

Labor and The Second World War

The First Installment
Of a New Pamphlet

By J. R. Johnson

I
Germany and the "democracies," Great Britain and France, are once more locked in murderous conflict. President Roosevelt, like Woodrow Wilson, has declared America's neutrality. But moving even faster than Wilson, Roosevelt, in his first broadcast after the beginning of hostilities, incited the American people to participation on the side of the "democracies": "Even a neutral has a right to take account of facts. Even a neutral cannot be asked to close his mind or close his conscience."

Hitler and the German imperialists bear their full share of responsibility for the competition in murder now raging in Europe. We work and wait for the day when the European workers will sweep away fascism. But to work toward the destruction of fascism does not in any way mean to support the "democracies." What are these "democracies"? Today Great Britain rules by force of arms nearly 400 million people in India; and in 1935, while the British representative at the League of Nations was protesting against the Italian bombing of Ethiopia, British airplanes were bombing civilians on the northwest frontier of India.

British "Democracy" in India and Africa

Forty million Indian peasants do not get one square meal in two days. The 1931 census showed that 321 out of 350 million people were illiterate. Over 40% of the Indian revenue is used for the upkeep of the military forces that hold the people in chains. So powerful is the spirit of revolt against this 300-year-old exploitation and tyranny that in ten years the Indian National Congress, on a program of complete independence from Britain, has grown from 400,000 to 6,000,000.

In Africa Britain holds sixty million Africans in a condition of semi-slavery. In Kenya and Rhodesia natives work for ten and fifteen cents a day. All through South and East Africa they live in locations, which they are forbidden to leave after curfew without special personal permission. Representatives in the governing council they have none.

To crush a revolution among the Burmese peasants in 1929 cost ten thousand lives. Sixteen "rebels" were decapitated and their heads exhibited in a row by the representatives of British "democracy."

In Palestine the British set Arab against Jew, in Canada English against French. In Egypt they gave a share of the pickings to the Egyptian aristocracy in return for their aid in suppressing the millions of peasants. In Ceylon and the West Indies, Malta and Hong Kong, one glance destroys the fiction of British "democracy."

British "Democracy," Strangler of Ireland

It is not only colored people or backward nations over which British "democracy" stands as jailer for the sake of power and profits. The millions of Irish in American cities are there because of British "democracy." In 1847, at the time of the potato famine, the London Times, then as now the organ of British imperialism, rejoiced at the

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Behind the Lines

By GEORGE STERN

The papers here have failed to take notice so far of an extremely significant interview given to the London News Chronicle by Sven Hedin, the aged Swedish explorer who called on Hitler a week ago under conditions that seemed to suggest he might be called upon to play the role of an unofficial bearer of peace proposals from Hitler to the western powers.

Hedin indirectly quoted Hitler as saying that Anglo-German cooperation against the "westward advance of Bolshevism" (i. e., of Stalin) was the only thing that could save "western civilization." Such cooperation, he said, is still "Hitler's dream."

The News Chronicle asked Hedin if Hitler would join a western bloc strong enough to dictate reorganization of Europe.

"Germany would undoubtedly do so," Hedin replied.

The Hedin interview offers a further glimmer of light into the shadows in which the present war of arms, nerves, power diplomacy has enshrouded itself. With the opening of the winter season it is now generally assumed that military operations will continue on their extremely limited scale while the more important battles are fought out in the chancelleries and diplomatic back-alleys.

On the diplomatic front the western Allies have been winning the victories so notably absent in the military sphere during the last few weeks. The pact with Turkey has at least for the time being established a pro-Ally balance in the eastern end of the Mediterranean and has severely weakened the slim chances that remained that Germany would be able to count on any cooperation

from Italy. Signature of the Ankara pact has been followed by the opening of new diplomatic drives in the Balkans by the Italians and by the Russians, both of which are seeking to form blocs of the southeastern European states which they could manipulate as the further course of the war dictates.

In Moscow, Izvestia, the government paper, blustered that a fresh Anglo-French attempt to set Germany against Russia had failed, that the Russians had "nothing to regret" over the outcome of the parleys with the Turks. Nevertheless, the Kremlin has embarked upon a Balkan fencing campaign upon which Germany can look with scarcely a benevolent eye. And the reopening of Russian talks with Turkey is confidently predicted in London.

This, taken together with the obvious coolness developing between Rome and Berlin, has given the British diplomats a somewhat easier breathing space and has provided the basis for continuing with the waiting game that the Anglo-French general staffs have evidently decided upon.

Just what they are waiting for is the prime problem of the war. To guess that they hope for the replacement of Hitler by a German military dictatorship which will fall in with plans for a joint war against Russia is probably not very far from the mark. It may very well be the pressure of the military leaders that is forcing Hitler to go easy on the western fronts and to send out feelers, such as that carried by Hedin, for a possible understanding with his present enemies.

Socialist Appeal

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

VOL. III, NO. 82

NEW YORK, OCTOBER 27, 1939

107

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SHACHTMAN ON NEW YORK BALLOT, BOSS POLITICIANS DROP CHALLENGE

3 More WPA Strikers Convicted in Second Mpls. Frame-Up Trial

Convicted Face Two Years' Imprisonment
And Fines Up to 10,000—No Workers on
Juries Trying Indicted W.P.A. Strikers

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

MINNEAPOLIS, Oct. 21—Yesterday at 9:45 a.m. the jury in the second of the Minneapolis WPA trials filed into Judge Joyce's court and announced its verdict: three of the four defendants were found guilty of conspiracy and overt acts in connection with the WPA strikes at projects on Lake Calhoun and Cedar Lake in Minneapolis. Found guilty were Milton McLean, Charles Connors and William Riley. Charles Moore was judged not guilty. Jurors took three ballots to reach the guilty verdict, six ballots before they decided Moore was innocent.

On Tuesday morning the jury in the first trial had found five of the eight defendants guilty of conspiracy and intimidation.

The score in the campaign of the federal government against the Minneapolis unemployed now stands as follows:

Indicted—161 men and women and youth

Arrested—138

Found Guilty—8

Found Not Guilty—4

Next Trial in Series—25 men and women, charged with conspiracy, to start October 30.

Next meeting of federal grand jury—starts Monday, October 23, to investigate St. Paul aspects of WPA strike.

Will Be Sentenced November 4

Defendants found guilty in the first two of the ten trials so far scheduled were ordered by Judge Joyce to appear before him November 4 for sentence. They face penalties of up to two years imprisonment, and fines up to \$10,000.

Directly after the verdict Friday, District Attorney Victor Anderson moved for trial of no less than 90 defendants in one huge "conspiracy" indictment. The defense moved for separate trial and Joyce agreed to try 25 of them October 30. The third trial will be one of the most important in the current persecution of the Minneapolis unemployed. Included among the defendants are many active members and leaders of the Federal Workers Section and the Youth Section of Local 544—Ed Falmus, Oscar and Margaret Schoenfeld, Max Goldman, Eddie Albert, etc.

Tom Davis, defense counsel, rested his case in the second trial without presenting any witnesses.

Victim of Circumstance

While waiting in the courtroom for the jury to bring in its verdict, Charles Connors, Negro defendant, mused about his case.

"Here's me," he said, "I'm really a victim of circumstances."

Connors, who served 15 years in the US Army, is now a truck farmer living near Osseo.

"So help me," he said, "I never raised my hand at a soul, and I never went around trying to chase people off the project. I was working on the Robbinsdale project, in the blacksmith shop. Riley was there, too. They came along and pulled us off the job first. We were the first job to be closed down. Riley and I went along with the rest of the strikers to the belt line project and the gravel pit. I walked into the gravel pit to talk with Martocci. He made an insulting reference to my race. Then I did take a pack at him but he warned off the liss, just like he told the jury."

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EARL BROWDER ARRESTED ON FLIMSY CHARGE

Real Motive Is Stalinist Shift to Nazi-Soviet War Camp

The Roosevelt government's drive against the Communist Party got down to cases this week, when Earl Browder, head of the Communist Party, was speedily indicted, arrested and released on \$7,500 bail. He is now awaiting trial by a Federal court under the indictment, which charges him with twice using a passport originally obtained on the basis of a false statement.

Only Pretext

The flimsiness of the charge is enough by itself to reveal that it is merely a pretext. Browder's "crime" consisted of failing to indicate on a passport application that he had secured previous passports. He is protected by the statute of limitations against prosecution for securing the previous passports under assumed names, so that the government was limited to the merest technicality in its move against him.

Even more to the point, it is clear that this information was in the hands of the government last April, when the "passport-ringing" trial took place. At that time, the Socialist Appeal and other labor papers pointed out that US Attorney John T. Cahill was obviously not producing in court all the evidence he had, and was going to considerable lengths not to have the record show that the defendants were Soviet agents.

Why has Cahill now moved against Browder, and announced that this is only the first of a series of indictments? What has changed since April?

What Has Changed

What has changed is that, in April, Browder's boss, Stalin, was in the "democratic" camp, and Browder's party was doing its utmost to defend the Roosevelt government against the workers. Now Stalin has shifted camps and, as part of the war drive of the Roosevelt govern-

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CORRECTION TO TROTSKY ARTICLE

The following three sentences were inadvertently omitted from comrade Trotsky's article (Stalin-The Temporary Holder of the Ukraine) in the last issue of the Socialist Appeal. They come at the end of the fourth paragraph of the article.

