

Labor and The Second World War

By J. R. Johnson

The Rise of the Socialist Movement

Each imperialism had to contend not only with rival imperialisms abroad, but with an even more deadly enemy the organized workers at home.

Monopoly capitalism increased the concentration of great masses of workers into large units of industry, which facilitated their organization into powerful unions. The concentration of wealth at one end of society and the resulting poverty and unemployment at the other, the restriction of production to serve the profits of the few rather than the needs of the many, the worldwide competition between great monopolies controlling the economic life of whole nations, the burden of armaments in preparation for the war that loomed—these and other connected causes sharpened the inevitable crises of capitalist production and intensified the insecurity and dissatisfaction of the masses.

Militant labor movements, both industrial and political, embracing millions of workers in each country, menaced the imperialists throughout Western Europe. These movements marched under the banner of socialism, the substitution of public for private ownership. The imperialists could pacify a portion of these workers by paying high wages and creating a labor aristocracy, which functioned as a check on the millions of workers below. This bribery, however, required still greater profits, more new sources of raw materials, more new markets, still wider fields for investment. But new ones were not to be had. It was necessary therefore more intensively to exploit the old. But this intensive exploitation of the colonies brought new dangers. The industrialization of India and China by exported capital had created there a working class that now began to revolt against the increasingly inhuman conditions imposed upon them by their imperialist masters. Trapped between the competition of their rivals abroad and the pressure of the socialist movements at home, menaced by the growth of the labor movement in the colonies, the imperialists could see no way out but a redivision of the colonies, industrial centers, and "spheres of influence." They fought it out between 1914 and 1918, at the cost of ten million dead on the battlefield, twenty-five million wounded, and suffering and destruction beyond human calculation. That was their first great war for "democracy."

The Way Out

As early as October, 1914, a profound student of politics, un deceived by all the propaganda, wrote as follows: "The European war, which the governments and the bourgeois parties of all countries have been preparing for decades, has broken out. The growth of armaments, the extreme sharpening of the struggle for markets in the epoch of the latest, the imperialist, stage in the development of capitalism in the foremost countries, and the dynamic interests of the most backward East European monarchies were inevitably bound to bring about, and have brought about, the present war. To seize land and to conquer foreign nations, to ruin a competing nation and to pillage her wealth, to divert the attention of the toiling masses from the internal political crises of Russia, Germany, England and other countries, to disunite the workers and fool them with nationalism, to exterminate their vanguard in order to weaken the revolutionary movement of the proletariat—such is the only real content, the significance and the meaning of the present war."

(Continued on Page 2)

Behind the Lines

By GEORGE STERN

More than two million men are immobilized along a muddy western front that will soon be winter-bound. Except for an isolated air raid and the occasional deadly swish of a torpedo through the open sea, the war has not yet begun. The French sacrificed thousands of men to advance into German soil at the outset, merely to give the appearance of doing something to help the beleaguered Poles. At the first sign of German counter-pressure they fell back, at the price of an undisclosed number of lives and the status quo ante. Sept. 3 has been re-established.

"Peace offensives" have had their hour and between London, Paris and Berlin the air is filled with reciprocal imprecations and threats that somehow continue their persistent failure to materialize. Is it because on both sides of this so-far-sham battle eyes are fixed on Moscow? Is it not, certainly, because no one is sure, even now, who is friend and who is foe?

Moscow is most assuredly the principal actor in this strange spectacle and strangest of all, nobody seems to be sure just what role it is playing! Scan one day's news: Russia makes new demands on Finland which send the latter's negotiators back to Helsinki. Russia turns the City of Flint over to Germany. Russia tells Britain it will not recognize the blockade. Russia sends a big trade delegation to Berlin and announces it will furnish Hitler with a million tons of grain. Russia even gets a ginger little approving pat from Chamberlain about its invasion of Poland. Russia sends aid to China—for cash and goods on the line—and denounces "agents of Washington"

for trying to cast discord into the tentative. Moscow-Tokyo. harmony!

And most important of all: it is from Russia that the next war move in southeastern Europe is now generally expected. In Berlin they are looking for it and Berlin has the inside track right now. Shrewd observers recognize that despite the new pact of the Allies with Turkey, Rumania is likely to get the same kind of "support" that Poland got. Apparently the general sense is that if Stalin wants Bessarabia he can probably have it without undue difficulty.

From Hitler, certainly, the Kremlin dictator is certainly getting every encouragement to move. Hitler is proceeding, apparently, on the theory that it will be comparatively easy to recapture ground lost to Stalin if Stalin can be brought to overreach himself.

From the Allies he can at the same time count upon a certain degree of forbearance because he knows they are not going to take any steps which would more or less irrevocably line up Russia as an ally at Germany's side in actual hostilities. Not until they give up all hope of bringing about a German-Russian clash will the Allies risk extending the war front to the southeast and, of necessity, to the Mediterranean as well.

It is over this diplomatic no-man's land that Stalin is flying like a trapeze artist, high, wide, and handsome. But he can't just keep swinging, especially with foe-friends and friend-foes sawing away at the ropes on both sides.

And the one thing Stalin most seriously lacks is a safety net.

Socialist Appeal

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

VOL. 3, NO. 83

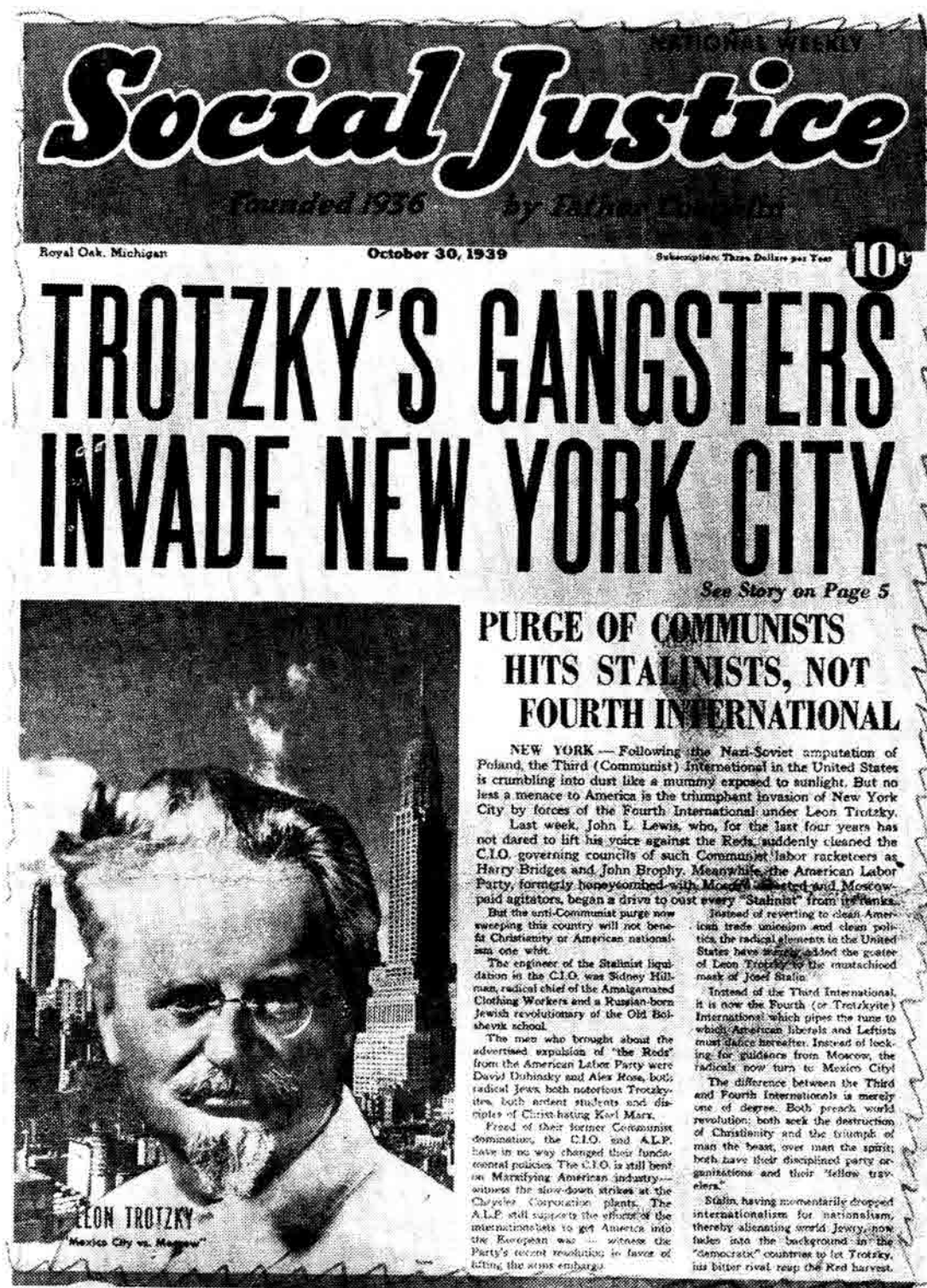
NEW YORK, TUESDAY, OCTOBER 31, 1939

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE!

3c a Copy

ROOSEVELT USES 'FLINT' SEIZURE TO PROMOTE U. S. WAR PLANS

Fascist Rag Attacks 4th International



Above is a facsimile of Fr. Coughlin's fascist gutter rag, *Social Justice*. The big scare about the Fourth International taking over New York has a basis in fact for the future if not for the present—when the workers of New York take command over their own lives and destiny in a socialist society.

We are proud to be the butt of attack of this fascist fiend who is enemy No. 1 of American workers. Revolutionary workers, under Socialist Workers Party leadership, have given Coughlin's rateen of Christian Mobilizers cause enough for worry in the past six months. We promise to duplicate our performances in double doses in the future. The stuck pig, Coughlin, has only begun

to squeal.

