

## EMBARGO REPEAL IS STEP TOWARDS WAR!

## S.W.P. Calls for an Anti-War Vote! Bill Turns U. S. Into Armory for Allied War Camp

## Cast Number-One Ballot for Shachtman In Bronx--Write-In Paine in Manhattan

Entering the last weeks of the New York election campaign, Max Shachtman and George Lyman Paine, Councilmanic candidates of the Socialist Workers Party for the Bronx and Manhattan, called upon the workers of both boroughs to cast their number one ballots for the anti-war party as an endorsement of its struggle against the war and American involvement in it.

"We ask the voters of the Bronx to cast their number one ballot for Shachtman and in Manhattan to write-in the name of George Lyman Paine as a vote symbolic of the desire to place in the City Council representatives of the party which is really fighting against war," both candidates declared today.

Writing to the South Bronx Committee for Tolerance on the fascist issue, Candidate Shachtman stated, "My position on the question of intolerance and of such movements as are represented by the so-called 'Christian Mobilizers' and the 'Christian Front' is the position uncompromisingly held by my Party, the Socialist Workers Party. We condemn all such movements which are aimed at dividing the working class in the face of their real enemies along the artificial lines of race and religion."

The letter, which was read at a public mass meeting sponsored by the South Bronx Committee, declares further, "We stand at all times for the unity of the working class in defense of its interests regardless of racial or religious opinions or origins. We do not, however, confine ourselves to a purely literary condemnation of fascism, fascist groups and their activities. Our Party calls for the organization of Workers Defense Guards to protect the labor movement and all national or religious minorities from the assaults of the fascists."

Although George Lyman Paine has been ruled off the Councilmanic ballot by the Board of Elections on a flimsy technicality, the Campaign Committee reiterated its plan for a

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## Behind the Lines

By GEORGE STERN

The fuss being kicked up over the City of Flint incident is part of a many-sided campaign consciously designed to whip up anti-Soviet sentiment in this country.

Roosevelt's State Department is using the kind of language in this affair that is used only against an enemy, actual or potential. In the very midst of all the to-do over the City of Flint, shipping companies which have had at least five vessels detained for weeks by the British navy have been unable to get Franklin's man Cordell to say even boo to the British. But when the City of Flint matter came up, the Roosevelt war deal gang went to work full blast and, naturally, the whole press is gleefully joining in ganging up on Russia.

There is a lot of palaver about "international law" being spilled over this affair. It so happens that in seizing the vessel the Germans were within their "rights"—as rights go under the anarchy cynically labelled "international law." But this international law seems to consist mainly of the prerogatives of those strong enough to take what they want. Roosevelt has been doing a little one-man legislating in this field himself, as when he quite arbitrarily ruled a little while ago that American territorial waters extend not to the usual three-mile limit but 1,000 miles out to sea and farther if necessary.

So let no one get het up about who's "right" and who's "wrong." There's nothing right in the midst of imperialist war except the fiercest, most unrelenting struggle against it.

The main thing to get hold of is the fact that the Roosevelt administration is deliberately engaged in a drive, both public

and private, to prepare the ground for American participation in the war against Russia. That most of the Allied statesmen still count on as the ultimate outcome of the present conflict.

That is the meaning of the City of Flint hullabaloo. It is also the meaning of the diplomatic game going on across the other side of the world in Tokyo where Roosevelt, in collaboration with the British, is testing the ground for a deal with Japan that will assure the Japanese role in the projected anti-Soviet war. Chamberlain hoped to get Hitler to fight Russia instead of having to fight Hitler himself first. In the same way, the Wall Street-Roosevelt cabal hopes to fan a Soviet-Japanese conflict without first having to eliminate Japanese power itself.

As this drive gets underway, one thing has to be kept clearly and firmly in mind by every thinking worker who rightly hates Stalin and all his works. The war-mongering bosses are aiming straight at the restoration of private property in Russia. The collectivized economy created by the workers in their revolution remains, despite Stalin's grotesque distortion of it, the main object of capitalist hatred.

Our job is not to help the capitalists restore private property in Russia but to prevent them from doing it. Our job is to help the Russian workers overthrow Stalin and re-assert their own power and the way to do this best is to put an end to private property through workers' revolution here and everywhere in this channel house of a bosses' world.

That is the road to future peace and plenty. All other ways lead to blind alleys of death and destruction and perpetuated poverty.



Scenes in the Campaign for Max Shachtman and George Lyman Paine, Councilmanic Candidates of the Socialist Workers Party, Local New York.

On the streets and in the halls of Manhattan and the Bronx, the Socialist Workers Party carries on its anti-war campaign.

Socialist Appeal Staff Photo

## MINNEAPOLIS PUTS ANOTHER TWENTY-FIVE W.P.A. STRIKERS ON TRIAL IN FEDERAL COURT

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)  
MINNEAPOLIS, Oct. 30 — Twenty-five men and women go on trial today in Judge Joyce's Federal court for their participation in the nation-wide WPA strike this summer.

This is the third trial so far. As in the first two, in which eight WPA workers were found guilty and four were acquitted, the defendants are being tried formally under a provision of the Roosevelt-Woodrum Relief Law which makes it a crime to "interfere with" WPA workers. Actually, however, they are being tried under the Roosevelt-made law: "You can't strike against the government."

Businessmen's Jury  
It is expected that, as in the first two trials, the jury will be drawn from rural sections of this Federal district, to make sure that no workers or friends of labor are on the jury.

Where facts cannot be twisted to arouse the prejudices of a businessmen's jury, the Federal prosecutor—proceeding under orders from Washington—adds to the charges a "conspiracy" indictment, and the judge defines "conspiracy" in such broad terms that convictions can be voted by the jury without bothering about evidence.

In the last trial, Judge Joyce instructed the jury on the meaning of the "conspiracy" indictment, made it broad enough to cover practically every WPA and unemployed worker in the country who supported or sympathized with the WPA strike. He told the jury a conspiracy indictment "does not mean conspirators must be acquainted or take part in conception of the conspiracy"—which in plain English means that a man does not have to conspire in order to be a conspirator.

Circumstantial Evidence  
"Those who come in, later and cooperate to obtain unlawful results of a conspiracy become partners and assume responsibility for that which went before," said the judge.

"Proof of a conspiracy," he went on, "may be by circumstantial evidence. . . . The object of a conspiracy need not be accomplished to make it a conspiracy. It is sufficient to show that a group came to a mutual understanding or agreement to per-

form an unlawful act against the government, whether they acted separately or together."