"Furthermore, no honest person can approve the 'liberation' of 8 million Ukrainians and White Russians at the price of the national enslavement of 23 million Poles! Even in the case that the Kremlin organizes a plebiscite in the occupied Galicia in the Goebbels manner, that will deceive no one. This is not a question of the liberation of an oppressed people, but rather of the territorial expansion of the bureaucratic oppression and parasitism."

Socialism In One Country Goes International



Major Struggle Ahead in India, British Reject Freedom Demand

By SHERMAN STANLEY

The Indian Nationalist Congress—representing 5,000,000 organized members and tens of millions of Indian nationalists—this week ordered its ministries in the eight leading provinces of British India to resign in protest against British imperialist policy.

These resignations precipitate the first serious political crisis of the present world war. Although the war is a bare two months old, all the conditions for a major revolutionary situation exist in India!

Last week the British imperialist rulers again gave a true indication of one of their reasons for participating in the present imperialist war.

For weeks since the war began, the British-appointed Viceroy of India had consulted with leaders of various political and communal organizations. He had bent special efforts to win over (buy off with concessions) the leaders of India's Nationalist Congress.

The Premier of the Bihar Congress Ministry stated the position of the right-wing leaders and followers of Mahatma Gandhi in a resolution he introduced in the National Assembly to the effect that England must clearly state its war aims with regard to India.

And then the answer—immediate cause of the present crisis—came in the form of a "White Paper" issued by the Viceroy. The answer was a flat refusal to grant the 375,000,000 people of India their freedom and independence, coupled with several exceptionally vague promises.

Lord Linlithgow, the Viceroy answered three specific questions that had been put to him:

(1) What are the war objectives of the British government? To this his reply was that Chamberlain had already given the answer—that is, of "destroying Hitlerism." His Lordship does not feel it necessary to go beyond this evasive and hypocritical statement.

"See About Future"
(2) What is to be the future of India after the war is over? The Viceroy's reply was equivalent to the statement, "Well, we'll see about that when the time comes." True, some mention

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Decide On Write-In Drive for G. L. Paine

New York SWP Girds
All Its Forces For Fi-
nal Campaign Sprint

After having successfully smashed the attempts to have its Bronx candidate for Councilman, Max Shachtman, removed from the ballot, the New York district of the Socialist Workers Party completed its plans for swinging into concerted action for the last two weeks of the municipal campaign.

At the hearings before the New York Board of Elections, before which the thousands of signatures to the petition for placing Shachtman on the ballot were being contested by one of the local reactionary politicians, the objector failed to appear and thereby tacitly acknowledged that he did not even have the flimsiest basis for a challenge.

A number of other candidates, in all the boroughs of the city, were, however, disqualified by the Board of Elections, acting for the most part under the direction of Tammany politicians who apparently not only insist on choosing the candidates running for them but also the candidates running against them.

Write-In Drive for Paine

In Manhattan, however, the petition of the S.W.P. candidate, G. Lyman Paine, was invalidated by the Board on the basis of a number of cheap technicalities with the result that his name will not appear on the official ballot. This procedure, which it was more difficult for the Board to apply in Shachtman's case because of the many thousands of signatures over and above the number legally required for placing a candidate on the ballot, will necessitate the continuation of the Paine candidacy on a write-in basis. Workers in Manhattan are being asked to vote for Paine by writing in his name.

An increasing number of indoor and outdoor meetings under the auspices of the Socialist Workers Party Campaign Committee are already arranged, especially in the two boroughs where it is running candidates, with larger crowds than ever expected in attendance.

Concentrate on War Issue

All efforts are being made to concentrate on the main issue in the election—the war issue, which the other parties and candidates are making a cowardly attempt to evade, out of fear of putting forward openly the unpopular pro-war position which they take in actuality.

In addition to the meetings scheduled directly under the auspices of the Socialist Workers Party, the two candidates, and other party representatives, are to appear at various meetings organized under the auspices of open forums, non-party groups and fraternal organizations.

Plans are also under way for a whirlwind conclusion to the campaign on the eve of the elections themselves, in which every force at the disposal of the party will be utilized to reach the maximum number of workers in Manhattan and the Bronx with the platform and views of the Socialist Workers Party.

NOTICE

There will be an important membership meeting of all New York SWP and YPSL members this Sunday, Oct. 29, at Webster Hall, 119 E. 11th St. Time: 2:30 p.m.

In the Labor Unions

By B. J. WIDICK

Pressure on John L. Lewis to purge the Stalinists came directly from President Roosevelt, through Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Hillman was so determined to hold a purge at the convention itself that it created a conflict between himself and Lewis before the convention began.

We have been informed that Hillman was so anxious to begin a "red-baiting" drive that he threatened to take the issue on the floor directly.

Forces Hillman's Hand

Besides, Hillman was quite outspoken in his demand that Lewis make peace with Roosevelt, and the CIO convention go on record in full support of Roosevelt.

Lewis became disgusted with his ally, Hillman, and decided to force his hand in advance of the convention. Lewis calmly told the CIO executive council and leading figures at a joint meeting that he was going to resign the chairmanship.

This announcement created consternation among those present at that meeting for it appeared that Lewis was in dead earnest about resigning.

Hillman jumped up and strongly urged Lewis to reconsider his decision. He said he'd rather have Lewis as president even if he thought Lewis was wrong on some policies, especially with respect to Roosevelt, than to have correct policies adopted, and Lewis resign.

It was Hillman's way of saying that he was willing to retreat from a drastic onslaught on the Stalinists at the convention.

Lewis also retreated from his refusal to support the Roosevelt neutrality bill and whatever hesitation he had on purging the Stalinists was removed.

However, he was much smarter in his strategy than Hillman. Hillman wanted a dramatic purge at the convention combined with a stirring rally to line up the CIO openly behind Roosevelt's pro-war policies.

Lewis bided his time until the convention was over. Then he walked into the executive board meeting and said bluntly what everyone knew he had on his mind.

Strong Language

The decision of the convention to have an eight man directing board consisting of the officers and six new vice-presidents was a strong hint to the Stalinists that they were going to be left out in the cold insofar as top leadership was concerned.

But the tough talk of Lewis to the board members was stronger than the Stalinists had expected.

"Every known Communist Party member on the payroll as organizer or other appointed position is to be fired."

"If there is any doubt about an individual, give him the benefit of the doubt. He devotes his full time to building the CIO."

"We're not going to have a red-baiting campaign but we are going to get rid of these people." These are literally the exact words he used in his talk.

While the CIO top leaders are calculating that the Stalinists will accept this and keep quiet, Harry Bridges, California director of the CIO appeared at the woodworkers convention to help defeat a resolution condemning Nazism, communism, etc.

This furnishes the first real test on the question of the Stalinists in the CIO.

What action will Lewis take after convention delegates protest about the "interference" of Bridges who was not an official delegate but only a guest at the woodworkers' convention? Judging by press reports, the delegates are determined to launch a drive against the Bridges action.

Stormy weather lies ahead in the CIO movement.

**All Out for
ELECTION RALLY
for
Max Shachtman**

(S.W.P. Candidate for
Bronx Councilman)

at
**TREMONT
and
PROSPECT AVE.**

SAT.-OCT. 28-8 P.M.

A New Anti-War Pamphlet

Labor and the Second World War

By J. R. Johnson

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Irish emigration and hoped that an Irishman would soon be as rare on the banks of the Liffey as a red man on the banks of the Hudson. In the first election after the war of 1914-1918, the Irish people elected, out of a hundred constituencies, seventy-six candidates who stood for Irish independence. British "democracy" recognized this expression of Irish democracy by murder, terror, and destruction. And when in 1921 the Irish had won a partial freedom by revolutionary struggle and sacrifice, British "democracy" forced them to submit to a partition, creating the British colony of Northern Ireland. From 1921 to this day the British-controlled government there has had the power to arrest without warrant and keep in jail without trial. Such is the "democracy" of Great Britain, a tyranny and oppression on which the sun has never set for over two hundred years.

French "Democracy" No Better Than British

The history of one modern imperialism is the history of them all. Second only to British "democracy," and that only for lack of opportunity, is French "democracy." Today forty millions of Negroes, Algerians, Tunisians, and Moors in Africa suffer for the power and profits of French "democracy." Between 1911 and 1926 the population in French equatorial Africa declined by six million. The people of French Indo-China are in a state of continuous revolt. At the last elections, Ta-thu-Thau and Tran-van-Trach, the revolutionary candidates of the Fourth International, were elected to the legislative council, one of them from the prison in which French "democracy" held him, a convincing testimony of the people's hatred for their rulers. Such is the political repression that local Indo-Chinese editors were jailed for reprinting articles appearing in the paper of Leon Blum, the head of the Popular Front government in Paris. In the same way, Ramsay MacDonald, when Socialist Prime Minister of Great Britain, banned copies of his own book on socialism from circulation in India.