As for the rest of the trash, it hardly deserves even contemptuous comment. We are loath to accept credit for the purge of Stalinists from the American Labor Party. Alex Rose and David Dubinsky, whom Coughlin's vile scribbles make the target for an anti-semitic attack, will be the first to deny the charge of "Trotskyism." They are the trade union agents of Anglo-French imperialism. But Coughlin cannot discredit the trade unions either by anti-semitism or by reference to their pro-war position.

The Fourth International is an anti-war party—it will save the trade unions from the war mongers—and from Coughlin.

Mexican Police Arrest Man Who Tried to Enter Trotsky's Home

Danger of Attempt at Assassination Makes Additional Precautionary Measures for The Defense of Trotsky Necessary

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
MEXICO CITY—Precautionary measures to protect Leon Trotsky against assassins were increased this week, after a suspicious character attempted, with a fake story, to make his way in to Trotsky. The suspect, Manuel Fernandez Barrechea, was arrested by the Mexican police, who announce they are continuing the investigation.

On Oct. 20 Barrechea presented himself at Trotsky's home in Coyacan, describing himself to Trotsky's secretary as a Spanish refugee, an aviator in Spain and a member of the Communist party there. He wanted to see Trotsky, but gave no particular reason. The secretary asked him for his address, in order to inform him when he could see Trotsky. He gave his address as the Hotel Moderno.

The next day someone telephoned the Trotsky household, said he was the Spanish general, Jose Miaja, and urged that Bar-

(Continued on Page 3)

CHRYSLER CO. SEEKS TO BALK AGREEMENT

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
DETROIT, Oct. 27—The Chrysler Corporation continues to throw every obstacle in the way of an agreement with the UAW-CIO. Its chiselling tactics are designed to emasculate the basic union demands for the union shop, joint union-management regulation of production schedules and the reinstatement of over one hundred workers fired for failing to keep up with the speeded production.

The stubborn attitude of the corporation, which contrasts so sharply with the excessive conciliation of union officials, is now responsible for throwing 50,000 men out of work in the Chrysler plants and an additional 100,000

Boss Press Wails Loud About Incident; War Propaganda Gets Spurt

The Roosevelt administration's war drive was accelerated notably this week, when the American government made demands on the Hitler-Stalin camp, in the City of Flint incident, which it has carefully refrained from making in similar cases where the Anglo-French camp is involved.

Roosevelt's "neutrality" speech on Thursday, denouncing as "one of the worst fakes in current history" the warnings sounded in and out of Congress on the danger of American participation in the war, was exposed as the real fake, when at his bidding the State Department peremptorily demanded that the German and Soviet governments surrender the City of Flint.

Seizure and detention of a score of American vessels by British and French war-

ships, and the confiscation of the cargoes carried by two or more of them—it is known now that the phosphate cargoes of the American freighters and Saccarappa have been confiscated by the British—not only were not protested by the State Department, but the very facts about the seizures did not become known until last Wednesday.

After days of clamor about the German seizure of the City of Flint, Senator Clark and other congressmen finally were successful in getting the State Department to release a list of the American ships seized by the Anglo-French warships.

While the State Department felt no need to inform the American people that many of these ships were and are for weeks in Anglo-French hands, much less to protest their seizure, it didn't even wait to establish the facts before it demanded of the Soviet government immediate release of the City of Flint.

U. S. Fakes Excuse

The ostensible justification for the State Department's demand on the Soviet government is, that in the Anglo-French cases the seizures conformed to international law, but that the City of Flint case did not conform to international law.

Under the Hague Convention of 1907, to which the United States government is a signatory, Article 21 provides that a prize ship may be brought into a neutral port "on account of unseaworthiness, stress of weather, or want of fuel or provisions", but that "it must leave as soon as the circumstances which justified its entry are at an end."

Soviet Followed Law

Formally, at least, the Soviet government adhered to these provisions. The Germans brought the ship into Murmansk on a claim that is covered by the term "unseaworthiness", and it was in the port only a few days. Maybe the Germans were lying, and the Soviet government was helping them—they are scarcely above a little deceit! But the U. S. government could not possibly know this to be a fact. Before it had made any investigation to speak of, the State Department issued its demand on the Soviet government for the release of the ship, and similar representations to Berlin.

Press Openly Partisan

The American press took it up, and day in day out wailed loud and long against the Hitler-Stalin camp. But when, under pressure, the State Department finally released its list of American ships seized by the Anglo-French camp, it caused scarcely a ripple in the press.

This incident is a warning sign to the American people that the whole apparatus of the American government is geared to dragging us into war on the side of the Anglo-French camp. If such a flimsy pretext as the City of Flint incident is utilized to such an extent, we can imagine what will happen when some real incidents occur, as they will inevitably occur in the course of a war.

New York SWP Set For Whirlwind Finish To Election Campaign

Reiterating that the anti-war platform of the Socialist Workers Party in the present municipal elections most adequately corresponds to real needs and desires of the workers in New York, Max Shachtman and George Lyman Paine, Councilman candidates for the Bronx and Manhattan, prepared today for a whirlwind two-week wind-up to their respective election campaigns.

"We are confident," both candidates stated today, "that the workers of this city will rally to the Socialist Workers Party candidates in a manner that will surprise everyone. From our contact with the workers of the Bronx and Manhattan during this election campaign, we are prepared to say that our anti-war program is being received with the greatest interest and sympathy. In the same way that our Party answers the needs of the workers, in the same way the workers will respond to us on election day."

Pennies Financed Campaign

Both candidates today filed their campaign financial statements with the Board of Elections. James Burnham, Treasurer of the Campaign Committee, commented:

"The financial cost of the campaign to elect Max Shachtman and George Lyman Paine to the City Council will show the lowest expenditures of any candidate in the field. From beginning to end, our campaign has been financed with the contributions and pennies of the workers themselves. Let the other candidates, who say they are 'independent', divulge the sources financing them. These 'independents' would have to admit that in no sense are they independent of the subsidies of the large capitalist interests."

Speak to Youth

Answering the questionnaire submitted by the Young Citizens Committee For a Progressive City Council, Shachtman and Paine gave their program for the vast army of youth:

"The youth of America, like the youth of the countries at war today, have nothing to gain from the present war. It is a war between two imperialist camps to re-divide the earth. No matter which side wins, totalitarian dictatorship will triumph, small nations will be enslaved and 'peace' will be restored in the spirit of the robbers' Treaty of Versailles."

Calling upon the young people of this city to support the anti-war campaign of the Socialist Workers Party's candidates, Shachtman and Paine urged that, "Unless the youth of the nation is reconciled to becoming cannon-fodder in an imperialist war, it

(Continued on Page 3)

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.

Farrell Calls for Aid To Watson

NEW YORK, Oct. 26—James T. Farrell, the noted novelist, today added his voice to those who have spoken out in condemnation of the arrest of Frank Watson, Canadian militant, who was arrested and sentenced to one year's imprisonment for delivering an anti-war speech in Toronto. In an interview with the *Socialist Appeal*, Farrell said:

"I agree with the statement that democracy is the first casualty of war. The information on the Watson case which has been supplied me by the American Labor Aid is a clear-cut illustration of this. On this basis I support the appeal for funds to defend Watson. I hope others will realize that this is an important defense case and join me in adopting this position."

Funds Vital

In doubling its efforts on behalf of Watson, the American Labor Aid which has organized a Watson Defense Fund, pointed to Farrell's reiteration of the old truth which is amply evidenced in the Watson case: democracy is the first casualty of war. Thus, in rallying to the defense of Watson, in itself the elementary duty of every anti-war worker, the A.L.A. made it plain that it was also fighting the entire issue of war-time suppression: today in Canada, which is already at war; tomorrow in the United States, when it goes to war.

Funds, said the committee, are urgently needed. The expenses involved in conducting the defense of Watson are extremely high. Every nickel, dime and dollar is of the utmost value. Contributions, however small or large should be rushed to the American Labor Aid, 125 West 33rd Street, New York City.

Join the Socialist Workers Party

A New Anti-War Pamphlet

Labor and the Second World War

By J. R. Johnson

(Continued from Page 1)

The writer ended his analysis with a program of action: "Transform the present imperialist war into civil war—is the only correct proletarian slogan. . . . However difficult such a transformation may appear at any given time Socialists will never relinquish systematic, persistent, undeviating, preparatory work in this direction, since war has become a fact. . . . Long live the international fraternity of the workers against the chauvinism and patriotism of the bourgeoisie of all countries!"

This was Lenin, the great follower of Marx and Engels, the founders of scientific socialism.

Imperialist War and Proletarian Revolution

But the war of 1914-1918 settled nothing. It could settle nothing. It could re-divide but it could not increase. Only the discovery of a continent with a few hundred million natives could save imperialism from a crisis that was now permanent.

And, as in the colonial sphere, so in Europe.

The Treaty of Versailles reshuffled boundaries, but national states remained. Even under capitalism the productive forces had attained a high degree of internationalism. The war had shown that what was now needed was the reorganization of world economy by an international cooperative plan instead of on a national competitive basis. What else could prevent the periodical explosions of rival national economies into devastating imperialist war? But private ownership of the means of production was the basis of the national state. The abolition of private ownership was a political task, and could be accomplished only by the social revolution of the working-class. It was for these reasons that Lenin characterized the period in which we live as the period of imperialist wars and proletarian revolutions.

In one great country, Russia, the workers and peasants, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, well educated and prepared by Lenin, overthrew the capitalist system. They transformed the basic industries from private into collectivized property, and boldly set out upon the road to socialism. The workers in Germany, Austria, and Czechoslovakia swept away their monarchical governments and established democratic republics—but they failed to abolish the capitalist system of property. The new Russian economy was thereby left isolated. In the rest of the world, the national state, private property and the oppressed colonial countries, in other words all the pre-war dynamite, remained. The imperialists were thus faced with the same problem as before: the accumulation of profit, the need for investment, and a world that obstinately remained the same size as it had been in 1914. Their post-war plight was now more desperate than ever, for the example of the Russian Revolution stimulated the militancy of the workers in Europe and unleashed revolutionary movements in India, China, Palestine, Egypt and other colonial countries.