Anti-Labor Weapon  
The conspiracy charge was a notorious weapon used by boss-dominated courts against trade unions for many decades. It violated, among other things, the fundamental tenet of law that men should not be punished except for overt acts. If "the object of a conspiracy need not be accomplished to make it a conspiracy," any strike action defined as a conspiracy is punishable. Organized labor was successful in forcing the courts to abandon this form of frame-up to a considerable extent—until now, when it is revived by the Roosevelt administration!

United States Attorney Anderson, who has so far secured indictments against 150 men, women and youth, announced this week that he has petitioned the

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## THE FLAME OF REVOLUTION STILL BURNS IN GERMANY

Under a Copenhagen date-line of Sept. 24, the Berlin correspondent of the Paris Temps—a journalist who spent years in Germany before the present war—reports the following interesting item concerning underground activity in German cities which are blacked out nightly as a precaution against Allied air raids:

"BERLIN AT NIGHT"

"According to information received from various sources, the German police are increasing their vigilance against numerous outrages and acts of sabotage. In Berlin and other large cities, night patrols have been organized of SS men and volunteers in order to suppress disorders committed under protection of the darkness. A few nights ago in the old communist section of Berlin, a patrol discovered a number of placards on walls, bearing a red border and these words: 'Down with Hitler and Stalin!'

## MEXICAN STALINISTS PUBLISH FILTHY ANTI-SEMITIC ATTACK ON THE TROTSKYIST MOVEMENT

By DIEGO MONTANEZ  
The Oct. 18 issue of "La Voz de Mexico," organ of the Communist Party of Mexico, carries the following headline on page 2: "Trotskyist Jews Support Almazan."

The fact that no Trotskyists, Jewish or otherwise, are supporting Almazan (a reactionary Presidential candidate) is here comparatively unimportant. What is important is the anti-Semitic note in the propaganda of the Stalinist wing of the Stalin-Hitler bloc.

The article reads as follows: "A group of Trotskyists that meets at No. 15 Tacuba Street, composed in its majority of Jewish and capitalist elements, has dedicated itself to attacking the regime of President Cardenas and supporting Almazan. The last meeting of the afore-mentioned individuals, on the Polish situation, produced a scandalous affair. Not everyone present agreed with the way the leaders of the group

treated the Polish problem; having protested energetically, the dissenters were insulted and, an attempt to throw them out of the room being violently resisted by them, the meeting broke up in blows.

"Among the Trotskyist Jews who distinguished themselves by their attacks on the Soviet Union, the Communist Party, the FRM and President Cardenas were the music critic Khan, the dry goods merchant, Zaharias, and two of the editors of La Voz Israelita named Rubinstein and Abrahams.

"These individuals, openly intervening in national political questions (What, 'comrades'? Aren't Jews a legitimate part of the nation? D. M.), also attacked General Manuel Avila Camacho, calling him an agent of Stalin, and declaring that the candidate who should be supported is General Juan Andreu Almazan."

Usual Demagogue  
The article then ends, in the typical style of the Nazi demagogue with whom their master Stalin has now allied himself, with an attack on the "capitalist Jews." The last paragraph reads:

"The Mexican people must know who are the new friends and partisans of Almazan: the capitalist Jews, exploiters of the Mexican working men and women, rich monopolistic merchants who starve the people." (Emphasis mine.—D. M.)

For four years, until a few weeks ago, the Latin-American agents of Stalin were licking the boots of the "democratic" imperialism.

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"strict clauses" even of the bill as originally presented by the administration forces were chopped away.

Legal Formula  
The bill originally prohibited U. S. ships from entering any belligerent ports. Now only the belligerent ports in the north of Europe are on the closed list. The plan that belligerents must pay cash for and take title to all goods before they leave this country is got around by another amendment which makes this provision apply only to belligerent governments and not to "private" citizens or firms within the warring countries.

The bill, as it is coming out of Congress, amounts simply to this: a legal formula for turning the U. S. into the chief armory for Anglo-French imperialism and at the same time building U. S. armament industries up to peak production in preparation for the day when Roosevelt decides to declare war as master of the "democratic" bloc.

Bombers On Their Way  
On the day of the final Senate vote, the newspapers of Paris and London carried banner headlines announcing the great victory which they had won in Washington.

According to reliable reports, the flow of airplanes will not even wait for boats to ship them. Hundreds of bombers, it is said, will, beginning next week, be flown first to the great airport at Botwood, Nova Scotia. From there they will take off for England and France.

The Botwood base has, during the past several years, been reconstructed with exactly this plan in mind. Flying the planes over will save time and in all probability be accompanied by fewer losses than if the planes were shipped—since one ship torpedoed means from 20 to 50 planes gone. Naturally, a fair percentage of the planes from Botwood will fail to finish the trip, which will be hard on the pilots concerned. But, Chamberlain and Roosevelt figure, there are plenty of young men to make pilots out of.

With the lifting of the embargo, Roosevelt will have got everything out of Congress that he wants for the moment. He will, therefore, send them away from Washington in double-quick time, so that he will be left free from any possible interference in taking the new and rapid steps toward war which are to follow in the next two months. And he will have a chance to complete his projected four billion dollar arms budget to present to the regular session when it opens on Jan. 3.

## N. M. U. Bureaucrats Skirt Real Demands of Maritime Workers

By SIDNEY MOORE

In the Oct. 27 issue of the Pilot, the leadership of the National Maritime Union declared through an editorial that, "in drawing up our proposed agreement this year, we based our demands upon the minimum needs of the membership." And what should one of the MAIN DEMANDS be? "Our main demand is that the present agreement be clarified so as to expedite the mechanics of interpretation."

Here we have the cowardly admission by a bureaucratic leadership that their struggle for the rank and file demands means exactly nothing. Their attempt to clarify the issues to an impatient membership is as clear as their "main demand." To understand that peculiar and meaningless phrase thrown out almost insultingly to the rank and file as a "main demand," we must first restate the ACTUAL DEMANDS and the REAL situation existing on the waterfront.

The present leadership of the NMU has constantly attempted to befuddle the membership on this score. Even worse, the Stalinist leadership is still writing blank checks for the War Deal Administration. They are vainly attempting to separate before the eyes of the membership this behind-the-scenes but nevertheless actual alliance between Big Business and the boys in the White

House. Thus, in the same Pilot editorial:

"One of the answers of Big Business, which certainly includes shipowners, was the Dies Committee. Its purpose was two-fold: smear labor and the Roosevelt Administration." This, in face of the fact that every union busting campaign was always begun by the Maritime Commission—a collection of Roosevelt's right-hand men. Proof? The opening of the link-herding halls on the East coast by the Maritime Commission to break the power of the Union hiring hall. The recruit tanker strike by these link-herding halls and by Hoffman's Island—a Maritime Commission base to "train" new men in the "sea-going tradition."