War for Profit, Not for "Democracy"

These are the "democracies." In the six years that the Nazis have ruled Germany, they did not have the opportunity to commit a fraction of the aggression, the tyranny, the destruction of human liberty and democratic rights, that France and Britain have perpetrated since their last war for "democracy."

Democracy has nothing to do with this war. Does anyone in his senses believe that if Britain were a fascist state tomorrow it would fight less desperately for the profits of its Empire? When Chamberlain was being attacked for "appeasing" the fascist governments, he said in the House of Commons that he finds it difficult to become enthusiastic over forms of government. Today Chamberlain, as for years past, is trying to win over his ally, Mussolini, the very founder of fascist barbarism. No, fascist or "democratic," the imperialists are fighting because only by fighting can they prevent their immediate extinction. They have no alternative, and the first thing to understand

about these worldwide collisions is the nature of capitalist economy, which drives the imperialists unceasingly to war.

The Nature of Capitalist Economy

To understand one great imperialist country is to understand all. And Great Britain, the classic example of capitalist development and imperialist expansion, offers the finest example for tracing the undeviating road of capitalist profits to imperialist war.

Up to 1851 Britain was the workshop of the world, exploiting the British market and its great colony of India, "the brightest jewel in the British crown"—and the blackist page in British history. British industry was at its zenith. The wealth of the British ruling class came primarily from industrial production, and in 1851 25% of the British population was engaged in the basic industries. Investments abroad were less than three billion dollars. Fifty years afterwards the portion of the population in basic industries was 15% instead of 25%. But investments abroad, three billion dollars in 1862, were fifty billions in 1901. This, in our period, is the curse of capitalist production from which it cannot escape: mounting investments abroad and a declining economy at home.

Between 1778, the beginning of the industrial revolution, and 1851, the characteristic capitalist owned and managed his factory and competed freely with his fellows. But as capitalism expands and profits accumulate, there is an inevitable tendency to combination of the larger firms and elimination of the smaller. Any American city can give a dozen examples of this during the last twenty years. The bigger the combine, the greater the amount of capital needed to finance its gigantic operations. Thus arises the financial capitalist, who has little or no connection with the management of industry or the application of capital to production.

The Effects of Finance-Capital

The wealth of the country is controlled by a few thousand people whose only labor is to clip coupons and draw returns from investment. The old type of capitalist sold goods at home and abroad. The modern finance-capitalist exports capital, first to rising imperialisms like America, as Britain did in the years before and after the Civil War, and then to more backward countries, where capital is scarce and labor, land, and raw materials are cheap. Thus in his constant search for more profitable fields of investment, he creates industries abroad whose production competes with and undermines the industries at home. These industries, thus challenged, have to seek more and better markets for their goods and new sources of raw materials.

Against the competition it had itself helped to create, British industry could not hold its own. While the investments were mounting from three to fifty billions, the number of workers in the textile industry declined from 94 to 74 per 1000 of the population. Once well started, this process moves at breakneck speed. Between 1901 and 1914 British investments abroad jumped from fifty to one hundred billion dollars, while textile workers declined from 74 to 62 per 1000. The British working class was stirred

into vigorous life by the need of self defence. In the twenty-five years between 1889 and 1914, at the very time when finance-capitalists were accumulating greater wealth than ever before, such were the working conditions and fluctuations of wages in British industry that the British workers doubled the size of their trade unions and, beginning in 1900, created a labor party that had nearly 150 members in Parliament before fifteen years had passed.

The Conflict of Imperialisms

But that very half century, 1851-1901, saw the emergence of new imperialisms. Japan was drawn into the circle of modern nations by Commodore Perry in 1854. Tsarist Russia made half a step forward by her semi-emancipation of the serfs in 1861. By the destruction of the slave-power in 1865 America became a nation fully organized for capitalist development. Bismarck united the scattered States of Germany in the war of 1870 against France. Italy completed her struggle for national unity in 1870.

Except America, which still had the vast territories of the West to exploit, every imperialist nation began a mad scramble for territory all over the globe, in the perpetual quest for new markets, sources of raw materials, and fields for investment. In twenty short years, 1880-1900, the vast continent of Africa was divided. Britain had long since established herself in China. She seized Burma. France seized Indo-China. Germany seized Kiaochow and Wei-hai-wei. She seized Samoa and half of New Guinea; Great Britain seized the other half. Britain and France almost fought over the control of the head waters of the Nile, but France decided that it would be better to play second fiddle to Britain in return for an alliance against Germany. Japan and Russia, both raiding China, fought it out in the Russo-Japanese war.

The German Challenge to British Imperialism

Germany, centrally situated in the heart of Europe became the most dangerous rival of Great Britain and with the most highly developed industrial technique in the world. Cheap German goods challenged Britain's in every corner of the globe. Germany planned a railway from Berlin to Bagdad along which fast trains would carry German goods into England's precious Eastern markets. German capitalists clamored for more colonies and larger "spheres of influence," and more ominous than their words was the clang of the shipyards building the German fleet. But long before 1914 all available territory had been seized. Germany could acquire new colonies only by taking them from other empires, particularly those of Britain and France.

All this time the imperialists were fighting each other by tariffs, quotas, trade agreements, boycotts, and other "peaceful" means. But they knew that this was a preparation for a more sanguinary battle. Both sides multiplied armaments, consolidated alliances and prepared the people for the coming struggle by incessant nationalistic propaganda.

(To be continued)

EARL BROWDER ARRESTED ON FLIMSY CHARGE

Stalinists Reap Results of Allegiance to Roosevelt

(Continued from Page 1)

ment, the Stalinists are to be persecuted. They are being persecuted only in part because they are supporters of the Hitler-Stalin camp. Even more important, they are being persecuted by the Roosevelt government in order to provide a precedent against the genuine revolutionary voices which are being raised against American participation in the war.

The universal hatred of the masses against Stalin's alliance with Hitler makes the Stalinists particularly vulnerable, and that is why the Roosevelt government proceeds first against them. They serve Roosevelt, however, merely as a starting point against all militant workers.

Browder himself, like Thorez in France, etc., is reaping what he sowed. He and the other Stalinist bureaucrats did their utmost to whitewash the Roosevelt War Deal. Until this week, one could not find a word of criticism of Roosevelt or Attorney General Murphy, who is directly responsible for the present persecution. As much as the Stalinists could, they tied the working class to Roosevelt's overlordship. They are builders of the prisons in which they are now to be incarcerated.

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Boss Court Convicts 3 in Second Mpls. Frame-Up Trial

NO WORKERS ON JURIES TRYING W.P.A. STRIKERS: THIRD TRIAL SCHEDULED TO BEGIN END OF OCT.

(Continued from Page 1)

But I never spoke to a soul at the beaches, though I visited them the next day. . . . Boy, I am a victim of circumstances."

Trial Lights to Date

The story of the first two trials is the story of hand-picked juries made up of wealthy farmers and small business men; of District Attorney Anderson parading a long file of flunks, scabs and WPA officials who told all sorts of lies about the defendants; of Judge Joyce who in his charge to the jury defined "conspiracy" in such a way that no union worker in America would be found innocent; and of the boss press and the city and state officials who cooperated with Roosevelt and Murphy to smear the Minneapolis unemployed, and aid in the frame-up.

Defense Committee Accepts Challenge

The AFL-WPA Defense Committee in Minneapolis has accepted the challenge of the federal government and has announced it will appeal the cases of all defendants to the circuit court of appeals and to the highest court in the land, if necessary.

Encouraged by news from the executive council of the American Federation of Labor that it had passed a resolution protesting against the Minneapolis per-

secution, the Defense Committee is working with the AFL-WPA Defense Committee of St. Paul and officials of the State Federation of Labor to circulate all unions in Minnesota, appealing for financial and moral support to the defense.

The WPA Defense Committee, headed by George Murk of the Musicians Union, has called attention to the extreme danger which the "conspiracy" charge constitutes for organized labor everywhere. As defined by Judge Joyce and District Attorney Anderson, to be a conspirator in the eyes of the government, a worker doesn't have to actually conspire; he doesn't have to know of the existence of the other conspirators; he doesn't have to achieve any results to be a conspirator; he doesn't have to act with anyone else to be a conspirator; he doesn't have to aid in the conception of the conspiracy.

To the government, any man or woman seems to be a conspirator who didn't like the wage-cutting and job-destroying provisions of the Roosevelt-Woodrum bill.

The AFL-WPA Defense Committee, determined to prevent the government from establishing such a dangerous precedent, has accepted the burden of appealing the verdict in the first two trials. The Defense Committee appeals to unions everywhere to donate

generously to the defense fund, to mail checks and protest resolutions to Clair Johnson, secretary-treasurer, Minneapolis AFL-WPA Defense Committee, 18 North 8th Street, Minneapolis.

Some Angles to the Trials

The class nature of the persecution of the Minneapolis unemployed in the present trials is indicated by several circumstances:

1. On October 2, the federal government moved for a dismissal of conspiracy charges against 52 coal companies and operators of Harlan County where bloody terror against the miners has reigned for years. The federal government doesn't move to dismiss the conspiracy charges against the Minneapolis workers, though, it presses the charges ever more harshly.