The Imperialists Try Fascism

A method of temporarily solving one phase of the difficulty was discovered by the Italian capitalists. They subsidized Mussolini, who attacked the workers' movements with armed bands. The leaders of the labor aristocracy, flourishing as members of parliament and trade union bureaucrats, would not lead the workers to the only way out—the revolutionary struggle for socialism. The workers were defeated and terrorized. Deprived of their trade unions and their democratic rights, they were powerless to resist wage cuts, and increased hours. Thus for a time fascism stifled the pressure of the working class on the capitalist system.

But for a time only. The powers maintained an unstable equilibrium until 1929, when the world crisis once more showed the bankruptcy of the capitalist system. Britain, France, Belgium and Holland could maintain "democracy" at home only by squeezing their colonies still more. The colonialists replied with fierce uprisings, which though unsuccessful, weakened still more the unstable system. Germany and Austria had no colonies to squeeze. The German capitalists followed Mussolini's example and subsidized Hitler and his fascist bands. The German workers failed to resist, their movement was destroyed, here also, as in Italy, with the connivance of the "democratic" government. With the workers crushed, Hitler was free to begin the rearmament of Germany.

In 1931 Japanese capitalists were seeking to solve their crisis by the absorption of China. In 1935 Mussolini launched his attack on Ethiopia. Another great war for "democracy" was on the order of the day.

Once More Imperialist War

Britain and France, leading lights of the League of Nations, took no serious steps against either Japan or Italy. The League was only a means of protecting their own possessions and organizing support for their own defense. By 1938 Hitler began to expand over Eastern Europe, first into Austria, next in Czechoslovakia. Hitler and Mussolini helped establish fascism in Spain. Britain and France, with their workers hostile at home and their colonies on the verge of revolution, could only retreat, offer "appeasement," and try to bargain with Hitler for what they called a "general settlement." Britain had helped in the rearmament of Germany, hoping to push Hitler into an attack on the Soviet Union. But the plan miscarried. Instead, Hitler accepted for the moment an alliance with Stalin.

The very practical gentlemen who rule Britain and France care nothing for "poor little Poland," for "democracy" (which was destroyed in Spain with their tacit assistance), for the Jews whom Hitler murdered—for anything they talk so much about. But if Germany, allied to the Soviet Union, conquered Poland and was allowed to digest its conquests, then British imperialism, its markets,

colonies and profits were in mortal danger. Chamberlain put aside his umbrella, picked up his rifle, and marched forward as the leader in the second great war for "democracy."

American Capitalism and the First World War

While the European imperialisms scrambled in Asia and Africa, American capitalism prospered. The elasticity of a young and vigorous capitalism, the extent and wealth of the United States, gave American capitalists the illusion that this was God's own country, immune from Europe's troubles. But they, too, felt the need for colonies, and took some away from Spain, before the Twentieth Century began. And they began their struggle to dominate Latin America, shouldering aside here Britain and Germany, and encountered Japan and other rivals in the Far East.

During the 1914-1918 war, American capitalists made billions selling supplies and munitions, chiefly to the "democracies," who controlled the seas. When the "democracies" could no longer pay cash, American capitalists invested vast fortunes in credits to them. But by 1917 the "democracies" were in danger of being defeated, imperilling American investments. Furthermore, the whole of American economy was now geared to the production of war material for the "democracies." A German victory would mean immense losses abroad and a desperate crisis at home. The American capitalists gave their orders to Woodrow Wilson, and he, elected but five months before as the man who "kept us out of war," led America into the trenches, to make the world safe for "democracy" and the investments of American capital.

The Economic Crisis of 1929

The exhaustion of European imperialism and the vast profits made from the war enormously increased America's financial power. This wealth had to find a field for investment—the perpetual preoccupation of capitalism. Because they had to invest somewhere, American capitalists invested in Europe, bankrupt as it was, as well as in Latin America and the Far East. For a time imperialism on a world scale seemed to prosper as never before. But it was an artificial prosperity: prosperity under capitalism means accumulation of profits, and accumulation of profits means a necessity for further expansion. Expansion where? In 1929 the system crashed again, and this time as never before.

In no country was the crisis worse than in America. By 1932 the unemployed numbered at least seventeen million. Whereas Britain underwent a slow decline over more than half a century, American capitalism plunged downward half the distance in one year and, today, after nine years, gives no sign of recovery. Such is the violence of capitalist disintegration in our time.

New Deal Into War Deal

Roosevelt was elected in 1932 as the man to solve the crisis. Vain hope! By an adroit combination of relief, government expenditures, and demagoguery, he impressed the people. Profiting by the slight alleviation of the world crisis, he was reelected in 1936 by the enthusiastic vote of a hopeful but deluded people. But one year later another catastrophic convulsion, the sharpest drop in American history, demonstrated finally to those who still needed proof that American capitalism was, like the rest of the world, in permanent crisis.

Four million workers organized into the CIO; for the first time hundreds of thousands of Negroes entered the organized labor movement; sit-down strikes followed one another in quick succession—the American workers were learning from their brothers in Europe. Here was danger,

Marxism In Our Times

by Leon Trotsky

AN INTRODUCTION TO:

Living Thoughts of Marx

A 200 page abridgement of the first volume of Karl Marx's CAPITAL, including a brilliant exposition of the fundamental principles of Marxism in the light of modern day events. An entire section is devoted to the newer reformist movements, especially the Roosevelt "New Deal." Also examines the perspectives of the American and International labor and revolutionary movement.

This book, PRICED AT \$1.00 by the publishers, Longmans-Green Co., TOGETHER WITH A ONE YEAR SUBSCRIPTION either to

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

or

SOCIALIST APPEAL

(Subscription rate, \$2.00 per year)

for \$2.25

ORDER NOW!

Address:

The New International
116 University Place
New York, N. Y.

(Note: For Socialist Appeal subscription in Manhattan and Bronx, add \$1.00 for 1 year postage)

and Roosevelt, like every other capitalist statesman, knew only one way out—imperialist war.

For an immediate issue he didn't have to look far. Japan, long a rival of American imperialism for the great Chinese market, began a large-scale war in China and served notice on all other capitalists to keep out. In close cooperation with Japan, Germany and Italy, using cheap goods wrung out of their defeated workers at home, were pushing into that special preserve of American imperialism, Latin America. Listen then to Franklin Roosevelt at Chicago in October, 1937, speaking to the startled people of America:

Let the People Vote Against the War

"Innocent peoples and nations are being cruelly sacrificed . . . The peace-loving nations . . . Those who cherish their freedom . . . the sanctity of international treaties . . . international morality . . . moral consciousness . . ."

When a "democratic" statesman shouts hosannas to peace and international law, then the imperialist war is not far off.

In our time peace is merely a period of preparation for war. The moment was drawing near, the preparations had to be accelerated on all fronts.

Roosevelt set out on his war-mongering career.

Late in 1937 Congressman Louis Ludlow managed to get his proposed amendment to the Constitution discharged from the Judiciary Committee where it had been collecting dust for almost three years to the floor of the House. This called for a referendum vote among all the people before a war could be declared by the United States government against another country. The Ludlow amendment is not a revolutionary measure; even if passed it cannot by itself stop war. But it does give the people an opportunity to express at least an opinion on whether millions should be cut short in their prime. A vote against the war might be a preliminary to more effective means of stopping it.

Franklin Roosevelt, war-monger, opposed the amendment. Under heavy pressure by the President, the House refused, by a vote of 209 to 188, even to discuss it. The close vote shows that the congressmen were aware of the strong sentiment among the people in its favor. In the very week the vote was taken, a Gallup poll showed 75% of the people in favor of the amendment. That was why many dared not vote against it.

Franklin Roosevelt, war-monger, has bitterly fought the bill ever since. Let the people vote against the war! Let the people decide! No, says Franklin Roosevelt, war-monger.

"Fight at the Drop of a Hat"

On February 4, 1938, through Admiral Leahy, chief of naval operations, Franklin Roosevelt, war-monger, outlined before the House Committee, and to the world, his blueprint for war. A note was sent to Japan heralding the naval race.

On February 17, 1938, Franklin Roosevelt, war-monger, called a secret meeting of the great financial, industrial, and newspaper lords, the heads of the army and navy—the real rulers of this country. At Chicago it was all peace and international morality, but now, when these high-up gangsters were speaking not to the public, but to one another, you could have closed your eyes and imagined yourself in Rome or Berlin. Said Roosevelt, "This nation used to be ready to fight at the drop of a hat and we must get it that way again."

On February 24, Franklin Roosevelt, war-monger, asked the New York up-state WPA for lists of unmarried men on home or work relief. He did not hide why he wanted the lists. It was to get the men into the army.

On March 5, Franklin Roosevelt, war-monger, announced plans for a war alliance with the Latin American states.

On March 26, 1938, the war situation sharpened in Europe. No European nation, no three European nations, could attack us, could send across the ocean three or four million soldiers and all the supplies they would need. Roosevelt knows this as well as anybody else, but he seized the opportunity to increase the naval budget. In 1934 it was \$290,000,000. Early in 1938 he had it up to \$1,000,000,000. Now he added an extraordinary appropriation, making a total of \$2,121,000,000. For the army the budget was \$500,000,000.

During the next few weeks he praised the Sheppard-May bill which provides for the mobilization of industry for war. He initiated vast naval maneuvers in the Pacific, on a front of five thousand miles from Alaska to Samoa. This was a warning to Japan, whose drive in China continued unabated. While the naval maneuvers were taking place, he announced war-games on land and in the air, to last until the fall.

(Continued in Next Issue)

JUST OUT!!

"Why Negroes Should Oppose the War"

By J. R. Johnson

A message that affects the life of every Negro!

ORDER NOW!

Price—5c per copy. Bundle rates—10 to 50—3c per copy.