Basic Demands  
Notwithstanding the Stalinist white-washing squad, and conspicuous by their absence in the daily propaganda of the Pilot, are the following basic economic

## What Your Dollar Can Do

ONE DOLLAR will distribute 150 copies of our election platform.

or 350 ELECTION THROW-AWAYS

or 20 ELECTION POSTERS

FIVE DOLLARS will put one unemployed comrade to work stumping for the anti-war message of the Socialist Workers Party and its banner bearer, Max Shachtman

GIVE TO THE ANTI-WAR PARTY  
GIVE TO THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN FOR MAX SHACHTMAN AND GEORGE LYMAN PAINE

Send your contributions to: E. R. FRANK, 116 University Place, New York City.

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# A New Anti-War Pamphlet

# Labor and the Second World War

By J. R. Johnson

III

## Franklin Roosevelt, War-Monger

On April 14, addressing the Governing Board of the Pan-American Union in New York, Franklin Roosevelt, war-monger, warned all foreign powers to keep their hands off "continental America." In other words, Latin America was the exclusive property of American imperialism.

On April 16, Franklin Roosevelt, war-monger, asked Congress for \$200,000,000 to widen the Panama Canal for war. On July 2, the National Guard staged a big war demonstration in Chicago, with tramping men, bombing planes flying, martial music playing.

On August 18, Queen's University, at Kingston, Ontario, conferred an honorary degree on the President. In his speech of acceptance, Franklin Roosevelt, war-monger, pledged the armed forces of the Americas for the defense of Canada.

On September 25, when the German-Czechoslovakian crisis became acute, Franklin Roosevelt, never missing a chance, addressed appeals for peace to Hitler and Benes. In reality those letters were addressed to the American people, preparing them for war. What else did Roosevelt mean by this: "The supreme desire of the American people is to live in peace. But in the event of a general war they face the fact that no nation can escape the consequences of such a world catastrophe." Day by day he drummed war into the ears and dangled it before the eyes of the American people.

War requires national unity. On October 15, Roosevelt issued an appeal to business to cooperate with the government. Above all, war requires a docile labor movement, and one of the war-monger's main preoccupations is to get the C.I.O. and the A.F. of L. united so that he can "discipline" them. To the A.F. of L. convention, in the fall, he wrote a letter asking for a settlement of their quarrel with the C.I.O.

## The Lima Swindle

On October 14, the War Office announced that it had completed a survey of ten thousand factories for the purpose of working out a skeleton organization to coordinate production in war. From the factory owners, said the War Office, it had met with a spirit of complete cooperation. No doubt. The war is for their benefit. These gentlemen do not go to war themselves, and they pile up enormous profits.

On October 26, Franklin Roosevelt, war-monger, said in a radio speech that the war plans must be completely overhauled and accelerated. On November 15, he raised a new slogan, "continental defense." The land, sea, and air forces would be brought to the level needed for action anywhere from the Arctic Circle to Cape Horn. He would hang his war-helmet on any peg, the higher the better. Near the end of the year he announced his delegation to the Lima conference.

This Lima conference was the most potent of all the threadbare swindles Roosevelt has been perpetrating on the people. The largest of the Latin American countries, Brazil, is a fascist state. So is Bolivia. So is Paraguay. In fact, there are not more than half a dozen "democracies" in all Latin America. But with the coming war in mind, Cordell Hull, under Roosevelt's orders, spent weeks intriguing for a declaration of solidarity in the name of American "democracies." The end of 1938 saw Hull bringing back to his master the lying Declaration of Lima. Hull did not state that his hardest job at the Conference had been to stifle a resolution by the Latin American countries against, not Hitler and Mussolini, but against American intervention in Latin America on behalf of American investors. The best that Hull could do was postpone it for five years.

Roosevelt celebrated the end of the year by announcing on December 28 that he would build ten thousand war planes. Thus ends a short summary of Roosevelt's work for "democracy" and "peace" in 1938.

## Look at the Record

Naturally 1939 saw him step up the furious pace of 1938. We can only point to the highlights. A war budget of \$1,319,558,000. On January 31, he said that America's frontier was "in France." He attacked his old enemy, the Ludlow referendum. Let the people vote on war? No, said Roosevelt. Eleanor Roosevelt wrote a special article in *Liberty* denouncing the bill.

He fought to remove the embargo on the sale of arms. Today he mouths phrases about neutrality. But months before the war had begun in Europe, he announced that America would go in. Speaking at Warm Springs in Georgia in the spring of 1939, he said he would go back in the fall "if we don't have a war." The *Washington Post* interpreted this to mean that a new war was rapidly approaching and that it was hopeless to believe that America could keep out. In one of his press conferences, Roosevelt warmly approved this editorial.

Think back for a moment, workers and farmers, and see the pit that American imperialism has been digging for you through its agent and grave-digger, Franklin Roosevelt. This incomparable liar, while carrying on sham battles with the monied interests, has in reality been doing their job better than they could do it themselves, for he still has a little popularity with the masses. Only space prevents us from amplifying this terrible catalogue, but we have said enough to show that he is the most dangerous demagogue who ever sat in the White House and the greatest living menace to the peace and security of the American people.

## The Attack on the Workers

Your imperialist has to prepare his armaments and whip up people. But whether he is fascist or "democratic," he has

also to "discipline" the working class movement in order to carry on his war.

In November of 1938 the W.P.A. stood at an all-time high. Why? Through Roosevelt's concern for workers in the cold days of winter? Nonsense. Election Day is the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November and Roosevelt wanted the workers' votes. As soon as the elections were over, Roosevelt began a nationwide assault on labor, attacking the democratic rights of the workers, and striking at W.P.A. and relief.

Roosevelt's Supreme Court, by its decision in the Fansteel case, outlawed the sit-down strike. A Philadelphia court gave the Apex Hosiery Company damages of nearly three-quarters of a million dollars against the Hosiery Workers Union. Girdler's Republic Steel followed this pointer by suing the C.I.O. for seven and a half million dollars of damages during the 1937 strike, including loss of trade. No more deadly weapon was ever discovered by a capitalist government than this decision to penalize striking workers for capitalist loss of trade. In effect it bars all strikes. In Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Oregon the legislatures passed laws forbidding mass picketing.