2. Not a single worker has been selected on either of the first two juries. All jurors have been either businessmen or well-off farmers. Despite the fact that defense witnesses were able to shatter testimony of the flunks, the district attorney has been able to play on the class prejudices and superstitions of the jurors to portray defendants as dangerous enemies of the state, and to secure convictions.

3. In his charges to the juries, Judge Joyce so defines "conspiracy" as to practically order the jury to convict the defendants.

4. Both in the bail asked and in the penalty defined in the new relief law, poor unemployed workers who never exploited anyone in their lives are confronted with stiffer terms than placed against real honest-to-God crooks. For instance, the notorious Judge Manton, 10th ranking judge in the United States, was recently found guilty of selling justice

over his bench like so many rotten vegetables. Manton accepted over one million dollars in bribes from his wealthy "clients." Yet bail for Manton was set at only \$10,000, the same figure originally asked by the government in the case of \$60.50-a-month WPA workers. Manton is a dirty crook; the WPA workers are guilty only of striking against the oppressive provisions of the relief law.

Manton only faces a sentence of two years in prison and a fine of \$10,000.

The defendants in the WPA trials face exactly the same sentence as Manton—two years and \$10,000.

5. It so happened that at the same time the first Minneapolis WPA trial was on, a 47-year-old banker named Joseph Person was being tried in this city for his admitted murder of his aged mother. Person, the protégé of the wealthy Carpenter family, beat his old mother to death with a kitchen chair.

The WPA defendants were found guilty. The jury found Person not guilty. The boss courts have decided it is a greater crime to strike against the government than it is to beat your own mother to death.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

HOW ABOUT A LITTLE HUNT this SATURDAY NIGHT, Oct. 28, at the Upper West Side Branch, 916-9th Ave., near 59th St. ? Admission 33c.

GIRL TO SHARE unfurnished apartment, southern exposure, private entrance to room, \$15 a month, 28 E. Second St., cor. 2nd Ave. Write Socialist Appeal, c/o Stanley.

MAJOR STRUGGLES AHEAD IN INDIA AS BRITISH RULERS REJECT DEMAND FOR FREEDOM

(Continued from Page 1)

is made of a distant "Dominion Status" to be reached by gradual constitutional stages (lasting a few centuries?).

Even in the last war the British made more concrete promises for independence upon completion of the war. This time there was not even a promise upon which the reactionary Gandhi could hang his hat or join cloth. The conservative Premier of Madras is quoted as referring to the statement as "deeply disappointing. . . ."

But it was only a "disappointment" to those who expected something from the British, or aimed at deceiving the workers and peasants into expecting something. The British imperialists give nothing, absolutely nothing—they have long been in the habit of taking.

No Concessions

(3) What plans can be made for future co-operation in the war? Here the Viceroy gets down to brass tacks and proposes a "united front" of all Indian classes in support of the "common cause." That is, Indian manpower to die on the battlefields of Europe and Asia to assure a continuous flow of gold for the British money-baggers.

Limlithgow, while openly hinting at the necessity for "Indian unity," has not as yet swung widely with his imperialist police club. But knowing the bloody his-

tory of British rule in India for 150 years we can expect full enforcement of the military dictatorship if the Congress leaders do not come to heel shortly.

The tottering British Empire is in such a state of affairs that it cannot even offer a crumb to its loyal servant, Gandhi, and his followers! British imperialism has nothing for its colonies but increased exploitation, conscription into mass armies and brutal police rule.

For the vast masses of British and Native India, Ceylon, Hong-kong, Afghanistan, Tibet, Iran, Iraq, Palestine—the story is the same. They will supply their manpower, food products, raw materials, mineral wealth—all to be bombed, sunk and destroyed by Britain's rival imperialists. The wealth of mighty peoples is to be squandered in a futile attempt to keep alive a dying ruling class and its exploiting system.

The moment it became clear that the endless negotiations had been useless; the moment it became apparent that the British had revealed themselves all over again to be nothing but slave masters—then a storm of protest broke over India.

This bitter hostility was directed not only against the British, but against its would-be supporters and agents—the conservative Congress leaders with Gandhi and Nehru at their head.

These spokesmen for the native, Indian capitalist class have led "Popular Front" ministries in the 8 provinces for 2½ years now. In that time they have conducted themselves as administrators of the British rule, bringing upon themselves the deep hatred of India's workers and peasants.

Masses Want to Fight

If they act now it is only because (1) the British spit in their faces before the entire world; (2) they were forced to act due to the explosive power created by the population of India who want to fight now for their freedom. These traitors act only under the sharpest compulsion of the workers and peasants, and then only in a limited way.

The leading Working Committee of the Congress in its resolution instructing the ministries to resign made it clear that it wants no mass struggle for freedom at this time (or ever). It is attempting to wring a few parliamentary concessions of a minor nature from the British. Negotiations failed; now they'll try threats. And so, their resolution warns against mass satyagraha (civil disobedience) and political strikes.

But the resolution of the 375,000,000 Indian slaves reads entirely different! There is a resolution of determined struggle for freedom and independence. Despite the will of the handful of Indian bosses and landlords, the present action indicates the beginning of a revolutionary struggle for India's freedom. It will not be hard to buy off the conservative Congress leaders—but the workers and peasants can never be bought off. The first potentially revolutionary crisis of the war is at hand. Of that there can be no doubt.

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.

Franklin Roosevelt jailed Earl Browder and it has nothing to do with passports. It is a political act. Soon there will be others, including perhaps the arrest of James Ford, the black Commissar. Ford may be arrested for sedition, or for riding on the wrong side of the road. But whatever the charge that also would be a political act, and must be judged as such. Negroes must watch their step and not jump to early conclusions.

The stooges of American capitalism, the "democracy" trumpet, will rejoice that America has been saved; and the stooges of the Moscow bureaucracy, the Stalinists, will wait that America has been lost. Both lie. We have here a very complicated situation, and the Negroes must be well prepared against the barrage of propaganda that the Stalinists, in particular, will let loose upon them.

First of all, no class-conscious workers anywhere, and least of all the revolutionary socialists, the Trotskyists, want to see Franklin Roosevelt jailing any members of a working class organization. The Communist Party is a working class organization. The Stalinists have thousands of good workers in their ranks, honest, sincere, devoted. They still have some Negroes who think that by working in the Communist Party they are working for the down-trodden Negroes and all oppressed humanity. We respect their devotion. We respect also their stomach. If after all Browder and Ford taught them during the last five years they can now swallow the Stalin-Hitler Pact and the invasion of Poland, then they may swallow anything. Yet our dispute with them remains a comradely one. But with Browder, Foster, Amter, and Ford it is different. We believe and have proved that they are double-dyed scoundrels, deceivers of the working class.

We stand for the principle that all workers' leaders, right or wrong, honest or corrupt, are responsible to the workers alone. And we call upon the workers to oppose Roosevelt and his capitalist gang, in any interference with the working class, even though they try to disguise it with a smoke-screen about false passports.

We Will Do Our Own Work

Yet we of the Fourth International are no friends of Browder, agent of Stalin, that murderer of revolutionary workers. The "democracy" specialists will denounce Browder and the Stalinists for being agents of Stalin as they will denounce Fritz Kuhn for being an agent of Hitler. Here again we must make our attitude clear. For us it is a question of class. If Roosevelt put Fritz Kuhn in jail for twenty years, that is none of our business. Kuhn is a Fascist, a member of a reactionary political organization dedicated to the suppression of the workers. He is our mortal enemy, as Browder is. But we don't ask Roosevelt to deal with Browder and we condemn it when he does.

We don't ask Roosevelt to deal with Kuhn either. But we don't care if he does. Let Roosevelt jail Kuhn and then let Hitler jail the head of the American embassy in Berlin. Twenty years a piece, or forty for that matter. That is their capitalist business, not ours. What we ask the workers to do is to sweep Kuhn and his Bundists and Coughlins and his gangs off the streets whenever they show their faces there to preach Fascism. We besieged the Bundists at their meeting in Madison Square Garden last year. We swept them off the streets in Los Angeles. We frightened them off it in San Francisco. Is it because Kuhn is an agent of a foreign power? Rubbish. It is because he is an agent of Fascism—the enemy of the workers. In the same way we are against Browder, not because he is an agent of a foreign power, (which he is) but because he is an agent of Stalin who is an enemy of the workers, though in a different way than Hitler.

In the days of Lenin and Trotsky for instance, the Communist Party got financial assistance and advice from Moscow. It was the duty of every worker to support that. Lenin and Trotsky, the Moscow government, were revolutionists. They considered themselves and Russia as being merely one detachment of the international working class. Whatever they did in Russia, in China, in America or in Africa, they always did it from this point of view. They always asked: "How does this help the workers in their struggle?" Only a backward worker would denounce a Communist of those days as being an agent of a foreign power. As a matter of fact he was not. He was an agent of the international working class movement, of which revolutionary Russia was the head.

Browder and Ford Are Traitors to Labor

But today Browder is the agent of the Moscow bureaucracy. Stalin and his bureaucrats are concerned only with their own skin and their own bellies. They deceive the workers in every country and try to use them for their own selfish aims. So while Roosevelt and the lovers of "democracy" denounce Browder for being an agent of a foreign power, we denounce him and James Ford as being agents of a traitor of the workers, and for being traitors themselves.