50 or more—2½c per copy

SPECIAL RATES TO ORGANIZATIONS.

PIONEER PUBLISHERS

116 University Place, N.Y.C.



RECORD OF BRANCH APPEAL SALES

On the whole the branches continued to dispose of their regular quotas of the Socialist Appeal, and in several instances have been able to circulate and to sell extra quantities on special occasions, such as mass meetings, house-to-house drives, street meetings, etc.

Several cities do quite well with subscriptions, but by and large this field remains as yet a major weak spot, due to a variety of circumstances, some controllable and some not.

Since our last record, 27 new subscriptions have been entered and 11 renewals. New York City with six new subscriptions and three renewals and Lynn, Mass. with four new subscriptions turned in the best week's job in this field.

The record of the cities since last week is as follows:

| Branch | New | Renewal |
|---------------|-----|---------|
| New York City | 6 | 3 |
| Lynn, Mass. | 4 | .. |
| St. Paul | 3 | 1 |
| San Francisco | 2 | 1 |
| Chicago | 1 | 2 |
| Oakland | 2 | .. |
| Cleveland | 2 | .. |
| Los Angeles | 2 | .. |
| Omaha | 1 | .. |
| Toledo | 1 | .. |
| Seattle | 1 | .. |
| Connecticut | 1 | .. |
| Newark | 1 | .. |
| Phila. | 1 | .. |
| Peekskill | 1 | .. |
| Denver | 1 | .. |
| Sacramento | 1 | .. |
| Total | 27 | 11 |

A few branches made cuts in their regular bundle orders, but a few increases and new orders quickly made up these losses.

Local Cleveland decided to cut its order for the time being to 40 copies, since outdoor meetings cannot now be held, and this was the means for selling the paper widely in the past.

In Portland, Ore. our comrade continues to do very well in selling a bundle of the Socialist Appeal and The New International among his trade union contacts.

The new branch in Stretator, Ill. hopes to be able to continue to dispose of 15 copies regularly, though advising us that not having a regular place to meet creates certain difficulties.

Likewise the comrades in Houston, Texas and other localities continue quietly to dispose effectively of both the paper and the magazine.

An order has been placed for 5 copies regularly by J. L. in Syracuse, N. Y.

In New Haven N. Lyons has taken over the work of literature agent and writes they are confident shortly of increasing the bundle orders, as well as obtaining new subscriptions for both publications.

As reported before, the Oakland comrades have been very successful in selling the paper at meetings. Recently Comrade E. M. Literature Agent, together with another comrade sold 50 copies at a single "Ham and Eggs" meeting.

Lennie Saunders has become the new literature agent in Philadelphia and is taking steps for increased sales.

The Newark, N. J. organization continues to dispose regularly of its large quantity.

In Allentown, Pa. Comrade R. Q. disposes of several copies regularly at the unemployed gatherings.

One of our comrades speaking at a high school in Reading, Pa. acquainted many persons there for the first time with our literature.

In Pittsburg Comrade O. I. has been doing well in obtaining new readers.

PROMPT PAYMENTS ON BUNDLES VITAL

Again it must be emphasized that prompt bundle payments and liquidation of large outstanding bills is imperative, in order to avoid an extremely critical situation for our Press. Several branches are now taking up with the Management ways and means for paying up their back bills. But special emphasis must be placed on the task of getting after the subscriptions which have expired.

India's Masses Want Action, Not Stop-Gap Compromises

Whatever the Desire of Gandhi, the Masses Have No Faith in Parliamentary Debate

BULLETIN

The Madras Congress Ministry, with a 152 to 23 vote of approval on the part of the Madras Legislative Assembly, resigned today (Oct. 27), in accordance with instructions of the Indian Nationalist Congress. This is the first of others to come.

Meanwhile, Sir Samuel Hoare, speaking in the British Parliament, added an enormous amount of fuel to the fire of revolt now spreading throughout India, by a speech threatening drastic military and police terror against Indian nationalists.

For the time being, the burning question of India and its demand for independence, has been shifted to the British Parliament now meeting in London, the center of the British Empire. There the question occupies an important point on the war agenda and is to be discussed this week.

This shift does not reflect the desires of the Indian masses to whom the only relevant factor is the need for launching an immediate, mass struggle against the bloody imperialism that rules over them. But it is the direct reflection of the cowardly fears of the Indian capitalist class and its leaders who at present guide the Indian Nationalist Congress.

"Hot and Cold"

Unable to obtain any concessions from the war-minded British, and feeling the intense and hostile pressure of the masses who are egging them on to revolutionary action, these vacillating leaders would do anything to reach a compromise. This blowing "hot and cold" is shown in a message sent by the conservative Mahatma Gandhi to the London News Chronicle:

"I wish that the British government would realize that India is not begging for its independence. The Congress (nationalist organization) asked Britain to say that she would not resist independence. Hindu, Moslem and other difficulties are there beyond dispute. The question is whether Britain will stand aside and let India settle her own difficulties in her own way when the war is over. That is why the Congress has suggested a Constituent Assembly, where every community will be fully represented, to frame a constitution for India. The mis-

chief done is very real. The Working (executive) Committee has passed a mild resolution. It still affords scope for repairing the blunder.

"Will the British public realize that this is a blunder, or will they persist in the hypnotic belief that the India Office can never err; that India must always remain their milk cow? I can only say that the Congress will not rest, and will give no rest until the goal is won. Its very existence depends upon its relentless pursuit of this goal which is no less than the complete independence of India."

Passivity Won't Do

This statement is a combination of cajoling and threatening. But the emphasis is clearly on the desire to capitulate before the British, if only they will give the Indian bosses a few bones and some promises.

The fact that Gandhi—instead of preparing for mass action and mobilizing the 375,000,000 workers and peasants of India behind the Congress—sends pleading messages proves this. At home, where the real fight is, the Gandhists urge the people not to act, but to remain passive.

But Gandhi can no longer represent the relentless urge of the masses for their independence. Even if he should temporarily succeed in bringing about some fake compromise, he can no longer call a halt. The need of India's people is for bread: only their own workers' and peasants' government can give them this.

V. K. Krishna Menon, Secretary of the British India League, and a conservative follower of Gandhi has recognized this in a speech delivered October 25 before British Labor and Liberal leaders. He said, "I cannot see how a large scale conflict between the powerful All-India National Congress and the Viceroy's government in India can be avoided. . . ."

The round of Parliamentary twaddle cannot last long. The voice of Britain's imperialists and their Labor Party agents cannot reach across the seas to India's masses. They know what their goal is.

Subscribe to the
SOCIALIST APPEAL

THE NEGRO QUESTION

By J. R. JOHNSON

(Continued from Last Issue)

Negroes! On Guard against The New Stalinist Line

If James Ford is asked why he and Browder spent five years persuading the American workers that their future lay with Roosevelt and the New Deal, he will lie like a trooper in reply. No people in history ever lied like the Stalinists. But the real reason for Ford's "democratic front" is this.

Whereas Lenin and Trotsky always said, "How can we best help the workers in Russia and all over the world, for we are all one," Stalin, Ford's master today says, "How can I use the workers to help me and my bureaucrats preserve our wealth and power?"

In 1935, he was trying to get an alliance with Britain and France. But the reactionary imperialisms didn't want to make an alliance with a revolutionary. So Stalin gave his orders to his servants all over the world. "Stop being revolutionary. Be good lovers of 'democracy'. Above all no class struggle." Whereupon Browder and Ford started on their "democratic" career. How their paper and their speeches used to stink! They fawned all over the boots of Franklin Roosevelt, the same Roosevelt who now jails Browder and who may well jail Ford tomorrow. Every other column in the Stalinist papers whooped it up for F.D.R. All who were for F.D.R. were heroes in the eyes of the Stalinists. Formerly they had denounced the NAACP and the Urban League. Suddenly these Negro petty-bourgeois, who are as revolutionary as a stale potato-pie, were embraced by the Stalinists, and transformed over night into leaders of the American Negro workers.

The Workers Alliance, led by David Lasser and controlled by Stalinists, became one of the most reactionary organizations in the country. It stifled the militancy of the workers and reached its final degeneration when it made Eleanor Roosevelt an honorary member. How in the name of God could a workers' organization, designed to lead the starving unemployed against a chiseling capitalist government, make the wife of the head of that government an honorary member? Strikers may as well ask the boss's wife to come and be an honorary member of the picket line.

Acted against the Class Struggle

The Stalinists were simply killing the class struggle, as they had killed it in France and in Spain, and for the same reason—to help Stalin get his alliance with Britain, France, and America. For the American workers, and for the American Negroes, the Stalinists didn't care a damn.

Naturally, to be able to influence the workers at all, the Stalinists had to maintain a show of militancy. But even while maintaining this show, their main business in life was to act in such a way as to give the capitalists the following impression:

"We are not real reds any more. See how we restrain the workers. See how we praise F.D.R. Make the alliance with Stalin and you can depend upon us to keep the workers quiet. If war comes we shall get them into it much more quickly and efficiently than you can."

The Stalinist rank and file didn't know that this was the real meaning of the policy. Ford and Browder knew all right.

But thinks didn't go well in Europe from Stalin's point of view. Britain and France wouldn't agree to his territorial expansion in the Baltic. Hitler, hungry for an ally, agreed to Stalin's demands (for the time being). The two made their bargain, and Stalin, as Hitler's ally, dropped all his talk about Russia and the "democracies" fighting against fascist aggression.

Here was a fine mess for the Stalinists to be in. All they could do was to double back, put a good brass face on it, and start supporting the Hitler-Stalin Pact. They had to or they would have been called Trotskyists. They would have been abused, expelled and calumniated. But though they now have to support Hitler, who at present is doing most of the fighting in the Hitler-Stalin combination, they are supporting him in a very clever way. They are praising Stalin of course. That they have to do, or out they go on their heads into the street. It would be difficult, however, actually to support Hitler openly. So what they do is to carry on a vicious campaign against Hitler's enemies, the "democracies". The more they embarrass the "democracies", the more they help Hitler, and, as they see it, the more they help Hitler, the stronger is Hitler's ally, Stalin.