Congress cut the wages of building workers on the W.P.A., and Roosevelt came out with the declaration, "You can't strike against the government." At the same time he sought to break the spirit of the workers by slash after slash at the W.P.A. Roosevelt proposed an appropriation of \$875,000,000, and Congress, in opposition proposed one of \$725,000,000. There was a great battle, Roosevelt supposedly for the workers and Congress against them. But few workers (except those who received their pink slips) noticed that Roosevelt's own figure meant driving thousands of workers into starvation. Later even these sham fights were abandoned. Roosevelt's proposed appropriation for the W.P.A. in his April 27 budget message was so low that no one in Congress, neither Republican nor "Tory" Democrat, found it too high. The F.B.I. and the Federal court seized the opportunity of the Minneapolis W.P.A. strike to launch a bitter attack at the workers of that militant town.

With the beginning of the war in Europe, Roosevelt strained like a hound on the leash. Before two weeks of war he declared a state of "partial national emergency." He appointed special members of the F.B.I. to investigate "subversive activities," i.e., all those who mean resolutely to oppose the war. Attorney-General Murphy made a tour of the whole country looking for spies. It is the same old trick. All who expose the war-mongers and their plans will be called "spies" and German agents, and the unthinking among the masses of the people will be incited against those who try to warn them.

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## TROTSKY TELLS BRITISH PAPER HE WILL NOT WRITE FOR IT IN SHARPLY WORDED STATEMENT

MEXICO CITY, Oct. 23—Leon Trotsky today rejected a request from the London *Daily Herald*, widely circulated official organ of the British Labor Party, for an article which, in effect, would have meant to steering the British war aims in conformity with the policy of the *Daily Herald*.

The exchange of cables between the editor of the *Daily Herald* and Leon Trotsky was as follows:

"Cable Prepaid  
"Leon Trotsky  
"Mexico

"Six hundred word article by return cable giving your reasons for opposing negotiations allies with Russia STOP Bernard Shaw article supporting Stalin will appear same page STOP Prepared order fifteen pounds if published.

"Editor, *Daily Herald*  
"London, Oct. 20."

"Cable Prepaid  
"Leon Trotsky  
"Mexico

"Would welcome immediate reply if prepared cable article requested last Friday or not STOP If agreeable please cable article today at latest.

"Editor, *Daily Herald*  
"London, Oct. 23."

"Cable Collect  
"Editor, *Daily Herald*  
"London

"You did not publish my letter protesting imperialist London policy against Mexico STOP You did not publish my statement on coming war granted to your own correspondent Vincent STOP Now you want to adapt me to your anti-socialist policy STOP That will not succeed.

"Leon Trotsky  
"Coyoacan, Oct. 23."

## In the Labor Unions

By B. J. WIDICK

In a brief trip through the middle-west touching two industrial centers we were able to get first hand reactions to the effect of the new line of the Stalinists in the labor movement.

In those localities where the Stalinists have been confronted by progressive opposition, they are having a very embarrassing time trying to shift to the new line of "Keep America Out of Imperialist War."

This is true despite the overwhelming sentiment of the workers against participation in war. For the workers just don't trust the Stalinists like they used to.

For example, in one key CIO industrial union council, the Stalinists introduced a mild "keep America from being dragged into war" resolution.

Only a few weeks previously they had denounced a more clear-cut resolution against imperialist war as "Trotskyite-fascist." And had succeeded in getting the resolution tabled.

You can imagine how the progressives and every other delegate to the council felt when the Stalinist spokesman read their resolution with the new line.

Jeers, razzing and a demand for an explanation of the new line came fast. Silence was the only answer. So a motion to table the Stalinist resolution was passed.

## Nobody Taken In

Efforts to obtain an explanation from Stalinist delegates after the session were equally fruitless. Only embarrassed silence and a desire to be left alone!

The rule or ruin policy of the Stalinists has left too many deep scars for the advanced workers to forget and be taken in by the pseudo-"left" line.

And after denouncing us because we said that the Bolshevik party and the trade unions no longer existed, and for saying that the Russian state is proletarian only in its property relations; and after getting particularly incensed because we said that the bureaucracy "was an instrument of counter-revolutionary forces," the Lovestonites concluded:

"Error has its logic as well as truth. One wrong step leads to another, so that today the Trotskyites are proposing to imperil the unity of the Russian proletarian rule by trying to form a rival, and of course, conspirative, party in the Soviet Union. . . ." ("What Is the Communist Opposition," by Bertram D. Wolfe).

## Clay in the Hands of the Potters

When they called us anti-soviet and today when they are anti-soviet, the Thomas-Lovestone groups were motivated by the same considerations: they always take the easiest road. When the entire capitalist world was at the bottom of the trough of the economic crisis (1934) and during the honeymoon of Stalin with the democracies (1935-1937), it was easy to be pro-soviet—more exactly, pro-Stalin. During those momentous years, nothing could blast the Lovestonites loose from their pro-Stalinist position. They even dared to defend the infamous Moscow trials against Zinoviev-Kamenev and Radek-Pyatkov! Only after the execution of the Red Generals (June, 1937) did they, in the dark, without any explanation, abandon their apologies for the Moscow trials. But today, when the Soviet Union is allied to the enemy of the friends of American imperialism, the Thomas-Lovestone groups repudiate not merely Stalin, but the Soviet Union. As they yielded previously to the pressure of the Stalinist regime and its democratic allies, now they yield to the pressure of the democratic imperialists. Can one imagine, for a moment, that these people will stand up under the pressure of the war-mongers when the war comes here?

## Thomas-Lovestone Groups Yield to the Pressure of "Democratic" Imperialists

By FELIX MORROW

Having adopted the Roosevelt war program at their respective conventions, the CIO and AFL bureaucracies proceeded to carry out along with its other aspects, the anti-Soviet orientation of that war program. The AFL convention adopted a resolution for a boycott against all Soviet goods. The needle trades bureaucrats, heading the American Labor Party, in their pro-Anglo-French resolution of Oct. 4, made clear their support of a war against the Soviet Union. That would be a holy war, according to the brazenly war-mongering New Leader, organ of the Social-Democratic Federation.

No revolutionist can support either the Anglo-French-American camp or the Hitler-Stalin camp in the American labor movement. The task of the revolutionist is to build and recruit into the third camp: the camp of revolutionary struggle against war.

On all questions connected with the war, the third camp stands on a different program than that of the two war-camps. This is equally true of our attitude to the Soviet Union. We neither join the democratic war-mongers in their war against the Soviet Union, nor do we join the Hitler-Stalin camp in their justification of Hitler and Stalin.

