have also been challenged and the Board of Elections has already ruled comrade Paine off the ballot. In this case too thousands of signatures, over and above the number legally required, were secured and properly filed with the authorities.

Contrary to Messrs. Louis Waldman, James O'neal and other attorneys for American "democracy," we have always contended that the closer the United States gets to participation in the World-War the sooner it will shed all pretense at maintaining democratic rights. The action of the Board of Elections in New York is only another of the many demonstrations of this truth which may be seen in this and other countries by anyone who is willing to see.

There is no reason in the world for the Board of Elections ban against us other than the fact that we have an intransigent anti-war position. But that is precisely why the workers of Manhattan and the Bronx should cast their vote for the S.W.P. candidates. A vote for them is a vote of militant, uncompromising opposition to the war and the war-mongers who want to get us into it in the interests of their pelf and power.

Protest and fight against the decision of the Board of Elections!

Vote for the anti-war candidates of the anti-war party—the Socialist Workers Party!

## British Social-Patriots Veil Imperialist War Aims With Anti-Hitler Battle Cries

By BRITANNICUS

Nothing is more demonstrative of the utter political and moral bankruptcy of British reformism, which twice in a generation has harnessed the British workers to the war-machine of their imperialist masters, than the sterile and hypocritical discussion which is now feverishly raging on the subject of war aims.

The war aims of British imperialism are clear. Strip away the persiflage of hollow and tattered slogans, which in themselves are a mocking echo of the lies of 1914-18, and naked and unbecomingly the truth emerges. This war is to ensure the continuance of British world domination, the preservation of British colonial plunder, and the destruction of a dangerous imperialist rival.

High pressure salesmanship can't sell this kind of war to the British masses under those price-tags. Something more attractive is needed. All accounts from abroad point to the complete apathy of the British workers towards the war. In less than two months of hostilities, an appreciable war-weariness has set in.

## WORKERS FEEL

## PINCH OF WAR

In these early stages war-weariness is expressed by intolerable boredom, irritation at the protracted blackouts, and growing dissatisfaction with the rising cost of living. Nearly 2,000,000 British workers are already feeling the pinch of war in their own homes. Miners, farm-laborers, cotton operatives, engineers, and railroad workers are all demanding wage increases to meet rising prices. (N. Y. Times, Oct. 16.)

This is the moment which British reformist leaders have chosen for a "clearer" exposition of war aims. The pathetic and tragically comic figure of Chamberlain is once more being taken to task for his inadequate slogan of "War to destroy Hitlerism!"

The Labor leaders feel that something more colorful is necessary to catch the imagination of their misguided followers. Chamberlain's slogan is too negative. Like a pack of advertising copywriters, each anxious to serve his master to the best of his ability, reformist publicists are busily scribbling streamlined sales copy for the War against Hitlerism.

## DOUBLE TALK—AT

## EXPENSE OF MASSES

In a wordy letter to the New York Times of Oct. 3, Professor Harold J. Laski, member of the Labor Party Executive, justifies his support for the new imperialist war on the ground that Hitler and his Weltordnung are the principal enemy of the British working class. After the customary flagellation of Chamberlain, who has become a ritual whipping-boy for "socialists" with guilty consciences, Laski disclaims any sympathy for British imperialism; and declines to become its instrument. In a sudden regrettable indiscretion he even goes so far as to say that he and his companions of the "British Left" will seek the transformation of capitalism at the earliest possible opportunity. (My italics—B.)

"We say with emphasis," Laski expatiates, "that there is no room in the world for our principles and those of Hitlerism. The destruction of the one is the necessary prelude to the victory of the other."

It is of course possible that some reformist leaders may actually believe this kind of double-talk. Self-deception has its anaesthetic virtues.

"We must aid in the destruction of Hitlerism," cries Laski. "Our aims are clear. Peace for us is both possible and necessary."

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sary the moment there is a German Government with which rational negotiations can be undertaken. We shall fight against either annexations or punitive indemnities. We shall use all our power — and the power of the British Labor movement is no negligible thing — to prevent any effort to repeat the errors, especially in method, of Versailles. We shall hope to make the conclusion of hostilities the basis upon which, through the abrogation of the evil principle of State sovereignty, we can reorganize the life of Europe politically and economically."