Hence, this strange spectacle of Ford in Harlem bellowing against the war, calling it a war of two imperialist groups (which it undoubtedly is), and saying that his purpose and the purpose of his party is to save the Negroes from wasting their blood and lives in a quarrel not their own (which is certainly not Ford's purpose.) This two-faced scoundrel was no more thinking of Negroes' welfare than in the days when he was trying to shepherd them into the "democratic" front and send them fighting against Hitler on behalf of the Moscow bureaucrats.

A Judas Re-Born

There have been many Judases in the world, since the first and most famous one. Negroes have produced their fair share. But of all the criminal specimens on that dirty list, you will have to search far before you meet one like Ford, a Negro, brought up in the South, knowing what his people suffer. And yet in August 1939, this traitor is telling Negroes to fight for "democracy" and in September he's telling them to keep America out of war. And all the time he's using them to serve the interests of the Moscow murderers of revolutionaries and organizers of frame-up trials.

But F.D.R., as the Stalinists so lovingly used to call him, and Murphy allowed Ford and Browder plenty of "democracy" so long as the supported American imperialism. But the moment they start talking about imperialism war on both sides and impeding F.D.R.'s mobilization for America's imperialist war against Hitler, then they get a real test of the "democracy" which for the last five years they so powerfully supported. Franklin jails his old friend Earl.

Negroes! Put not your trust in princes, neither in F.D.R., nor in F.D.R.'s "democracy", nor in anything else except the organized force of the working class movement, black and white. And the Negroes should feed with a very long spoon a political party that between 1935 and 1939 spent its time telling them to trust in F.D.R.'s "democracy".

The Negroes must beware of the Stalinists when they come whining that Browder has been made a martyr on account of his struggle against imperialism. If Browder is a martyr, he's a martyr to his own crooked support of Roosevelt's "democracy" during the last five years. If Browder is a martyr, he's a martyr to Hitler's war, which he's trying to win for the sake of Hitler's ally, Stalin. If Browder is a martyr, he's a martyr for the sake of Stalin's bloated bureaucracy. But that slick double-crosser is certainly no martyr for the revolutionary workers and their struggle for socialism.

So when Ford comes around putting across his sorrowful tale about Browder suffering from "democratic rights" and as an anti-war fighter, the Negroes will tell him to go and tell that tale in Moscow. All workers will oppose Roosevelt's interfering with the working class movement on any pretext whatever. But that does not in any way mean that we shall cease to expose Ford, Browder, Stalin and all their works.

And at the same time also let us, as vigilant revolutionary workers, not be taken in by the "democracy" fakers, with their ballyhoo about agents of a foreign power. Negroes and white workers will not lose two winks of sleep about foreign powers, except in so far as we can help the workers in a foreign country to overthrow that foreign power. We know only two powers—the imperialists on the one hand, and the workers, farmers and oppressed colonials on the other. Franklin, who jails his old friend Earl, belongs to one camp. Many of Earl's followers belong to our camp, and that is why we protest when Franklin jails his old pal, Earl. But we have to make it very clear that our protest on behalf of Browder is in reality on behalf of his misguided followers and the rights of the workers as a whole. That protest doesn't in any way make us mitigate, but leads us rather to intensify our denunciation of his corrupt and poisonous politics.

Stalinists and Lewis Forces at Loggerheads On Auto Union Policy

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

FLINT, Mich., Oct. 24—Indications of a brewing battle between Stalinist forces in the United Automobile Workers Union and the Lewis machine became evident in Flint this week, as the issue of a Chevrolet strike uncovered growing animosity between the groups.

The Stalinist forces, typically inconsiderate of the needs of the rank and file workers, and without adequately preparing the ground, are pushing for strike action in Flint Chevrolet plants, against the express policies of R. J. Thomas and other Lewis men on the International Executive Board of the UAW-CIO, and without adequate preparation of the ranks of the union.

Growing Discontent. Discontent has been brewing for months in the Flint plants, as the Stalinist leadership, together with conservative misfits who sold the offices, have allowed the company to pile up a mountain of unsettled grievances, initiate a speed-up and discriminate against union men.

While the Stalinists were following their pro-Roosevelt line, and Stalin, the Big Boss, was still a good "Democrat," they branded every attempt at militant action as an aid to "Fascists" and as a maneuver designed to embarrass Roosevelt.

Now, however, that Stalin has waved his magic wand, and has ordered his flunkies to oppose Roosevelt and lend aid to the Hitler-Stalin camp, these self-same Stalinist robots, with as little concern for the workers' needs, are vigorously pushing for strike action, and flaunting defiance in the face of the International Executive Board of the UAW-CIO.

That action is needed to settle the pile of grievances, and stop the speed up in the Flint plants is true without a doubt. There is considerable stirring of the rank and file, and demand for a fight. That a strike is necessary is beyond question. But the Stalinists, without preparing the ground, without acquainting the men with the issues, without so much as calling a mass meeting to inspire the workers in the plants, have pushed through a strike vote that has little real meaning, except as a mechanical device to launch an adventurous and badly organized action.

The fighting forces in Flint can easily be routed. Their background of militancy has proved that the auto workers will rise in a short time, when given the slightest chance to learn the issues involved, and when they feel they have an organization behind them.

But the conservative bureaucrats and the Stalinist leaders, who have spent the past several months trying to insure their own salaries, who have hesitated to

spend a few dollars on leaflets or other means of publicity, are now rushing ahead without any concern whatever for the manifest confusion that has swept the plants.

Vigilance Necessary

A strike under these conditions, opposed by R. J. Thomas and Lewis, led by Stalinist flunkies and other incompetents, pulled as a political maneuver, will not succeed in settling the host of serious problems now confronting the union.

Once however they are in action, it is possible the rank and file of the union will sweep ahead, go over the heads of their irresponsible leaders, and by sheer weight of their numbers and militancy, manage to hold together the union and force concessions from the company.

But workers must be aware of the new political turn of the Communist Party, and beware of their attempts to provoke premature strikes, or other irresponsible actions, without adequate preparation.

Who Will Lead?

Lewis, Thomas and his aides are not to be depended upon either to lead the battles of the auto workers. While the Stalinists are agents of Hitler-Stalin, Lewis is going to help sell you to the war mongering Roosevelt and the Allied camp. Neither of these leaders will lead the workers in a vigorous fight against speed-up, and both will back down when the crucial fight to maintain unionism conflicts with American participation in the war.

The automobile manufacturers are engaged in a bold campaign to smash the auto unions in preparation for war production. Greedy for the profits that will come with orders for war materials, these manufacturers want nothing more than to smash unionism.

The Stalinist, irresponsible policies will only lead workers into the trap set by the corporations, who know well enough that they have picked a moment when the unions are none too well prepared.

The speed-up can be ended only by struggle. But to struggle you must have weapons! First prepare your army. Mobilize the union. Inspire the ranks. Once this is done, no force on earth can stop the advance of the auto workers. To try to give battle before you have a well-knit army on the field will mean defeat. What is needed is genuine action, not an adventure. A wary eye should be kept on the "generals" who order an advance prematurely. They are probably in service of the enemy.

Let the People Vote on War!

NEW YORK PARTY PREPARES BANG-UP CLIMAX TO DRIVE

(Continued from Page 1)

must fight side by side with the Young Peoples Socialist League for:

A peoples vote before war can be declared. A lowering of the voting age to 18 years to permit the youth, who will be called upon to fight in war, to vote on war.

For youth WPA projects instead of NYA handouts, and the transference of the two billion dollar war budget to provide youth with jobs and a chance to live, instead of guns and death.

Support Teachers' Demands In answer to the questionnaire of the Joint Committee of Teachers' Organizations, comprising 40,000 New York school teachers, Shachtman and Paine denounced all attempts to cut the school budget and called upon the teachers to rally against any attempt to cut their salaries.

In reply to the City Affairs Committee and the League of Women Voters, both candidates stated their support of the plan for County Re-organization as a step toward ridding the city of petty grafters and corrupt sinecures, many of whom thrive on what they extort from the poor. Shachtman and Paine endorsed the fight against the Lyons Residence Bill, which, they stated, discriminates against many workers of long service in the various city departments.

Initiating the windup to the campaign will be two outdoor mass rallies this Saturday evening at which both candidates will speak. In the Bronx, candidate Max Shachtman, George Clarke and others will feature the mass rally at Tremont and Prospect Avenues.

In Manhattan, candidate Paine will speak between Lexington and Third Avenues on 86th St.

CHRYSLER CO. SEEKS TO BALK AGREEMENT

Workers Stand Ready To Fight Company By Strike Action

(Continued from Page 1)

in feeder plants and in the rubber and glass industries.

Top officials of the union agreed to modify their original demand for a union shop. (The "union shop" requires only that new employees hired shall be required to join the union within a specified period of time). But the corporation flatly rejected this compromise.

The original demand of the union for the setting of production standards by joint committees has been whittled down by the corporation. In its stead they place an ambiguous proposal lined with yards of red tape: production standards are to be set by the corporation; in case of complaint they are investigated by a joint union-management committee; if satisfaction is not obtained through this procedure the dispute is to be thrown into the regular grievance machinery. There is undoubtedly a concession in this proposal since corporation officials previously labelled every demand of the union for a voice in production-schedules "se- viciatization."

And now the corporation is holding out on the demand that a corporation-wide contract be signed instead of separate agreements for each plant. They use as a pretext a technicality in the N.L.R.B. ruling. This after the union had conclusively demonstrated in the N.L.R.B. elections, called on company insistence, that it had the allegiance of 80 percent of the workers.