## Trying to Straddle Unbridgeable Gaps

But, beside unequivocal spokesmen for the three camps, there are also those in the labor movement who are trying to straddle between two camps and who, to justify this impossible acrobatic stunt, deliberately blur and confuse the issues. Up to the Stalin Hitler pact, the Stalinists used to have many allies who performed this task of confusion; but these are falling away beneath the blows of the democratic war-mongers. But there are other purveyors of confusion, who are useful to the democratic war-mongers. We refer to the Socialist party of Norman Thomas and the Lovestonites (Independent Labor League).

Lest they no longer receive crumbs from the tables of the CIO and AFL bureaucracies, the Thomas-Lovestone groups try to keep one foot in the camp of the democratic war-mongers. We have written several articles describing this gymnastic feat, particularly on the Thomas-Lovestone support of the American Labor Party's pro-war resolution of Oct. 4, and their servile whitewash of the CIO-AFL declarations for Roosevelt's war program.

On the question of the Soviet Union, as on all others connected with the war, the Thomas-Lovestone groups adapt themselves to, cater to the prejudices of the camp of democratic war-mongers.

Until the signing of the Hitler-Stalin pact, the Thomas-Lovestone groups recognized that the Soviet Union still retains the economic conquests of the October Revolution—nationalized property; the Lovestonites still stood for the defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism, and the Socialist party stood for something like that (it is hard often to find out what the S.P. stands for programmatically); the Thomas-Lovestone groups also recognized that there was a conflict between the Stalinist bureaucracy and the interests of the Soviet Union.

All this the Thomas-Lovestone groups appear to have dropped overboard without notice after the Hitler-Stalin pact. Why? They give no explanation. But they now write of the Soviet Union in terms which they never employed before.

## Lovestonites Silent on Defense of the U.S.S.R.

The Lovestonites, in their convention resolution on the war, evade the question whether the Russian workers should defend the Soviet Union against the capitalist world. All they say is:

"Tomorrow, if Stalin succeeds in driving his own people

into war on the side of either imperialist block (already he is aiding Germany), we must give solidarity and support to the Russian people against their own war-makers also." (Workers Age, Sept. 18)

But if Stalin remains in power, shall the Russian workers defend the Soviet Union? The Lovestonites do not say. And not to say, means no defense.

The Thomasites call upon Roosevelt to apply the embargo on arms against the Soviet Union; and when we sharply call Thomas to account for this anti-Soviet act, the Lovestonites rush to Thomas' defense, with the broad implication that the Trotskyists have become Stalinists. (Workers Age, Oct. 21)\*

## A New "Theory" on the U.S.S.R.

The Thomas-Lovestone groups justify this anti-Soviet position by characterizing the Soviet Union in new terms: as an imperialist regime or program. Thomas' paper says editorially:

"Russian Bolshevism, which was never socialist, not any more than is Hitler's brand of national socialism, has embarked on an imperialist program." (The Call, Sept. 30)

And Lovestone's paper approvingly reprints a declaration of the British Independent Labor Party, which says:

"Russia's present move marks the final stage in the departure by the Stalin regime from the principles of international socialism and its adoption of purely imperialist social politics." (Workers Age, Oct. 28).

The pseudo-radical application of the term, "imperialism," to the Soviet Union actually enables the Thomas-Lovestone groups to smuggle into the labor movement a reformist theory of imperialism.

Lenin taught us that imperialism is the last stage of monopoly capitalism. He developed the scientific definition of imperialism, and he waged war against all other definitions of imperialism, and with good reason. For he was thereby fighting against Kautsky's theory of imperialism, which hides within it a justification of the war-mongers.

"The important thing," wrote Lenin, "is that Kautsky detaches the policy of imperialism from its economics, speaks of annexations as being a policy 'preferred by finance capital,' and opposes to it another bourgeois policy which he alleges to be possible on the same basis of finance capital. The result is bourgeois reformism instead of revolution." Lenin pointed out, for the fight is reduced to supporting one bourgeois policy against the "worse" one.

## They Sabotage Struggle Against Stalinism

The Bonapartist bureaucracy which exists as a parasitic disease upon the body of the Soviet Union must be destroyed, or it will de-

\* Truth being insufficient to make the point, the Lovestonites resort to invention: they quote me as saying at a public meeting that anyone who condemned the Russian invasion of Poland was an enemy of the Soviet Union, and that I also said that the Red Army—and they put it in quotation marks!—was "bringing liberation and socialism to the Poles." What I actually said was a mere repetition of the estimate of the Polish invasion which Leon Trotsky made in the *Socialist Appeal*, Oct. 10.

stroy the Soviet Union. But the struggle for the destruction of the Stalinist bureaucracy is not helped, but is rather sabotaged, by concessions to the democratic war-mongers. That is the crime of the Thomas-Lovestone groups.

That they are yielding to the wave of democratic chauvinism is obvious if one analyzes the logic of their present position. By what logic could they be for the defense of the Soviet Union in the period of the Franco-Soviet pact and against it now, in the period of the Hitler-Stalin pact? How is it possible to abandon now the fundamental distinction between the Stalinist bureaucracy and the Soviet Union? Only by one kind of logic: the logic of democratic patriotism: it is all right to defend the Soviet Union when it is allied with the democratic imperialists, but not when it is allied with the fascist imperialists. That is the open, avowed logic of the American Labor Party bureaucrats in their Oct. 4 resolution—and to this logic the Thomas-Lovestone groups have succumbed.

Unlike the ALP bureaucrats, the Thomas-Lovestone groups try to palm this off as "revolutionary." To expose this fraud one need only compare their intransigent language about Stalin with their dulcet tone about the war-mongers in the camp which is opposed to Stalin—the British Labor Party, the French Socialist party, the CIO, AFL, ALP, etc.

## For Defense of the Soviet Union

This article need not repeat at length that which has been made so clear in our numerous documents: our draft theses on war (1934), the program of the Fourth International, Trotsky's latest document, "The USSR in War" (November New International), etc. Our defense of the Soviet Union has nothing in common whatsoever with the "defense" provided by the Stalinist bureaucracy. We have been and remain the irreconcilable enemies of the Stalinist bureaucracy. We said, already in 1934, ("War and the Fourth International"), drawing the political conclusions from our analysis of the Bonapartist bureaucracy and the property relations established by the October Revolution:

"a) Only the proletarian revolution in the West can save the USSR as the workers' state in case of a long protracted war.

"b) The preparation for a proletarian revolution in 'friendly,' allied, as well as enemy countries is conceivable only with the complete independence of the world proletarian vanguard from the Soviet bureaucracy.