And why are they traitors? Ford is going to be running all over the country (he had better drive on the right side of the road), telling Negroes that the Stalinists are being persecuted because they are opposing the war. They will hold up Browder and themselves as martyrs for "democracy," and as anti-war fighters. It looks well on the surface but when Ford and the Stalinists start this beat, Negroes should ask James Ford a few questions like these.

Why did you fight so hard for Spanish "democracy," Ford? Why pact with Hitler, telling us that we must make a "democratic front" against Fascist aggression? You wrote a book, Ford, called "The Negro and the Democratic Front." In it you told us Negroes to join up with this same Attorney General Murphy and this same Franklin Roosevelt, who have jailed Browder. You told us Negroes to do that to save American "democracy"? Why the devil did you do that, Ford? You are not a dope. You know better. You used to spend much time telling us that "democracy" wasn't worth fighting for, that the only thing to fight for was Socialism. Look at what American "democracy" is doing to you now. Why did you corrupt us all these recent years?

Why did you fight so hard for Spanish "democracy," Ford? Why did you and Browder and Stalin and all your people in Spain murder and kidnap Trotskyites, and militant anarchists who wanted to overthrow capitalism in Spain? What made you love "democracy" so much in Spain, Ford, that you a man of African descent never once raised your voice for the independence of the Moors in the Spanish Morocco? When Mussolini attacked Ethiopia why did your master Stalin sell oil to Italy? And why did you not mobilize Negroes and white workers everywhere to denounce the League of Nations as a sure trap and point out that only the organized workers could help Ethiopia. Why didn't you do these things, Ford, you and your party?

(To be continued)

WORKERS' FORUM

TROTSKY'S ARTICLE ON THE UKRAINE
Editor:

I've enjoyed reading Trotsky's article on the "Independence of the Ukraine and Sectarian Mud-heads." There is a golden opportunity now for the Ukrainian workers in the US and Canada to unite and fight Stalinism. But someone must show the way. Trotsky is the one who could work out a concrete "Program for the Ukraine's Independence." I read the Socialist Appeal and like it very much. It has a great deal of powerful stuff. Your paper must somehow reach the Ukrainian masses in the US—De-

troit, Chicago, Pittsburgh and New York. Yours,
George Bachur.

A WORD OF PRAISE

To Socialist Appeal:
May this card serve both as a notice of change of address, and a bit of praise for the Socialist Appeal. Only in your paper can I find a true interpretation of the news behind the news, or a clear analysis of the bewildering movements of the Communist Party. Your ideas have my sympathy and support. I am a new subscriber and thoroughly enjoyed the first two issues of your paper that I received. . . .

R. K.

ON THE BALLOT



Max Shachtman—Candidate in the Bronx

RANK AND FILE LOGGERS REVOLT AGAINST STALINIST MISRULE

(Continued from Page 1)

tradition—the Sailors Union of the Pacific got its bellyful of this strikebreaking in the Shepley and Line "beef" in San Francisco.

Figures Falsified

Strikebreaking by Bridges found its natural counterpart in falsified statistics by Stalinist Pritchett, whom he came to defend against the lumberjacks. Instead of the fantastic figure of 100,000 boasted by Pritchett at the CIO convention, a delegate from Forest Grove was able to demonstrate that there were no more than 25,000 actual dues-paying members in the IWA. Padded figures always substitute for solid union achievement in Stalinist-ridden unions.

Now after a two-year bureaucratic rule in which \$30,000 was borrowed from John L. Lewis, the top clique is trying to enforce its mismanagement by draining another twenty-five cents in addition to the present per-capita tax. To maintain its hold upon the union, to crush its opposition, the Stalinist regime had recourse to its usual methods of terror. Says Don Helmick, one of the leaders of the Opposition:

"... he (Bridges) demanded that I join the Communist Party. If I refused he said he would run me out of the industry. They can call it Red-baiting, but if people tell me 'I'll join the party' or 'they'll run me out, I'll fight back.'"

To purge the loggers' organization of this wrecking, disorganizing clique, the workers from the main centers of the industry, Portland, Tacoma, Aberdeen and Raymond formed their caucus with the main aim of driving the Stalinists from office. In the two main contests on the floor, the opposition came within a hair of defeating the administration. A typical Stalinist "unity" proposal to squelch the opposition was carried by the slim vote of 123 for and 107 against. A proposal to bar Communists from membership was defeated 129 to 99.

Two-fold Development

The revolt in the loggers organization represents a two-fold development. On the one hand it is undeniable that the anti-political proposals of the opposition as reflected in their resolution "to bar communists" takes its lead directly from Lewis. But at the same time, this opposition concentrates all the anger of militant workers against maladministration.

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SOCIALIST APPEAL

ANTI-WAR RALLY ON HARVARD CAMPUS

On Tuesday, Oct. 17, the Harvard Anti-War Committee held a highly successful meeting on the Harvard campus calling for a constitutional amendment to LET THE PEOPLE VOTE ON WAR. This organization calls for a united front of youth and labor against the war-makers. The speakers at this meeting were: Albert Coolidge, Professor at Harvard University, and Liam Donlon, CIO organizer.

Let the People
Vote on War!

The Socialist Party and Its Lovestone Allies Continue to Cover Up the ALP's War Position

By FELIX MORROW

It has become necessary to appeal again to every worker to acquaint himself with the actual text of the "special resolution on the European conflict," adopted by the American Labor Party state executive committee on Oct. 4 and endorsed that same evening by a conference of New York City delegates. The text was published in the N.Y. Times, Oct. 5, in the New Leader, Oct. 14, and is available at the A.L.P. offices, 151 West 40 St., New York.

It has become necessary, because a concerted effort is being made to conceal and distort the meaning of the resolution. The capitalist press contributed powerfully to the confusion, labelling it merely as an "anti-red" resolution. In the A.L.P. branches, where the members are now voting on the resolution, the speeches supporting it are almost entirely limited to denunciations of the Stalin-Hitler pact. The "left wing" supporters of the resolution, the Norman Thomas socialists and the Lovestoneites, are conniving at this "description" of the resolution.

In a series of articles, we have described the actual content of the resolution, and quoted its main sections. We have demonstrated that the main section of the resolution, constituting its fundamental motivation, is a declaration in favor of Anglo-French imperialism in its war against the Hitler-Stalin camp. From this pro-Ally orientation, the resolution proceeds to draw two immediate conclusions: to support Roosevelt's proposal to lift the embargo, and to denounce the Stalinists for their "callous disregard" of the fate of the "democracies." We ask every worker to compare our analysis and quotations of the resolution with the full text of the resolution. There is no middle ground on this important question of fact.

Breaks Silence—But Not Completely

The Oct. 28 Call finally breaks silence, and gives us the first official explanation of the Socialist Party's support of the resolution. It does not print the text of the resolution, and with good reason! For its description of the resolution is utterly dishonest. Of the fact that the fundamental motivation of the resolution is pro-Ally, The Call says not a word. Of the fact that the resolution denounces Stalin and the Stalinists from a democratic-imperialist standpoint, and from no other standpoint, The Call breathes not a hint.

Of the fact that the Socialist party member, Frank Crosswaith, A.L.P. candidate, "expressed unqualified approval for the resolution" as a whole, including the sections supporting Roosevelt's proposal to lift the embargo, The Call says not a word, although it happily informs us that Crosswaith's chances for election are very good.

In addition to its general story, The Call publishes an "explanation" by Harry W. Laidler, the other Socialist candidate on the A.L.P. ticket. This, too, fails to quote the main sections of the resolution. The gist of Laidler's alibi is given in this paragraph:

"I think that it was unfortunate that the neutrality resolution was incorporated in the resolution on the part, on dictatorship and on Communist control, but the general purport of the entire resolution was known to all."

This shameful alibi should deceive no one. The "general purport of the entire resolution" is for support of the Anglo-French imperialists.

The Oct. 21 Workers Age (Lovestoneites) is equally brazen. It declares editorially:

"However, it appears obvious to us that, in the resolution as it stands, the arms-embargo section is no more than a 'rider,' of entirely secondary importance, while the anti-Stalinist angle is of paramount significance. Therefore, where the resolution cannot be divided—and we are grateful to learn that it is being divided in a number of A.L.P. branches—we urge all members of the A.L.P. to vote in favor of it, taking the opportunity to make clear their position on the question of neutrality and the arms embargo."

The deliberate falsification of which the Thomas-Lovestone apologists are guilty will be apparent to any worker who reads the text of the A.L.P. resolution. So much for the question of fact.

They Abandoned Fundamental Principles

Why have we dwelt on this question over many articles? Because the shameful conduct of the Thomas-Lovestone camp demonstrates how fatal it is to abandon the fundamental principles of the revolutionary struggle against war.

In the fight against war, Lenin taught us, our first duty is to attack the war-mongers in our "own" country. Liebknecht concentrated this thought in his immortal slogan: "The enemy is at home." Since they believed that only the working class can really fight against war, our teachers first of all conducted an irreconcilable struggle against chauvinism in the labor movements of their own countries. For only a labor movement united against chauvinism could fight against war. These fundamental principles, carefully thought out and elaborated by the revolutionary internationalists during the First World War, are equally applicable to the Second World War.