In the yielding attitude of Thomas, Frankenstein and the other negotiators of the union, there is a great danger for the Chrysler workers. There is now a move on foot, initiated by government "mediator" James Dewey, to return Dodge workers to the plant and resume work during negotiations. These negotiations, it is conservatively said, can drag out for at least three weeks—and probably more. During this time the corporation will stall the union negotiators until they are green around the gills. And meanwhile they will speed hell out of the workers in the plants to complete their 1940 program. Then the union can whistle for its agreement.

There is no reason in the world for the UAW-CIO to be eueched out of its just demands. Chrysler must meet competition with General Motors and Ford. It must place cars in the hands of its dealers, who are already howling under squeeze of the competition.

On the other hand, Chrysler workers are more than ready to fight. Every Chrysler local has

Democratic Feudalists and the Independence of the Ukraine

By LEON TROTSKY

In Kerensky's periodical, "Novaya Rossia" for July 12, 1939, my article on the independence of the Ukraine (printed in *Socialist Appeal*, May 9, 1939) is subjected to a "criticism" of its own kind. From the standpoint of socialist, scientific, literary, etc., criteria, "Novaya Rossia" is of course of no interest at all. But it possesses this merit, that it enables one to peer into the heads of the Russian middle and petty bourgeois democrats. Scratch any of them hard enough and you will find a feudalist.

The periodical fumes over the fact that I wholeheartedly and completely stand for the support of the Ukrainian people in their struggle for national and state independence. "The separation of Soviet Ukraine from the U.S.S.R. doesn't embarrass L. Trotsky at all." Absolutely so! As regards Messrs. Democrats, they are not only embarrassed but deeply roused by the prospect of the separation of the Ukraine. The democratic urge of an oppressed nationality to gain its complete

voted overwhelmingly for strike. Up to 5,000 workers have picketed the Dodge plant. This is a strike the corporation cannot break once it gets under way. The great danger is that the officialdom of the union under pressure of government mediators and even the war department will yield what it should gain before the strike ever gets in motion.

TRIES TO ENTER TROTSKY HOME

(Continued from Page 1)

point the police arrested Barrechena.

Barrechena attempts to pass as a Spaniard from Malaga, but fails to conceal his Central American pronunciation. He had no papers of any kind or personal belongings. He had a Pan-American Airways schedule on him, and a scribbled note listing the days when Pan American flies. It is believed here that he was the agent of a group attempting to organize the assassination of Trotsky, assigned to make a preliminary survey of the possibilities.

In a similar incident recently, a man with a package attempted to enter Trotsky's house, saying that he had been sent by General Mugica with fertilizer for the garden. While the secretary checked over the telephone, General Mugica denying any knowledge of the man, the suspect fled before police could apprehend him.

There are numerous other indications that the various camps hostile to Trotsky are seeking ways and means of putting him out of the way. The need for constant guard precautions within the household has been reinforced by this latest incident.

independence cannot fail to arouse the ire of feudalists. "The question of how this revolution (the national Ukrainian revolution) will be utilized by Hitler for the realization of his plans is not touched by Trotsky," the gentlemen of "Novaya Rossia" consider that "the separation of the Ukraine will lead to the military weakening of the U.S.S.R.," and they come very close to the conclusion that Trotsky's politics serve Hitler. The same opinion is held also by the Kremlin. Great minds run in the same gutter, reads a French proverb."

Let us grant that the separation of the Ukraine does actually weaken the U.S.S.R. What to do then with the democratic principle of the self-determination of nations? Every state which forcibly retains within its boundaries some other nationality considers that the separation of the latter would weaken the state in economic and military spheres. Hitler annexed the Czechs and semi-annexed Slovakia precisely because this leads to the military strengthening of Germany.

Wherein does the criterion of our democrats differ from the criterion of Hitler? As regards the nation or the Ukrainians, the democrats of "Novaya Rossia" following the not uncelebrated democrat Miliukov are perhaps ready to answer to this question that the Ukrainians are "by and large and in general" in all likelihood a nation, but after all there are limits. In other words, if they are a nation, it is a second-class one inasmuch as the fate of the Ukraine must be determined by the interests of Russia, i.e., the Great Russian majority. And this is precisely the viewpoint of the chauvinistic feudalists.

In the sad and sorry days of the February revolution, the Provisional Government brazenly refused to extend to the Ukrainians not only independence—the Ukrainians did not demand this at that time as yet—but also mere autonomy. Messrs. Democrats haggled over the national rights of the Ukraine like horse-traders. They then took their direct and immediate point of departure the interests of the old Great Russian "masters" of the landlord, bourgeois and democratic type. Today they are translating the very same great and glorious tradition into the language of the emigres.

From a much higher historical standpoint, namely from the standpoint of the socialist revolution, it would be quite possible to subordinate for a certain period of time the national interests

of the Ukraine to the interests of the international proletariat if they came into conflict with one another. But there is no sign even of such a conflict. The Ukraine is being strangled by the very same Bonapartist reaction that strangles the whole of the U.S.S.R. and undermines its capacity for self-defense. The Ukrainian revolutionary movement aimed against the Bonapartist bureaucracy is the direct ally of the international revolutionary proletariat.

The far-sighted democratic feudalists are very much concerned lest Hitler utilize some time in the future the national Ukrainian revolution. They close their eyes to the fact that Hitler already today is utilizing the suppression and the dismemberment of the Ukrainian nation.

In contrast to Messrs. Democrats of the Menshevik and Narodnik variety, we do not at all proceed from the consideration that there is no beast more powerful than the cat. Hitler's strength in general, and in relation to the Ukraine in particular, lies not in himself but in the worthlessness and rottenness of democracy, in the decomposition of the Second and Third Internationals, in the vast wave of disillusion, decline, and apathy among the masses. The triumphant revolutionary movement in any country will sound the knell for Hitler. The national revolutionary Ukrainian movement is an integral part of the mighty revolutionary wave which is now being molecularly prepared underneath the crust of triumphant reaction. That is why we say: Long Live Independent Soviet Ukraine!

August 5, 1939

1939 Bound Volumes of SOCIALIST APPEAL now ready!

52 issues of this year neatly bound together. Have a first-hand survey of the historic events of this year right at your elbow.

(\$2.00—including postage)

ORDER NOW FROM:
Socialist Appeal
116 UNIVERSITY PLACE
New York City, N. Y.

THIRTY DOLLARS-THIRTY HOURS IS SLOGAN OF ELECTRICAL WORKERS MANIFESTO-PETITION

Leading the fight for the six-hour day and the thirty-hour take advantage of the machine EFFICIENCY which has been developed today. million signatures to evidence wide support for the thirty-thirty plan.

The Manifesto declares:

WHEN!!

Public and Private INDUSTRIAL Policy has entirely failed to take advantage of the machine EFFICIENCY which has been developed today.

The Farm Control Policy of with-holding the full FECUNDITY of NATURE has the same inherent WEAKNESS.

THIS COMMON FAULT IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE RIDICULOUS ECONOMIC SITUATION WHERE-IN WE HAVE PEOPLE STARVING IN THE MIDST OF PLENTY; OF PEOPLE GOING THREAD-BARE AND RAGGED IN THE MIDST OF THE GREATEST INDUSTRIAL SURPLUS EVER KNOWN.

Over-production, it is called, but it is not over-production at all, but UNDER-CONSUMPTION.

UNDER-CONSUMPTION, because the greatest market in the World, the Consuming American Public, is in need of Money.

The Generosity of Nature could be developed to its fullest extent, and the Machines in all of the MILLS and FACTORIES could be working twenty-four hours every day, creating National Basic Wealth, and the American People could have money to buy EVERYTHING PRODUCED, if that WEALTH were more equitably distributed amongst the men and women WHO ACTUALLY PRODUCE WEALTH.

There are to-day approximately 42,700,000 Workers employed at 44 hours per week, and 10,600,000 Workers unemployed.

There is expended every week 1,878,800,000 work-hours.

By working every-body but THIRTY HOURS PER WEEK, there would be 62,600,000 jobs available, which would put everyone to work and leave several MILLION JOBS open for our SCHOOL AND COLLEGE GRADUATES each year.

WHEN the American Public forsakes its tolerance and DEMANDS that the THIRTY-HOUR WEEK be made mandatory under the LAW, and says so at the Polls and to the LAW-MAKERS, then we will have adopted the PRACTICAL SOLUTION FOR UNEMPLOYMENT.

DO YOUR BIT. SIGN THIS PLEDGE SHEET AND INDUCE OTHERS TO SIGN IT ALSO.

There is no TIME LIMIT short of our goal, which is ONE MILLION SIGNATURES IN NEW YORK CITY, AND FORTY MILLION SIGNATURES IN THE ENTIRE UNITED STATES.

Yours for a SIX-HOUR DAY, THIRTY-HOUR WEEK.

IKE WOODWARD, Chairman
Educational Committee,
Local Union No. 3,
International Brotherhood
of Electrical Workers,
130 E. 25th St., N.Y.C.

THE MARXIST SCHOOL

announces its FALL TERM COURSES

to be held at the Cultural Center, Room 201, 125 West 33rd St., N. Y. C.