"c) The unconditional support of the USSR against the imperialist armies must go hand in hand with revolutionary Marxist criticism of the war and the diplomatic policy of the Soviet government, and with the formation inside of the USSR of a real revolutionary party of Bolshevik-Leninists."

## They Called Us "Anti-Soviet"!

It is ironical to recall today that this position was characterized as "anti-soviet" by the Thomas-Lovestone groups. How many times was that epithet thrown at us by Thomas' caucus leaders, Jack Altman and Murray Baron, in their expulsion campaign against us (1936-1937)? The Thomasites, as usual, didn't attempt to organize their thoughts in orderly form, but the Lovestonites did. Here is what they wrote about our 1934—and present—position:

"Trotsky is building an international upon the basis of an extreme anti-soviet and anti-comintern orientation."

"In this respect [socialism in one country] the Central Committee, and after its disruption, Stalin and his group, in spite of various crudities of formulation and blunders in detail, have been correct, and Trotsky's fiercely eloquent phrases about 'socialism in one country' but 'world revolution' served only to cloak a purely negative and defeatist pessimism as to the possibility of building socialism."



# THE NEGRO QUESTION

By J. R. JOHNSON

## The Negroes in Industry

The future of the Negro is bound by unbreakable chains of iron and steel to the industrial system of this country. We, as a revolutionary party, must therefore have a very clear conception of the relationship of Negroes to this system, and the Negroes too must see the position as it is. Ninety-nine Negroes out of every hundred, to be more accurate, 999 out of every 1000, firmly believe that Negroes are discriminated against in industry because they are black. "We could get such and such jobs. Only one thing prevents us. As soon as they see our black skins they turn us away. Obviously it is because we are black."

The reasoning seems unanswerable. But it is false. In fact it is not the least exaggeration to say that the Negro's skin has nothing at all to do with the fundamentals of this question. Let me repeat that. The color of the Negro's skin has nothing at all to do with the fundamentals of the question.

And now for the proof of this apparently bewildering statement. In India, Hindus and Moslems are quite often, the same color to the last shade. They, however, are divided by their religious differences. Therefore one of the chief strategies of the British government in India is to push fire between Hindus and Moslems in industry, in politics, and in every sphere of life. By this means they divide the Indians, particularly the masses, and make their own position more secure.

Take again Northern Ireland. There the population is white. The British ruling class must find some method of division. They find it in the different religions, one group Catholic and the other group Protestant.

The technique employed is simple as daylight. The Prime Minister and the chief spokesmen always preach about the necessity of unity, how the government duty is to keep the peace, protect the rights of all citizens, etc. So much in words. In action, however, the Government drives wedge after wedge between Catholics and Protestants, and keeps the antagonism at fever pitch.

In Germany Hitler found another source of dividing the workers, the peasants, and the lower middle class: he foamed at the mouth whenever he mentioned the Jews and persecuted them when he came to power.

## Divide In Order to Rule

It is perfectly clear that your capitalists, your representative of the ruling class, seeks above all to divide in order to rule. In Britain where so much of the population is of the same racial type and of the same religion your capitalist is in difficulty as to how best to divide the workers. He does it by paying higher wages to some and creating a body, relatively small, of privileged workers. These, being quite satisfied, then become conservative and act as a check on the millions whose dissatisfaction with their lot would be a constant threat to the system if they were not suppressed by this privileged section within their own ranks.

Your capitalist must divide the workers in order to weaken them. In India he fans the flame between Hindus and Moslems. In Ireland between Protestant and Catholic, in many other countries between Jew and Gentile. But the Negro has a black skin. This makes him easily distinguishable from others. Your American capitalist, therefore, at his perpetual game of dividing the workers, leaps with joy and rubs his hands at the good God who made the Negro black. It is so easy to say: "There, don't you see his black skin? White workers, my good friends, let us keep that black man in his place."

The black skin business is only an excuse, as Hindu-Moslem, Catholic-Protestant, Jew-Gentile is only an excuse. Now you can't look at a man and say whether he is Catholic or Protestant, Hindu or Moslem. But a Negro is seen to be different to the white man at first glance. Hence the viciousness and the obviousness of the discrimination against Negroes. But the root of it is in the system which gives the capitalist the need and the power to divide. And the cure is the abolition of the system which breeds this necessity to divide.

## The Wherefore of Race Prejudice

Both Negroes and white workers who are advanced politically beyond their fellows must understand this. There must be it in their bones. That is the truth and nothing but the truth. Naturally, there are other aspects of the question. Your capitalist does not say this openly. That would ruin everything. He builds up great theories of Negro inferiority, Negro incapability, etc. These are taught in schools from generation to generation, and millions of unsuspecting people learn this and never think that it is in reality nothing else but capitalist rationalization for the benefit of capitalist pockets.

Having imbibed these ideas with their mother's milk so to speak and seeing Negroes living in dirt and slums, most white workers think what they hear all around them is quite true. And when white workers find that being white means the possibility of working in any factory and being black means exclusion from half of them, that being white means 70 cents an hour and being black 45 cents an hour for the same type of work, then these capitalist ideas receive a powerful material enforcement in the working class. This is the reason for race prejudice among the white workers. What the white worker does not see is that by combining with the Negro both can get 90 cents, or overthrow the system altogether. Your capitalist sees that quite clearly however.

How to clarify the minds of workers, both white and black, is the revolutionary problem. Propaganda and agitation to break down the capitalist propaganda; but above all joint action. As the economic crisis deepens, the white workers are driven to revise their previous conceptions. The crisis drove some 400,000 Negroes into the CIO. Thus millions of white workers have begun to think differently about Negroes. Another sharpening of the crisis, another stride forward of the organized workers, will bring thousands upon thousands of Negroes into the ranks of organized labor. But we cannot wait for these developments. We must work in preparation for them.

The first thing therefore is to know something about the Negro's position in industry, not to know in the abstract, but to be familiar with it. How did the Negro enter into certain industries, what was his status there yesterday, what is it to-day? It is by this study, that we can get some real living conception of the role of the Negro in the working class movement. Few white workers have any conception of the history of this development. Still more tragic, fewer Negroes know anything about it.

Periodically this column will examine the Negro's role in industry, the understanding of which is an indispensable preliminary to correct revolutionary action. In the next issue we shall have a general survey of the Negro in industry during the last hundred years, after which we shall examine his situation in steel, meat packing, etc. There we shall see how in the South, the employer used 5 Negroes to one white in skilled industry before slavery was abolished, how after emancipation he used five whites to one Negro, how he started to use more Negroes to break the fighting power of the whites. In other words we shall see concretely how little the color question means to the employer where his pocket is concerned.