## WHILE LASKI WAITS

## FOR EARLY OPPORTUNITY

This high-flutin' balderdash is the sugar with which British reformism is again coating the bitter pill of war. Word for word Laski's thesis might have been spoken by one of his spiritual brethren the Labor traitors and social-patriots of the last imperialist war. This academic Bourbon, who claims to be a Marxist and spokesman for that strange chimera, the "British Left", which he sees in his own image, makes reservations to save his own conscience. He is, of course, "opposed" to imperialism, as he might be "opposed" to chutney.

Laski's platonic hostility to imperialism is not worth the paper it is written on, if at the same time he becomes a party to imperialism for the duration of war. This professor amiably believes that he and his fellow intellectual recruiting-sergeants will transform capitalism into socialism at the "earliest possible opportunity." To Laski, the earliest possible opportunity will be after another 10,000,000 of Europe's youth have been slaughtered for the greater glory of their tribal gods, when complete exhaustion and paralysis overtakes the working class, and reaction rides high over the ruins of a war-torn world.

The struggle against imperialism is the struggle against war. The two are inseparable. Laski deliberately conceals the Hitlerism of imperial Britain which enslaves millions at home and hundreds of millions abroad.

The task of revolutionaries in Great Britain is to deepen and strengthen the class struggle on the home front. But this can only be done by a ceaseless fight against the war on all fronts. No quarter for Laski, Cripps, and the whole tribe of pious frauds who have paralyzed the left-wing of the British Labor movement for the past decade!

## QUESTION BOX

By JOSEPH CARTER

QUESTION: What are the aims of President Roosevelt in the present war?

ANSWER: As the representative of the common interests of American big business, he seeks:

1. To establish monopoly control of the Latin American goods and investment market by replacing German and English trade in the countries to the south, at a time when the latter powers are unable to continue their normal business. In this way the economy and politics of the nations of South and Central America are to be made completely dependent upon Wall Street and Washington.

The recent Panama Conference (for which see *Socialist Appeal*, Oct. 10, 1939) was a big step in this direction.

2. To prepare for a military struggle against Japan in order to open up the markets of China to American capital and trade. That is why Roosevelt has concentrated the American Navy in the Pacific Ocean.

3. To give material and moral aid to Anglo-French imperialism against Germany so as to defeat Hitler and thereby reopen the markets of Poland and southeastern Europe (what was once Czechoslovakia, and the Balkans) for American big business.

That is the reason for Roosevelt's drive to lift the arms embargo; his protest to Russia—the ally of Germany—for its attitude towards Finland; his support of the recent conference of the Baltic countries and the clear cut general pro-Allied policy of the Administration.

4. To utilize the present war situation to achieve what six years of the New Deal failed to accomplish: a serious upturn in industry and business and a decrease in unemployment by supplying the Allies with arms, airplanes, and other goods.

This is another reason for Roosevelt's campaign to lift the embargo. (In addition he wants by this way to increase the productive capacity of American industry for war materials of all types.)

5. To dictate the terms of peace after the war so as to establish American big business domination over the world, for which purpose he is preparing to throw the military power of the U.S. directly into the war.

That is the most general aim of the Roosevelt program; the meaning of his tremendous armament expenditures, now to be increased; the significance of the campaign for a "two-ocean" navy which could fight Japan in the Pacific and Germany in the Atlantic.

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## IN THIS CORNER

By Max Shachtman

Among the many other points in which the wars of old differed from modern imperialist wars is that our ancestors were not subjected to the influence of the vast and well-oiled propaganda machine for mobilizing the minds of the masses in order that their bodies might be all the more easily mobilized.

Nothing nowadays escapes the war-propaganda machine. If there are no incidents to magnify and distort, they are simply invented. The enemy camp is ruthless; our camp is merciful. The enemy wages war upon innocent women and children; our chivalrous camp spares them and is noble even towards opposing troops.

Take the case of the sinking of the *Athenia*. For days it held the headlines of the American press. The barbaric Germans had sunk the ship in the dead of night, without warning, and without the slightest show of concern for the innocent passengers — men, women and children — who were sailing for home.