Classes Begin Monday, November 20th

1. HOW CAPITALISM OPERATES TODAY Frank Demby
Mondays—7:15 p.m.-8:40 p.m. 6 Sessions, \$1.00
A course in Applied Marxian economics, dealing with such matters as the basic causes of the breakdown of the automatic processes of the business cycle, war and inflation, economics under a fascist system, the economics of the farm problem, etc., etc.
2. SOCIALISM AND WAR Max Shachtman
Mondays—8:50 p.m.-10:15 p.m. 6 Sessions, \$1.00
Beginning with the great wars and revolutions of the last century this course will proceed to a consideration of the theoretic and practical problems of today. What are just wars? How can the social conquests of the Soviet Union be defended? Why do Marxists condemn pacifism? How should we act in the present war situation?
3. THE DESTINY OF THE NEGRO J. R. Johnson
Tuesdays—7:15 p.m.-8:40 p.m. 6 Sessions, \$1.00
This course will trace the history of the Negro peoples from their enslavement to their present struggle for emancipation and equality. The chief solutions for the Negro problem will be examined.
4. ELEMENTS OF SOCIALIST THEORY AND PRACTICE
Tuesdays—8:50 p.m.-10:15 p.m. 6 Sessions, \$1.00
A course designed to suit the needs of young people and those in the labor movement who seek an understanding of basic principles.
5. ORGANIZING AMERICAN LABOR E. R. Frank
Wednesdays—7:15 p.m.-8:40 p.m. 6 Sessions, \$1.00
First hand accounts of the great strike struggles in the recent past, close-ups of leading trade union personalities, analyses of current trade union events by one who personally participated in many of the great organizing drives of the last few years.
6. THE WAR DEAL IN ACTION James Burnham-Dwight Macdonald
Wednesdays—8:50 p.m.-10:15 p.m. 6 Sessions, \$1.00
Lectures on the week by week developments in American politics. Consideration will be given to such matters as Congressional legislation, M-Day plans, developments in the business world in relation to the war, etc.

Registrations now being taken at the Labor Bookshop, 116 University Place, N.Y.C. from 1 p.m. to 6 p.m. Registration can also be made by mail to the school office, 116 University Place. Prospective students are urged to register early.

SOCIALIST APPEAL

VOL. III, NO. 83

Tuesday, October 31, 1939

Published Twice-Weekly by the
SOCIALIST APPEAL PUBLISHING ASS'N.
at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.
Telephone: ALgonquin 4-8547

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for six months. Foreign: \$3.00 per year, \$1.50 for six months. Single copies: 2 cents per copy in the United States; 3 cents per copy in all foreign countries. Single copies: 3 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 Editor: EMANUEL GARRETT
General Manager: FELIX MORROW
Assistant Manager: MARTIN ABERN
SHERMAN STANLEY

FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY FOR:

1. A job and a decent living for every worker.
2. Open the idle factories—operate them under workers' control.
3. A Twenty-Billion dollar Federal public works and housing program.
4. Thirty-thirty! \$30-weekly minimum wage—30-hour weekly maximum for all workers on all jobs.
5. Thirty dollar weekly old-age and disability pension.
6. Expropriate the Sixty Families.
7. All war funds to the unemployed.
8. A people's referendum on any and all wars.
9. No secret diplomacy.
10. An independent Labor Party.
11. Workers' Defense Guards against vigilante and Fascist attacks.
12. Full social, political and economic equality for the Negro people.

Trotsky In Danger

Elsewhere in this issue we report the details of the latest attempt against Trotsky. The vigilance of those guarding Trotsky in his household succeeded in thwarting the attempt as soon as it began.

But let us not delude ourselves: Trotsky is in grave personal danger. Not only is he in danger from the Stalinist GPU assassins; but also from Stalin's allies, the Nazi gangsters; and from the "democrats" who, as the war deepens and is prolonged, fear more and more the spectre of the ending of the war by revolution. To both the camps of Hitler-Stalin and Chamberlain-Roosevelt, Trotsky represents the revolution which they would destroy.

Trotsky's comrades and friends are taking all the precautions that are humanly possible within their means. Particularly, guard precautions have been increased within the household.

The Fourth International does not intend that Trotsky, who represents the direct line of Marxism, shall suffer the fate handed out to the old Bolsheviks by Stalin.

American Labor Party

In the New York City councilmanic elections, we are asking the workers in the Bronx and Manhattan to give first place on their ballots to Max Shachtman (Bronx) and George Lyman Paine (Manhattan), the candidates of the anti-war party, the Socialist Workers Party. For all other councilmanic and other posts, we ask the workers of New York to vote for the candidates of the American Labor Party.

Our support of the ALP candidates, now as in other elections, is *not* based on any agreement with their program. It would be more correct to say that we support them in spite of their program. The ALP program has always been an opportunist one, a patchwork of petty-bourgeois proposals, tinged here and there with a trade union coloration. The ALP's pro-war resolution of Oct. 4, which we have analyzed and condemned in a series of articles, merely continues the opportunist course of the ALP. Peace-time opportunism is the fountain-head of war-time chauvinism.

Why, then, do we call upon the workers to vote for the ALP candidates? Because the ALP is the organized expression on the political field of a major group of trade unions. We want to see the trade unions and other workers' organizations organize their *own* party, a Labor Party, independent of and opposed to the capitalist parties, and within the arena of the Labor Party a struggle of programs for the working class can be carried on far more concertedly than today.

The bigger the vote for the ALP, the more would the workers be encouraged to insist that their unions join in the formation of a nationwide Labor Party.

A Labor Party, to have any meaning, must be based on the trade unions. That is why, in the present fight between the pro-Ally and pro-Hitler-Stalin camps in the ALP, we recognize the pro-Ally camp—the leadership of the needle trades unions—as the official representatives of the ALP. They have with them the overwhelming majority of the trade unions affiliated to the

ALP. The Stalinists have few unions; the neighborhood clubs they control mean nothing in the basic structure of a Labor Party.

Programmatically, we fight equally, against both war-camps: against the "democratic" as much as against the Hitler-Stalin camp. We ask the workers to support our program in this election by giving first preference on their ballots to our candidates. But we also ask them to vote for the official candidates of the American Labor Party in order to speed the day when the workers will break away from the capitalist parties.

Within the ALP we ask the workers, in the voting on the ALP pro-war resolution, to vote neither with the Stalinists nor with their opponents. A vote for either side is a vote for a camp of war-mongers. Within the ALP, as everywhere in the working class, we work for the formation of a *third* camp: the camp of revolutionary struggle against both warring camps.

Courting Stalin

Winston Churchill's statement on Oct. 1 that Stalin's invasion of Poland "was clearly necessary for the safety of Russia" received the guarded approval of Prime Minister Chamberlain on Oct. 26; the same day Viscount Halifax, British Foreign Secretary, stated "It is worth recalling that the action of the Soviet Government has been to advance the Russian boundary substantially to that recommended at the time of the Versailles conference by Lord Curzon."

In short, after a month of great moral indignation, the Anglo-French camp has decided to put a good face on Stalin's annexations.

All that this new development tells us is that the Anglo-French camp has not given up hope of wooing Stalin away from Hitler. It tells us nothing new about Stalin's invasion.

We did not join the Anglo-French imperialists in their self-righteous and hypocritical denunciations of the invasion. We do not join them now in their whitewash of the invasion. A month ago and today, our judgment of the invasion remains the same.

We criticized the invasion from the standpoint of the international working class. That standpoint has nothing in common with that of either warring camp, or their Social-Democratic or Stalinist agents. We repudiated with contempt the Social-Democratic call for defense (in "democratic" uniforms) of "poor little Poland." We repudiated with contempt the Stalinist alibi that Stalin was "liberating" the occupied territories; we said that the nationalization of industry and the land by the Soviet bureaucracy in the occupied territories was being carried out, for one reason only: that the Soviet bureaucracy did not desire to share the power with the Polish capitalists and landlords. We called upon the workers in the occupied territories to take advantage of the new situation, by taking the lead in destroying the old regime, organizing factory and peasant committees and preparing to carry through, jointly with the workers of the Soviet Union, of which they are now a part, the overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

We still stand on that position, Messrs. Chamberlain and Halifax and Stalin to the contrary.

Why Catalonia Fell

In the early spring of this year, we now know, Hitler prepared his anti-Polish military campaign; the first negotiations between Hitler and Stalin in this connection began then.

In the early spring of this year, the Stalinist-dominated Negrin government was still in power in Loyalist Spain. Suddenly, its defenses in Catalonia collapsed. The chief stronghold of the Loyalists, Barcelona, fell without a fight. Within a few days all of Catalonia was in the hands of Franco. When the outright capitulationists, led by Miaja and Casado, moved to take control and make peace with Franco, the Stalinist leaders offered no resistance; they flew to safety abroad, leaving the masses to Franco's mercy.

Was it a coincidence that, as Stalin was coming to terms with Hitler, Stalin's hirelings were abandoning the fight against fascism in Spain? We did not then know the facts about the secret agreement with Hitler; although we then predicted a pact between them. But even then we were able accurately to characterize Stalin's role in Spain: a deliberate betrayal of the Spanish working class.

The Stalinists indignantly denied it then. But now?

Heywood Broun, columnist and president of the American Newspaper Guild, denied he is, or ever has been, a member of the Communist party. Gad! Think of the dues he's cheated that party out of!

Socialist Appeal
116 University Place
New York City.

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

Name
Address
City

State Planning in the U. S. S. R.



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

(Concluded from Last Issue)

The significance of the collapse of the Comintern is summarized as follows by the Nazis. (All quotes are from the *Deutsche Zeitung von Mexico*, Sept. 12, 19 and 28.)

"This complete ideological and organizational disintegration of the Comintern has not failed to affect in turn the inner political developments in the Soviet Union." After Bolshevik Russia found out that it had no revolutionary support in the other countries, "the responsible statesmen in the Soviet Union were left with no other alternative than that of liquidating Bolshevism in their own country too."

The Nazi organ has no doubt that the liquidation of Bolshevism inside Russia has been concluded for some time: Bolshevism means the erection of a Socialist order of society; Socialism, however, means the removal, i.e., the withering away of the State. The Nazis are not deceived by the label "Socialist State" which the Stalinist bureaucracy have pasted on; they prefer to stick to the facts:

"The State and all its institutions such as the standing army, police, etc., had not been destroyed; on the contrary the Soviet Russian Army and Police are two very important factors in the power of the State. And in order that no illusion shall remain on the score that the Red Army has long ago ceased to be an instrument of the Comintern and the banner bearer of the world revolution the following words have been deleted from the oath of the Red Army at the beginning of the current year: 'I pledge myself to fight for the cause of Socialism and for the brotherhood of the nations.' The Red Army fights on the battlefields of Poland not for the world revolution but, just like the German Army, to rectify an injustice, against British and French imperialism and for a greater Russia."