Is this denied by anyone who calls himself an internationalist?

Yet these principles are already being violated, in practice, by the avowed "internationalists" of Norman Thomas' Socialist party and the Lovestoneites.

Who are the chauvinists in the American labor movement? The CIO and AFL bureaucracies, who imposed upon their respective conventions endorsements of Roosevelt's war program, proposals for labor representation on war boards, etc. The American Labor Party leaders, whose Oct. 4 resolution is the most brazen pro-war document so far issued by any section of the labor movement. These are the chauvinists in the labor movement with power and widespread influence. Their influence appears even more powerful than it actually is because their war program is identical with that of the capitalist class and its government; more exactly, they are the "labor lieutenants" of the American capitalist class, carrying out the war program of that class.

Along the Social-Patriotic Current

There are other chauvinists in the labor movement; the Stalinists. As long as the Stalinists were preaching a war program similar to that of Roosevelt—"the democratic front against fascism"—they were accepted as junior partners by the CIO and the ALP leadership. However, as soon as Stalin switched camps and joined with Hitler, the apparent strength of the Stalinists began to evaporate. In their two strongholds in the labor movement—the CIO and ALP—a war of extermination is now being carried out against them. The Department of Justice is now "supplementing" this war against the Stalinists, its persecution of Browder being only the first step. The chauvinism of the Stalinists is on behalf of the Hitler-Stalin camp; it is "alien"—i.e., it is not the chauvinism which the American government desires and fosters; its extinction, the extermination of the Stalinists, is absolutely certain.

No one outside the Stalinist camp proposes to support the Stalinist chauvinists. Those, however, who denounce the Stalinists and do not denounce the chauvinists of the opposing camp; those who adapt themselves to "democratic" chauvinism, keep quiet about it, apologize for it, are floating with the dominant current toward the war-camp of the "democratic" imperialists. That is the crime of the Thomas-Lovestone groups.

Marxism In Our Times

by Leon Trotsky

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What the Nazi Press Says About The Stalin-Hitler War Alliance

By OSCAR FISCHER

The German National-Socialists, who pretended to the role of the international vanguard against the "world Bolshevik danger" are now faced with the need, following the signing of the Hitler-Stalin Pact, of explaining their new attitude towards Russia. The arguments that the Nazis use are sufficiently interesting and instructive to deserve quoting.

Die Deutsche Zeitung von Mexico (German Journal of Mexico) is one of the periodicals of the "Germans Abroad" directed by Goebbels and the National-Socialist Foreign Propaganda department. This megaphone of Hitler Germany in Mexico, whose real editor sits in Berlin, and which could hardly live a single day without the subsidies of the German Embassy and the Propaganda Ministry, has now presented the "Foundations of German-Russian Friendship" in a long series of articles (on Sept. 12, 19, and 28).

Take note that the National-Socialist propagandists speak not only of a commonplace diplomatic pact but—just like Herr Ribbentrop in Moscow—of a "friendship." At the same time, however, they turn against all the "labor leaders, alleged friends of peace and English imperialists" who "have invented the fairy tales of the alleged fraternization of National-Socialism with Bolshevism." The fascists destroy these legends by summarizing, for their own part, the genuine foundations of the friendship:

LIQUIDATION OF BOLSHIEVISM IS BASE

"Everybody . . . knows that National-Socialism and Bolshevism can be united as little as fire and water, that there can never be any conciliation between National-Socialism and Bolshevism and that this treaty must therefore have an important premise; namely, that the leading statesmen of the Soviet Union have finally given up their world revolutionary aims. That is indeed the case in actuality. But it would be a gross political mistake were we to assume that that occurred overnight. Such a sudden switch could inspire but little confidence. The abandonment of world revolutionary aims by the Soviet Union has as its premise the liquidation of Bolshevism in the Soviet Union itself."

The foundations of the friendship between Stalin and Hitler cannot be formulated less ambiguously. For Hitler—Germany, Stalinism is in no wise identical with Bolshevism; on the contrary: Stalin is considered by the Nazis as the victor in the struggle against the "Bolshevik pestilence."

HISTORICAL MOTIVATION FOR NEW FRIENDSHIP

The Nazi organ also gives an "historical" motivation for the fact that a German—Russian friendship was out of the question in the years gone by. On the German side, it was due to the "miserable German foreign policy of the post-Bismarckian era," which, with English intrigues, involved the German and the Rus-

sian people in the war of 1914-1918, from which both emerged "mortally wounded." Later on, the politicians of catastrophe of the Weimar Republic found themselves in a state of complete dependence upon England and France. Hitler, upon entering into power in 1933, inherited a foreign-political mess.

"This circumstance," says the Nazi journal, "was utilized by certain Soviet Russian politicians who continuously demanded an aggressive policy against Germany. . . . In the field of diplomacy, these circles had as their most prominent representative the former Soviet Russian foreign minister, Litvinov—Finkelstein, the 'diplomat in a red frock-coat,' the 'father of collective security,' who married an Englishwoman and was taken completely in tow by the encirclement politicians of England and France. In the Red Army there was also a group (Tukhachevsky) who sought to instigate a war against Germany, in alliance with England and France."

"When Germany once more attained its position as a Great Power, and, on the other side, the circles in the Soviet Union who operated against a policy of German-Russian agreement had been overturned and liquidated, Adolf Hitler did not hesitate a moment to take up again the policy of German-Russian agreement."

COMINTERN COLAPSE IMPORTANT FACTOR

The scapegoats are, thus, Litvinov, Tukhachevsky and the other "liquidated" people. Hitler

forgave his friend Stalin the latter's hopes in the "democratic Powers" and the "People's Fronts." In the last analysis, he could excuse it because he never suffered from it. For is it not Stalin's policy that we have to thank for the fact that the Nazis were able to take power in Germany?

Another "foundation" of the new friendship is the collapse of the Comintern. The Nazi journal gives as an example of it the information that Manuilsky gave at the 18th Congress of the Russian Party on the Comintern. Manuilsky reported that the foreign sections of the Comintern have a total of 1,200,000 members. "But," says the Nazis, "even this total of 1,200,000 members is only on paper; for included in it are still the 300,000 members in Red Spain, which long ago ceased to exist, and hundreds of thousands of members in Germany and Japan, where a communist organization exists only in the imagination of the 'Comintern people' in Moscow."

The most recent prohibition of the Communist Party of France only strengthens the Nazis in their contention: "From this side, therefore, there is no longer any danger; neither for Germany nor for other countries."

(Concluded in next issue)

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

First U.S. Published Russian Opposition Bulletin Now on Sale

The first issue of the Russian Opposition Bulletin to be published in the United States is off the press. Its 32 pages contain twelve articles by Leon Trotsky, including: The USSR and War; The Enigma of the USSR; Stalin—Agent of Hitler; etc.

The Bulletin is available at the following places in New York: Labor Book Shop, 116 University Pl.; Rand School Book Store, 15 St. and 5 Ave.; Foreign News Depot, Times Bldg.; Maise's Book Store, 278 Grand St.; Biederman's Book Store, 2nd Ave. at 12th St.; 3rd Ave. and 14th St. (N. Y.)

Boston Fraternal

Organization for Referendum on War

The Boston Local of the Workers' Sick and Death Benefit Association, which has just celebrated its 50th anniversary as the oldest and the largest local in New England, has passed a motion calling for a constitutional amendment to let the people vote on the declaration of any war.

Note to Readers in Minneapolis:

The regular Sunday Forum of the S.W.P. meets at 3: p. m. at 919 Marquette.

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Vol. III, No. 82 Friday, October 27, 1939

Published Twice-Weekly by the
SOCIALIST APPEAL PUBLISHING ASS'N.
at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.
Telephone: ALgonquin 4-8547Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for six months. Foreign: \$3.00 per year, \$1.50 for six months. Bundle orders: 2 cents per copy in the United States; 3 cents per copy in all foreign countries. Single copies: 2 cents.
Bronx and Manhattan subscriptions are \$1.50 for six months; \$3.00 for one year.
Reentered as second class matter September 29, 1939, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 1, 1879.Editor: MAX SHACHTMAN
Associate Editors: EMANUEL GARRETT
FELIX MORROW General Manager: MARTIN ABERN
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12. Full social, political and economic equality for the Negro people.

Stalin in Estonia

Otto D. Tolischus, the N. Y. Times' Berlin correspondent, sends his paper a cable from Tallinn, the capital of Estonia, which contains things that are more than merely interesting—they are important and significant.

"When one Baltic Foreign Minister was especially hard pressed by Premier-Foreign Commissar Vyacheslav M. Molotov and his aides for even greater concessions than Russia finally took, Joseph Stalin walked into the conference beaming benignly, and, putting his arms around the visitor's shoulder, remarked:

"Never mind, I'll protect you from these great Russians."

"Repeating the same method in a similar conference with another Foreign Minister, he is supposed to have varied the remark as follows:

"You know, these militarists want everything, but I am a politician and I can compromise."