That the courtly Aryan warriors are quite capable of conducting themselves as charged—we do not doubt for a moment. What we are a little doubtful about is the veracity of the charge in this particular case. The Hitlerite war staff would have to be exceptionally stupid to sink a passenger ship like the *Athenia*, an act which could have no other result than to arouse even greater antagonism to the Nazis in the United States than already exists.

That is just what happened. The war machine got into prompt action in the United States. The press opened up the same kind of campaign that was seen in this country when the *Lusitania* was sunk in 1916.

## One Story That Was Not "Played Up"

A few days ago, however, a most important piece of news about the *Athenia* appeared in the press. Yet it did not get a sensational display on the front pages of the newspapers. It was not headlined in big letters.

The news was the affidavit of one of the *Athenia's* passengers, Gustav A. Anderson, of Evanston, Ill., which was filed with the State Department at Washington. According to Mr. Anderson, who was aboard the ship when she went down on Sept. 3, the hold carried a cargo of guns which was loaded on the ship at Liverpool. Seamen on board replied affirmatively to his questions about the contents of the cargo. Later, Chief Officer Copeland told him that the arms were to be used for coastal defenses at Quebec and Halifax, in Canada, and that on her return trip to England, the *Athenia* was to be fitted out as a raider. Further, said Anderson, there was a shipboard rumor that Germany knew of the presence of the guns.

If Anderson's story is true (and we shall see in a minute why we have no special reason to doubt it), then the first crime committed was by the British authorities who failed to warn innocent and non-belligerent passengers of the presence of guns in the cargo and the consequent risk run by anybody traveling aboard. If the Germans, through their spies, knew of the nature of the cargo secretly loaded aboard the *Athenia*, they were just as criminal in failing to make their knowledge public and thereby warning all civilians who contemplated taking passage on the ship.

The imperialist press in the United States did not "play up" the Anderson story for a very obvious reason. It does not fit into — quite the contrary—their campaign of whipping up a chauvinistic spirit, of rallying the people behind the Roosevelt War Deal. It wouldn't do for a minute, you understand, to give too much publicity to the idea that our "democratic" British cousins are capable of endangering the lives of civilians by loading passenger ships with munitions of war from one belligerent, England, to another, Canada.

## Such Things Have Happened Before

Why are we quite prepared to accept Anderson's story as worthy of credence? Because such things have happened before, and most notoriously in the case of the British transatlantic passenger ship, *Lusitania*. The *Lusitania* was sunk in 1916, and many passengers, including neutral Americans, lost their lives. To this day, it has never been clearly established that she was sunk by the Germans, although that is of course quite possible. For years it was argued by more than one person that the responsibility for the sinking of the *Lusitania* rested on the shoulders of the British Admiralty, which hoped to exploit the resulting sensation and indignation to bring the United States into direct and active support to the Allied gangsters.

Only recently, Walter L. Mills, in his "The Road to War," not only reiterates this theory, but makes out a powerful circumstantial case for it. The same pirate who was First Lord of the Admiralty at that time, Winston Churchill, occupies that post now.

What is important for the moment, however, is the fact that four days before the *Lusitania* sailed, Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan, according to the late Senator LaFollette, warned President Wilson that the hold of the ship carried a cargo of six million rounds of ammunition, and explosives to boot. He pleaded with Wilson to warn American citizens to keep off the ship, since, under the circumstances, she was a war risk, subject to German attack. Dudley Field Malone, then Collector of the Port of New York, later confirmed the story about the *Lusitania's* cargo. But Wilson, who was even then determined to swing the United States into the war, refused to utter a word of public warning, even though a federal statute declared it illegal for any passengers to travel aboard a railroad or a vessel carrying explosives.

Like the Anderson story, the truth about the *Lusitania's* cargo never made the headlines. The tragic sinking of the ship was used as a permanent source of reference to the need of a war to Make the World Safe for Democracy. In the Spanish-American War of 1898, it was "Remember the Maine!" In the war that almost broke out some two years ago between the United States and Japan, it was "Remember the Panay!" (especially in Stalinist leaflets). In the World War, it was "Remember the Lusitania!" And nowadays, probably with increasing volume, the war-mongers will cry, "Remember the *Athenia*!"

It would be infinitely more intelligent to remember the criminal liars of the propaganda machine who exploit every noble sentiment of mankind for the ignoble interests of a cynical imperialist ruling class.