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

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## In Mexico

# Stalinists Publish Anti-Semitic Attack on Trotskyist Movement

(Continued from Page 1)

ment of scabs used during the re-  
alists and their native allies. In  
the last few weeks Latin Amer-  
ica's startled eyes saw the same  
Stalinists, ever obedient to their  
master's newest wish, swing over  
to justification of the alliance  
with the fascist beast. And j. s.  
as formerly they spoke the lan-  
guage of their democratic capi-  
talist allies, so now they are be-  
ginning to use the language o.  
f. l. i. s. m. . . down to and in-  
cluding the anti-Semitic note!

## Peddling Lies

Naturally the Stalinists join  
this scandalous anti-Semitic note  
with their usual slanderous anti-  
Trotskyism. For some time, both  
in Mexico and in the United States,  
the Stalinists have been ped-  
dling the lie that the Trotskyists  
are supporting the candidacy of  
the reactionary General Almazan.  
Time and again the Mexican  
section of the Fourth International,  
the Partido Obrero Internacionalista  
(Internationalist Workers Party),  
has denounced that slander and pointed out that  
since there is no independent  
working class candidate the POI  
supports no candidate but utilizes  
the occasion of the campaign to  
spread its program. One of the  
POI statements to that effect was  
reprinted in English in the Social-  
ist Appeal of Oct. 10. But a little  
thing like the truth doesn't de-  
ter the pen-prostitutes of "La Voz  
de Mexico" and the "Daily Worker"  
from repeating their slanders.

Yesterday the Stalinists fabri-  
cated stories about Trotskyists  
supporting the reactionary Almazan  
and about Almazan support-  
ers being Trotskyists, calling  
them all "fascists" and "allies of  
Hitler." Today the same Stalin-  
ists are still at their dirty work,  
but now that they themselves are  
allied to Hitler they talk instead  
of "Jewish elements," "capitalist  
Jews," "Trotskyist Jews," etc.  
Gone is the cry of "fascist!"; the  
word isn't even mentioned in the  
article.

It is clear by now that the peo-  
ple referred to in the article are  
not Trotskyists at all;—but that  
is just a little detail. The poor  
fellows are obviously Jews (such  
names! — Abrahams, Rubinstein,  
etc.), — and vociferously anti-  
Stalin Jews at that.

## UNSER WORT

The new issue of UNSER  
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on the war situation will ap-  
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## STALINIST ANTI-SEMITISM



## NEW YORK S.W.P. CALLS FOR AN ANTI-WAR VOTE IN THE ELECTIONS

(Continued from Page 1)

write-in vote for the Manhattan  
candidate of the S.W.P. Referring  
to the provisions of the City  
Charter governing a write-in  
vote, the Campaign Committee  
asks all workers to follow the  
social instructions. According to  
the City Charter, "To vote for a  
person whose name is not printed  
on this ballot, write his name  
on a blank line under the names  
of the candidates and put a  
number in the square opposite to  
show which choice you wish to  
give him."

Covering the populous working  
class districts of the Bronx with  
anti-war election leaflets and  
heavily engaged in staging nu-  
merous outdoor election rallies,  
the Bronx Branch of the Party has  
won the praise of the Campaign  
Committee. Marvelling at the  
schedule of work assumed by the  
Bronx militants, Shachtman and  
E.R. Frank called upon members  
of the party in the other bor-  
oughs to assist in the election ac-  
tivities.

## Bronx Rally

Responding to an earlier call  
by Comrade Frank, City Organ-  
izer of the Party, scores of party  
members were on hand Saturday  
night, October 28, for a series  
of outdoor mass meetings in the  
Tremont area of the Bronx. While  
meetings for Michael Quill and  
Isadore Begun, Stalinist candi-  
dates, folded up completely in  
the face of cold weather, the out-  
door rallies for Shachtman drew  
large crowds at Tremont and  
Mapes Avenues and Vyse Avenue  
and 174 Street.

This Friday evening, Nov. 3,  
Candidate Shachtman will  
speak at Herman Ridder Jun-  
ior High School, Boston Road  
and 173 Street, under the aus-  
pices of the Campaign Commit-  
tee.

Tuesday, Oct. 31, Candidate  
Paine will address a meeting of  
the American Women's Club,

Vote for  
**MAX SHACHTMAN**  
Choice No. 1  
For Councilman  
For the Bronx

353 West 57 Street, at 8 p.m.

The Campaign Committee an-  
nounced today that an additional  
30,000 issues of the special cam-  
paign edition of the Socialist Ap-  
peal will be off the press by the  
end of the week for distribution  
in the Bronx and Manhattan.  
More than 150,000 anti-war elec-  
tion leaflets are also being pre-  
pared for distribution.

## TWENTY-FIVE W.P.A. STRIKERS GO ON TRIAL

## Defense Committee To Appeal Verdicts Of First Two Trials

(Continued from Page 1)  
Federal court to continue the  
present grand jury for another  
six months.

## Appealing Verdict

The AFL-WPA Defense Com-  
mittee, set up by the Central La-  
bor Union, announced that it was  
appealing the verdict in the first  
two trials, determined to pre-  
vent the establishment of legal  
precedents which would endanger  
organized labor everywhere.

The Minnesota State Federa-  
tion of Labor last week issued a  
circular letter to all unions in  
the state, urging that contribu-  
tions be made to the defense of  
the indicted WPA strikers.

The Defense Committee has  
appealed to unions everywhere  
to donate generously to the de-  
fense fund. Checks and resolu-  
tions should be mailed to L. Clair  
Johnson, secretary - treasurer,  
Minneapolis AFL-WPA Defense  
Committee, care of Central Labor  
Union, 18 North Street, Minneap-  
olis, Minnesota.

## Business Looks at the War

"Without steel modern war would be impossible  
—Airplanes, tanks, artillery, armor plate, battle-  
ships, shells, torpedoes, barbed wire are all prin-  
cipally made of steel.

"The machines of war are being continually  
destroyed and replacements use up tremendous  
additional quantities of steel.

"Steel companies, during the last war, were  
swamped with business which proved highly pro-  
fitable to them and to their stockholders.

"Steel stocks have always been among the first  
to respond to the stimulus of war-buying.

"We believe that sound steel stocks, purchased  
around current levels, will prove very profitable  
—repeating, in many instances, the spectacular  
performance of the last war.

"We have prepared reports on three very at-  
tractive steel stocks. . . .

—Market Letter issued by Bonner & Bonner  
members of N.Y. Stock Exchange.