"... None of these (Baltic) countries is afraid of its own Communists; there are few of them and the native authoritarian governments are fully capable of handling these as well as any other pro-Russian elements. However, according to current anecdotes, Mr. Stalin has reassured the Baltic statesmen on this point also

"What you do with your own communists," he is quoted as having said, "is your own business. They are Trotskyists anyhow. If you must, shoot them, and if you can't handle them, I'll help you."

"According to one report, he is supposed to have gone so far as to admit: 'You know, communism has not worked here so well either.'"

"As a matter of fact, attempts of Baltic communists to 'tovarisch' Soviet Russian commissions that come to the Baltic capitals to arrange the details of garrisoning are curiously waved aside by the Russian officers and in Vilna self-appointed Soviets who started to shoot bourgeois leaders before the Russian troops arrived are reported to have been executed by these troops or taken to Moscow."

It may be argued that Tolischus' story is based upon anecdotes and rumor, and that there is no real proof that Stalin actually said what he is quoted as saying. We are perfectly ready to acknowledge the validity of this argument. But we nevertheless beg to insist that we incline to accept the story as veracious for the very good reason that it corresponds faithfully to everything we know about Stalin—his policies, his character, his methods and his course.

Demonstrate, therefore, your opposition to imperialist war and to the plans to drag this country into it. Roll up a powerful vote for the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party!

Election Issues

What are the issues in the present election campaign in New York?

According to the capitalist candidates, the issues are municipal, the issues of "good government." The American Labor Party spokesmen stand on the same ground. Michael Quill, the Stalinist "independent" candidate, takes the same view. He even goes so far as to condemn those who emphasize other, "non-municipal" issues in the election.

Now, slum clearance and decent housing are undoubtedly an acute problem in New York. The Socialist Workers Party has taken a bold position on the question and proposed a drastic solution for it. But what meaning could housing have to millions who would die on the battlefield if the United States entered the war and to the millions for whom the same United States would become a huge concentration camp under military dictatorship?

County reorganization, the smashing of the bureaucratic corruption that eats at the vitals of the city—that is an issue, without doubt. The government machine is an Augean stable that must be cleaned out by the workers. But if war were imposed on the country, the present bureaucratic corruption in New York would look like a colonial town meeting democracy in comparison with the regime that would be established.

An increased school budget, a vast change to improve the educational set-up in the city—these are issues. But what would happen to education in the city if war came and every teacher were compelled to become a lying agent of the American war machine, poisoning the minds of every pupil and student?

A radical reorganization of the transit system in the city is an issue. We demand the confiscation of the subways and their management by the workers. But what can any talk of improving the transit situation in New York mean if the "transit" facilities in prospect for the workers are the troop ships that Roosevelt and Co. are planning to send into the war?

And so it is with all the other "strictly municipal issues." They are all subordinated to the paramount issue of the day: the war question.

In this election, there is but one party that takes an uncompromising and unalterable stand in opposition to the imperialist war and to both camps in it.

The capitalist politicians and candidates, and the official candidates of the American Labor Party, are already committed to one of the imperialist camps—the Anglo-French. They are committed to support of American imperialism's plans and ambitions.

The Stalinist candidates, with their belated and pretended opposition to "imperialist war," are in actuality supporting the Kremlin bureaucracy in its alliance with the Hitlerites, who represent the second of the two imperialist camps at war.

The Socialist Workers Party says with complete impartiality: A plague on both your houses! Down with both imperialist gangs!

We do not choose between the two camps, Hitler or Roosevelt, Hitler or Chamberlain, because that is not the choice before the workers.

There is a third camp, the camp of the workers, of the peasants and of the colonial slaves throughout the world. That is our camp. That one we will fight for, as we have consistently fought for it in the past.

That camp has the opportunity to express itself demonstratively in the current election in New York, and to express itself on the issue that overshadows all others: the war issue.

By rolling up the biggest possible vote for the Socialist Workers Party candidates, the workers of New York can give the war-mongering masters of this country serious and undigestible food for thought. They will say to themselves: In New York, there are thousands of workers who, in spite of all efforts to prevent them from taking a position on the question, decided to vote for the most revolutionary and intransigent opponents of the war. There is a threat to our dirty work that must be taken in account.

Ignace Reiss

The Second Anniversary of His Death
—by Leon Trotsky

More than two years ago, Ignace Reiss, an old Bolshevik, a devoted and outstanding revolutionist, broke openly with the Stalin regime. He left his important post in the GPU, returned his Order of Lenin ("It is below my dignity to wear it together with the executioners of the best representatives of the working class"—he wrote to the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party on July 17, 1937), and he openly joined the ranks of the Fourth International in order to "begin all over again, in order to save socialism."

To Reiss' letter Stalin answered with the bullets of his hired assassins. The riddled body of Reiss was found on the outskirts of Lausanne on the night of Sept. 5. But the assassins, spurred by Stalin, did their work carelessly, in a hurry, and failed to cover up their tracks. The Swiss police, without any special difficulty, succeeded in establishing that the murder was perpetrated by the GPU.

In breaking with Stalin, Reiss knew very well—better than anyone else—what awaited him, but Stalin could not terrorize him. Together with other genuine revolutionists, Reiss found his way to the Fourth International. It was precisely for this, for the world revolution, that he gave his life. In him the younger generation will ever remember their comrade-in-arms, their martyr and unwavering fighter.

By Dwight Macdonald

SPARKS IN THE NEWS

Footnote on International Law

In a recent issue of *Time*, John J. Clarke, of Beverly Hills, California, says more in two sentences than has been said to date in the entire Neutrality Law debate in Congress. Mr. Clarke's sentences: "The President's message on Neutrality evidenced a desire to return to International Law. The interesting thing about International Law is that the only way to enforce it is by war."

The Swag

The old-fashioned nineteenth century type of imperialist conquest was, in essence, straight robbery. But it was veiled by the fact it was indirect—a matter of "spheres of influence," of "opening up new markets" and "bringing civilization to backward peoples." "Take up the white man's burden!" exhorted Kipling in 1899, presenting imperialism as a Salvation Army movement to uplift the darker-skinned peoples of the world.

The Nazis have stripped away these pretensions from imperialism, as they have carried other tendencies of capitalism to their blunt, naked logical conclusion. Hitler's imperialism is reduced to its simplest terms: as direct a matter of banditry as any bank robbery. When the Reichswehr moves into a new country, its first concern is *The Swag*. Banks, insurance companies, fraternal and trade union funds—all possible reservoirs of cash and credit, are picked clean, their assets being immediately transferred to Berlin. The Reichswehr functions as a strong-arm crew for the Reichsbank.

This is a factor which has a real effect on Hitler's economic staying-power in the war. Every new conquest is, in the most concrete financial terms, a loss to the Allies and a gain to Hitler. The German Institute for Bank Research and Science recently issued a report on Polish industries. This showed that 43% of the total shares in Polish corporations are held by foreign capital—an index to the backward nature of Polish economy and one explanation for the so dramatically exposed hollowiness and rottenness of the Polish ruling class. Of these shares, some \$60,610,000 worth were owned by French interests, some \$52,600,000 by American interests, and so on. All of this loot now goes into the Reich's coffers—except, of course, for Comrade Stalin's cut.

The Great International Bank Robbery

The sums just mentioned are invested in plant and equipment, and are not readily convertible into cash, the most pressing need of the Nazi state in this war. No doubt the Reichswehr has been also sending back to Berlin large amounts of cold cash from Poland just as it did from Czechoslovakia. But these conquests have also opened up to the Reich another reservoir of gold: the Bank for International Settlements, an institution in Basel, Switzerland, whose resources are owned jointly by the central banks of the world.

Writing in the *NY Times* of October 22, R. H. Frettridge describes this international bank stick-up. Every time the Reichswehr takes over a country, the Reichsbank takes over its gold deposits in the B.I.S. The Czechoslovak job netted \$25,000,000 in gold, Danzig and Poland have yielded an undisclosed additional sum. "Despite angry protests from Great Britain," writes Mr. Frettridge, "no way has been found to prevent the transfers of these gold deposits." The Bank of London was able to prevent Hitler getting hold of the Czech gold on deposit in London, but the B.I.S. is in neutral Switzerland.

The Hitler Mob Takes Over

Furthermore, the Nazis now have working control of the B.I.S. When the bank was founded, each of the chief nations participating had 19,000 shares—England, France, Germany, the United States, Italy, Japan, and Belgium. But naturally every fresh Nazi conquest has added shares to the original 19,000. Poland alone has yielded 4,000 BIS shares. Germany now holds the imposing total of 31,700 shares. The English and French members of the bank's board refuse to attend meetings any more. They would like to liquidate the bank, but there is a provision in the by-laws that this can be done only by a three-fourths vote of the shareholders, a majority impossible to get without Germany and her friends.

The board meetings of the BIS these days must be comic affairs, with the Nazi bandits solemnly insisting on everything being done according to full legal forms. They have not only stuck up the bank, but have at the same time installed themselves as its chief stockholders. And to add spice to the joke, the new president of the bank is an American T.H. McKittrick, of the respectable old banking firm of Higginson & Co.