SEE NOT A TRACE OF BOLSHEVISM
"The workers, peasants and soldiers councils which are supposed to form the actual ground work of the Soviet system, have been successfully eliminated for 15 years and in 1937 they were finally liquidated with the re-introduction of Soviet foreign interest."

"Nor has the officialdom been abolished in the Soviet Union. Officials are not elected by the workers, as the Bolshevik program calls for, but are appointed by superior bodies of the State. They receive not the pay of the worker, as Socialism propagates, but have on the contrary, the very same and even greater privileges than the officialdom in old Czarist Russia."

"Cast distinction and cast conflicts have not been abolished in the Soviet Union. They are perhaps not greater; but in no case smaller than in other countries." The Nazi press substantiates this contention by taking up wage policy in the Soviet Union and concludes: "We have here differences in income from 3,000 up to 300,000 rubles."

And after all these facts have been enumerated we get this reassuring balance sheet: "Of the

program of the Bolshevik Party... not a single plank has been fulfilled in the Soviet Union" and "there can be no question of Bolshevism in the Soviet Union."

HAVE NO ILLUSIONS ABOUT STALINISM

The Nazis are also acquainted with the arguments which have lately been brought forth by the bewildered Stalinists and People's Fronters, namely that "this pact is only a bluff on the part of Soviet Russia... in order to facilitate the organization of the Bolshevik revolution in Germany." In Germany there is a different conception: "Such an interpretation... is based only upon distrust as to the inner-political stability of Germany, and can only be explained by the fact that the sponsors of such views leave out of consideration the tremendous political and economic changes which have taken place in the Soviet Union in the last few years."

The Nazis on the other hand, who take completely into account the tremendous political and economic changes which have come about in the Soviet Union in the last few years, finally come out with the following contention:

"Even a National Socialist Germany can live in undisturbed friendship with a National Bolshevik Russia which has given up the ideas of world revolution, has no territorial claims on Germany, and which fights together with Germany for the destruction of the Versailles Diktat."

If the Hitler press has no illusion about the true substance of Stalinism, it does have very many illusions regarding the "inner-political stability of Germany" and the "undisturbed friendship" with Russia. The inner-political "stability" of Ger-

many rests in the main upon a convulsive terror.

Hitler and his retainers are today engaged in exploiting the pact with Stalin in the face of the dissatisfied German masses who were opposed to war; if Russia itself, they plead stands on our side, then do we not fight for a just cause? Thus the pact with Stalin serves them to justify the plans of German imperialism and to infuse in the German masses confidence in the fascist war-mongers. In reality, however, the support which the Hitler dictatorship finds in Stalin is of very questionable value. Just as the German masses have come to understand the genuine essence of Hitler's "National Socialism," so they will also lose their illusions regarding Stalin's "National Bolshevism."

MASSES DO NOT TRUST EITHER OF ITS 'FRIENDS'

By ordering his scribes to describe Stalin as a trustworthy partner who has liquidated Bolshevism and Socialism, Hitler at the same time discredits Stalin in the eyes of the German masses who up to recently have looked with hope to Moscow and secretly listened in to the Moscow broadcasts. Hitler intends to cure the masses of their Socialist hopes, but he will only free them of their last illusion about Stalinism. The Pact may have caused temporary confusion and depression in Germany but Hitler will not gain new confidence even with Stalin's help. In turning against Hitler, the German masses are now turning at the same time against Stalin and his clique. The "undisturbed friendship" of Hitler and Stalin is approaching a hard test. The collapse of the one will most certainly carry the other along with it.

Will Stalinist Regime Add to Its Conquests?

By SHERMAN STANLEY

The uppermost question in the minds of imperialist diplomats today is, "What next from Stalin and his regime"? Is it possible for Stalin—already deeply enmeshed in his alliance with Hitlerism—to withdraw? Or must he continue along the path of conquest and enslavement upon which he has set out?

Stalin and his bureaucratic cohorts have raised to their lips the bottle containing the heady wine of conquest and expansion, pressed from fruits gathered by their plunderers. The first drops have tasted sweet and have gone down smoothly. Will Stalin now give an additional tilt to the bottle so as to increase the flow?

Let us summarize what has been done by the ruling Kremlin powers to date. They have conquered Eastern Poland (Byelo Russia and the Polish Ukraine) and established their undisputed rule over this large area. Estonia has been made a military "protectorate," with such conditions that its whole national structure is, in effect, ruled by Russia. With this arrangement there has come sea control over the North Baltic (Gulf of Finland) and military positions that make the capitulation of Finland inevitable before the threats of the Kremlin rulers.

Latvia and Lithuania are meekly following behind Estonia and are likewise foredoomed to become "protectorates"—thus giving control of the entire Baltic Sea over to Stalin. Bessarabia—a totally undefended section of the tottering Rumanian state—can be plucked by the Kremlin's hand at a moment's notice. Rumania is eventually to be parcelled between Fascist Germany and the Soviet Union. Thus, a transportation route running from Georgia and the Caucasus, via the Black Sea and Rumania, has been cleared. Over this route will flow a part of the raw materials bound for Hitler's troops.

As to the fate of Turkey and the Balkan nations, while this question has been postponed for the time being by the signing of the Anglo-French-Turkish Pact, it is nevertheless more likely that the German-Russian alliance will be more potent. The door has been left open for this eventuality by an "escape" clause in the Pact which categorically states that under no circumstances will Turkey fight against Russia.

The great strategic value and importance represented by the Dardanelles and Bosphorus—as proven by the great campaign waged for control of the Straits and the Gallipoli peninsula in the last world war—make it vitally necessary for Stalin to attempt to hold Turkey in line. This fact, combined with the traditional policy of German imperialism—the drive to the East—will tend to dominate the fate of the Balkans.

Not a March for Liberation

Already there are reports that indicate the rapid approach of events in the Near and Far East which will have the utmost significance for the oppressed colonial peoples of Asia. These reports indicate the intention of the Stalinist bureaucratic gang to embark on a program of expansion southward and eastward.

Fulfilling his current role as a supporter and agent of German imperialism, Stalin may—at the command of his present master—be instructed to strike vital blows at British imperialism in its territories that extend from Iraq on the West to distant Burma on the East.

These lands are now the prize possessions of the badly shaken British Empire. They include Iraq, Iran (Persia), Afghanistan, British and Native India, Nepal, Tibet, and Burma. Within its vast confines live hundreds of millions of colonial slaves—workers and peasants—who have suffered long years under the harsh rule of "democratic" British imperialism. These people—representing almost one-fourth of humanity (500,000,000!) have been swept by tidal waves of revolutionary nationalist sentiment for liberation from imperialist rule.

The people of these British colonies desire—above all—their national independence. Right now their lives are spent as colonial slaves working in the interests of the hated British slave-masters. The oil fields of Iran, the produce of the "Fertile Crescent" of Mesopotamia (Iraq), the mineral and industrial wealth of India—all of these are exploited by the British imperialists.

But Stalin would not come down among these people as a "liberator" or a revolutionary enemy of British rule. If Stalin should march south into the Persian oil fields; if he should attempt to overrun Afghanistan as a route into the Punjab, the most fertile and developed agricultural area of India; if he should conceive of a double invasion of India by way of Afghanistan from the West, Sinkiang and Tibet from the East; then we must openly state that he comes as an enslaver of the colonial peoples—not as their "emancipator."

Colonials Will Reject Stalinism

The key answer to this complex problem lies in the overwhelming desire of these colonial people for their real, genuine freedom and national independence. Although the forms and methods of conquest and oppression of Stalin may vary greatly from those of British imperialism, nevertheless the entire nationalist and colonial revolutionary movement will instinctively reject and oppose any moves of Stalinism in their direction.

If reports continue to come through of the massing of Red Army troops in Sinkiang, of border violations in northern Afghanistan, of Nazi and Stalinist agents at work among the colonial peoples in attempts to deceive them and misuse their more than justified hatred of "democratic" British enslavement, then we shall return to what may become a burning question for the revolutionary colonial movement.

For the masses of the countries involved in these events there is only one slogan that strikes to the root of their desires: **Neither British imperialism, nor enslavement by the Stalinist bureaucracy. National independence and the right to work out their own revolutionary and socialist destiny!**

It took the Stalin regime three months to intervene in the Spanish revolutionary events, with results that everyone is acquainted with.

Now with the beginning of activity on the part of the 375,000,000 people of India in a drive to gain their independence from British tyranny, the Kremlin masters are already casting an anxious eye in the direction of India. They are already laying the basis for their counter-revolutionary intervention through the pseudo-revolutionary activities of the Indian Stalinists and GPU agents! Stalin stands in unshakable fear of a colonial revolution in India. Such a revolution would knock at the very doors of the Kremlin and threaten the ruling caste with immediate overthrow.

Phenomenal Sale — One week only

OLD STOCK MUST GO!

20% off on all books in the Labor Bookshop

Here is a partial list of the buys:

| | | |
|--|--------|------|
| LEON TROTSKY — | | |
| History of the Russian Revolution | (3.00) | 2.39 |
| LEON TROTSKY — | | |
| Third International after Lenin | (1.50) | .75 |
| LEON TROTSKY — | | |
| Stalin School of Falsification | (2.50) | 1.00 |
| DANIEL GUERIN — | | |
| Fascism and Big Business | (1.00) | 1.00 |
| LEON TROTSKY — | | |
| Whither England | (2.00) | 1.60 |
| LEON TROTSKY — | | |
| In Defense of Terrorism | (1.50) | 1.20 |
| V. I. LENIN — | | |
| Collected Works (8 Vol.) | (5.95) | 5.50 |
| Reduction in pamphlets of Modern Age, Penguin, Fact, and others. | | |

Special reduction in Marx Engels Library and other books. Payment must accompany all orders.

Add 3c per book for postage.

Labor Bookshop

116 University Place
New York City