Thus ends another of the attempts made in the twenties to bring some law and order into world capitalism. The BIS was one of those experiments in international cooperation like the Kellogg Anti-War Declaration, the World Court, and the League of Nations. Its purpose was to provide an orderly way for adjusting international financial relationships in the chaotic post-war period. But its chief effect has been to aid the power which above all others refuses to abide by any of the rules of the game, and aggressively threatens the order and stability which the BIS was founded to establish. Just as the League of Nations was used as an instrument of power politics by the then strongest European imperialist group—England and France—so the BIS is now being manipulated by the Nazis. Such is the inevitable fate of all such schemes to establish "order," "justice," and "cooperation" in a system which more and more reverts to the brute law of the jungle for its real, as against its officially proclaimed, code of conduct.

In the World of Labor

By Paul G. Stevens

Truth Is Beginning to Clear a Path for Itself

With the beginning of the war and the clamping down of a rigid censorship by the belligerents, only the lies of national unity made their way into the press. What had become of the revolutionary working class movements in Germany and in Great Britain, in France and in the rest of Europe—to all these questions the blackout of the various propaganda machines barred an answer.

Only slowly the real truth is beginning to trickle through. In the past few issues of the *Socialist Appeal* we published the first dispatches from the countries at war indicating that the forces of the Fourth International are carrying on in Germany, in France, in England and everywhere where the imperialist conflict has unfolded, as the international army for peace, under the slogans of the Socialist United States of Europe and the World Federation of Socialist Republics. Small in number, but compact and disciplined, bound together solidly by a system of ideas wrought and perfected in sixteen years of common struggle for the world revolution and against the most hideous betrayals of Stalinism and social democracy, the sections of the Fourth International already constitute, as these dispatches reveal, the clear-sighted and courageous Marxist vanguard of a working class for which the opportunity to take power is rapidly advancing amidst capitalist crisis and catastrophe. If there is any distinct difference in the situation today from that of 1914, it surely lies in the fact that the alternative to the disastrous war—the socialist world revolution—already has at its disposal an instrument that is standing up under duress.

Tendencies Toward a Breakdown of National Unity in Great Britain

The struggle of the Fourth International against social patriotism and for the revolutionary solution to war is naturally aided by events themselves. National unity is far more of a farce now than in the last war—even as a fiction for the moment it is becoming more and more untenable.

Take the example of Great Britain. To be sure the official Labour leaders are the same warmongering scoundrels that they have always been. A Hugh Dalton still disports himself of a jingoistic gem like the following:

"The war would end when above the war zones of Europe, with her allies Britannia ruled the waves."

But even a conservative social patriot like the Lord Provost of Glasgow, P. J. Dollan, finds this too much to stomach. In the same issue of the *Forward*, published there, which carries Dalton's great thought he publishes an article character-

istically entitled "No Jingoism for Socialists." Being in closer contact with the working class, he knows that the wilder variety of social patriotism will not go over in the ranks. But far more significant is a growing breach between the parliamentary social patriots and the second rank functionaries of the trade unions.

For example, in a special edition of the bulletin of the No Conscription League—an organization sponsored by the Independent Labor Party and various pacifist groups—Rowland Hill, Chairman of the Bradford Trades Council, writes:

"The official Labour leadership is the medium through which the capitalist class is today attempting to allay that suspicion (that this is a war of imperialist conquest). It exploits Labour's hatred and fear of Fascism for its own imperialist ends." And he proposes: "The Trades Councils, as in the war years, in 1920 and 1926, take on a greater importance. They must accept the leadership that has been abdicated by the Labour statesmen." The importance of this view, which in itself is not new, can be realized only when one remembers that this is an official of a trade union speaking, in just that capacity.

The stir in the Labour ranks is not confined to the stratum alone, however. Even the political people, particularly the usually timid centrists in the party are beginning to raise their voices. Thus, the Scottish Socialist Party, an official affiliate and quite a power in the Labour Party, has taken the following action in a resolution passed early last month:

"The National Council of the Scottish Socialist Party condemns the action of the Parliamentary Labour Party in failing to oppose the passing of the Emergency Powers Bill and declares that this failure has allowed the ruling class of this country to impose a Fascist dictatorship on the people. The lack of opposition by the Labour Party to the rearmament program of the National Government, their participation in National Service schemes, their failure to adequately oppose conscription and the final tragedy of the Labour Party appealing to the workers to unite with British imperialism to fight Fascism on the continent convinces the National Council of the Scottish Socialist Party that the Labour Party Executive is utterly incompetent to lead the workers in this crisis which threatens to embroil the peoples of the world in a war of capitalist domination and we, therefore, demand the immediate resignation of the Labour Party Executive en bloc; the summoning of a special conference to deal with the emergency situation and the redrafting of the policy of the Labour Party insofar as international affairs are concerned."

Inconsistent and muddled as the conclusions themselves are, the tenor of the attacks on the social patriots is in itself impressive, because it reflects the growing grumble among the rank and file.

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Their Government

By James Burnham

During the past year and a half, in the *Socialist Appeal* and the *New Internationalist* we have been publishing considerable material dealing with India. Many of our readers were unable to understand this preoccupation; some even complained, and insisted that we should get down to more practical matters.

The first seven weeks of the second world war already make clear that nothing could be more "practical" than the Indian question.

We know little enough, it is true, of what is actually going on now in India. But let us review what we can piece together from the heavily censored dispatches. And let us do so against the background of India's relation to the last war.

India Fights for Democracy

India, with its 350,000 inhabitants, is the richest of all Britain's possessions, the key and crux of the Empire. No shred of independence or democracy has ever been allowed to disturb London's steady exploitation of its great human and material resources.

During the course of the last war, it was not, then, so entirely simple to persuade India to line up actively on the side of her democratic dictator. But vague promises of independence or at least dominion status to follow the war, the treachery of the native bourgeoisie and of its spokesman, Gandhi, together with the inexperience of the masses, put the fraud across.

India sent approximately 1,400,000 soldiers to Britain's battlefields to fight Britain's war—all of them, by a crowning irony, equipped and paid by India (just as the civil servants, retired to England, have their pensions paid by grateful India). Besides these soldiers, India poured material goods and wealth into the British war machine.

The war was won, and Britain's phrases about democracy and independence were put in mothballs against the next rainy day. Bombers strafing the native villages took the place of promises.

Another Day, Another War

These matters, alas for London, were not altogether forgotten. Came a new war. The papers joyously announced that India had promptly followed the British parliament in declaring war against Germany. But it was Lord Linlithgow, the King's viceroy, not India, that had spoken.

Again the promises: as soon as the war is over, the problem of India's independence will be taken up. But, of course, not now; now there is business to be done, and all talk of independence must be dropped while hostilities last.

The promises no longer have power to charm. Day after day we read of the negotiations between the Viceroy and the leaders of the great Congress Party. Gandhi and his associates have tried hard enough to be loyal servants of British imperialism, but it is too much even for them. They are "anti-fascist" and especially "anti-Hitlerite," they want "the democracies to win the war against fascism," they proclaim; but they are "gravely disappointed over the white paper." If the war is for democracy, they find themselves asking, then why not democracy for India? They cannot "actively support" the war on the basis which Britain proposes.

A few days ago they took the first decisive step: They called upon the local governments of eight of the provinces, controlled by the Congress Party, to resign. These resignations will be an open act of non-confidence in the war.

What Is Behind These Events?

It is too much to believe that the resignations of the provincial governments will turn out to be the first preliminary act—distorted, timorous, unsure as it is—in what will broaden into the Indian revolution? The call for the resignations was, from what of it has been reported, a most cowardly document. It warned against any civil disobedience any active opposition to the war. But in spite of all limitations, it was a heavy blow against the war and the Empire whose life is now staked on the war.

The Indian revolution begins, as have all colonial revolutions up to the present, under the leadership of the native bourgeoisie, represented outstandingly by Gandhi. From this follows the shameful, whining character of this first stage. The native bourgeoisie in reality wants only a larger share for itself of the profits sweated from the Indian workers and peasants—that is the concrete meaning of "independence" or "dominion status" in its mind.

But at its back the native bourgeoisie hears the awakening thunder of the masses. Its recent moves are its vacillating attempts to keep at the head of the coming movement of the masses, in order not to be overwhelmed. What have the masses been doing since the war started? Are they only half-consciously preparing, or are there already great strikes and demonstrations? The censorship does not let us know, but the comparatively drastic nature of the call for resignations seems to indicate broad and open activities.

The Shoals Ahead

The Indian revolution has a stormy course to steer, but if it drives through it can set the world on fire. The outcome will depend upon the ability of the proletariat to organize itself independently, and, drawing the peasantry with it, to assume undisputed leadership in the struggle. This means an end to the dominance of Gandhi and those for whom he speaks.

But there are other very dangerous lines now cast in these troubled waters. The German and Russian agents, now working as a team under the Hitler-Stalin alliance are not idle. They are, for their own ends, making their efforts to guide the developing struggle into their own channels. They will be compelled to increase their intervention. An India divorced from London must mean, for them, an India attached to the camp of Berlin-Moscow; they fear a free and socialist India no less than London.

Their intervention, propagandistic now, will therefore have to be translated into arms when the time comes: which, because of the strategic situation, means Stalin's regiments in India.

But the future has ample promise that against every force of reaction the workers and peasants of India will conquer.

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