"A 100% loss of first-line combat planes in the  
first months of fighting is expected by the U.S.  
Air Corps if ever its new armada flies to war."  
—Time, Sept. 25, 1939.

"We conceive it to be necessary, without sound-  
ing any note of alarm, to bring vital information  
to fathers of sons approaching young manhood.  
We do not suggest acquiring life insurance  
through unreasonable fear. We do recommend  
weighing its present purchase in the light of  
complete knowledge and past experience. No ad-  
vice can foretell whether a youngster motivated  
by a spirit of adventure and patriotism, will de-  
velop an uncontrollable leaning towards avia-  
tion."

—Sales Letter sent out by the John G. Mc-  
Namara Organization, life insurance brokers, 17  
John Street, New York City.

"The most important fact about the probable  
effects of the war on American business is that  
they are likely to be meager unless and until the  
nature of the warfare changes. Stalemate trench  
fighting would produce large orders, and so would  
open field operations, but economic blockades are  
quite unlikely to do it."  
—Cleveland Trust Company Business Bulletin,  
October 15, 1939.

"Future of Business: Prevailing opinion seems

"If America becomes involved, as some observ-  
ers prematurely are predicting, Congress would  
not hesitate to make any President virtually a  
dictator.

"But it is well realized that, after seven years  
of expanding powers, the central government is  
now so strong that its further growth into a war  
machine would end our democratic system and it  
would be well-nigh impossible to return to it."  
—Article by Kendall K. Hoyt in a recent issue  
of The Annals.

# N. M. U. Bureaucrats Skirt Real Demands of Maritime Workers

(Continued from Page 1)

demands that essentially concern  
the mass of the maritime work-  
ers in this present crisis:

1. A general wage increase of  
at least 25%, which has been  
long overdue the maritime work-  
ers. This wage increase, given by  
the Maritime Commission shortly  
after a brief job-action in the  
port of New York as a "war-bo-  
nus," should actually today be  
the basis of any new agreement.  
Let the shipowners plead pov-  
erty but at the same time let them  
cut down on their fat salaries  
and subsidies. "Labor's fair re-  
turn" is by no means true of the  
shipping industry.

2. A genuine war bonus of not  
less than \$50 for a single cross-  
ing through belligerent waters or  
danger zones. A genuine war  
risk insurance of not less than  
\$10,000 per man, including a res-  
titution of \$150 for the loss of  
personal possessions in the event  
of a sinking.

3. A drastic revision of the  
shipping articles in connection  
with the amount of what consti-  
tutes a ship's crew and thus in-  
cluded many hundreds of unem-  
ployed seamen on criminally un-  
dermanned vessels. This is one of  
the worst features of the Ameri-  
can merchant ships. An end must  
be put to one-man-in-two-jobs!  
In that way safety at sea can be-  
come a reality and also sanitation  
at sea along with it.

4. The inclusion in the new  
agreement of a bona-fide and rig-  
id system of seniority promotion.  
The abolition of the majority of  
the phoney "key-position" privi-  
leges of the shipowners that still  
allows their stooges and spies to  
interfere in the daily life of the  
seamen. A system whereby sen-  
iority promotion would be placed  
squarely in the hands of the duly  
elected Ship's Committees with  
the heads of the departments sit-  
ting in an advisory capacity only.

5. The continuance of the clos-  
ed shop and the free and rotary  
hiring hall.

These five basic economic de-  
mands are actually to be consid-  
ered as a minimum. These are the  
demands that should be presented  
to the Administration - shipown-  
ers' alliance with the solid back-

ing of a militant membership be-  
hind them. Such absolutely rea-  
sonable concessions must be ob-  
tained by the maritime workers  
from the Shipowners' Association  
and Maritime Commission before  
we can consider that any real  
progress has been made towards  
the goal of decent working con-  
ditions and safety plus sanitation  
at sea. But this is not the force-  
ful manner in which the present  
leadership of the NMU has re-  
sponded to the trade-union prob-  
lems of the maritime workers.  
On the contrary, they have an-  
swered each new boss offensive  
with a whole lot of editorial in-  
significance and militant trade-union ac-  
tion. A common question on the  
lips of many NMU'ers is: "Well,  
so what's our union doing about  
it?"

In the face of this, to declare  
that "our main demand is that  
the present agreement be clar-  
ified so as to expedite the mech-  
anics of interpretation," means that  
the present misleaders have no  
intention of seeking any conces-  
sion whatever for the maritime  
workers. Its verbal garbage  
means that the misleaders are  
content with the "status-quo" at  
a time when nobody else is.

(To be Continued)

## MASS MEETING on the 22nd ANNIVERSARY of the RUSSIAN REVOLUTION WHITHER SOVIET RUSSIA?

THE MEANING OF STALIN'S ROLE IN THE  
EUROPEAN WAR.

What does the future hold in store for Stalin?  
Have the irresistible forces that erupted in October 1917  
really been quelled? Or does a new and vaster revolu-  
tionary explosion impend?  
Will mankind emerge from this war enslaved and be  
plunged into barbarism? Or will it march emancipated  
into Socialism?

Hear the Answer by

**James P. Cannon**

National Secretary, S.W.P.

at the

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## SOCIALIST APPEAL

Vol. III, No. 84

Friday, November 3, 1939

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Editor: MAX SHACHTMAN  
Associate Editor: EMANUEL GARRETT  
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## FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY FOR:

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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.

## Belated Indignation

The Chamberlain government has just issued an official White Paper which, based on pre-war reports of British diplomats in Germany on conditions in German concentration camps, accuses the Nazis of "inventing tortures almost beyond imagination."

Interesting, eh? The Nazi regime has been in power for more than six and a half years. From the day it took command of the country, its persecutions, arrests, imprisonments, assassinations, frame-ups, and in general its barbaric hounding of workers, revolutionists and Jews, have not only been common knowledge but aroused the almost universal indignation of the people of the world.

But never of the British Imperial Government! Never! At no time did it even take official cognizance of Nazi horrors. The distinguished democrats who rule the Empire had not a single word of comment, much less of criticism, to make concerning the Nazi regime and all it stood for. On the contrary, their whole policy was aimed to coming to a pleasant and amicable agreement with Hitler on the basis of having him direct his expansionist program to the East—that is, towards reducing the Soviet Union to an imperialist colony.

For a series of reasons, the British scheme could not be realized. Again, for a series of reasons, Stalin made the alliance with Hitler that Chamberlain wanted to make. To prevent German imperialist expansion at the cost of British imperialist power, the present war was declared. But, you see, it was impossible to put the real reasons for the war so bluntly and crudely. How could you get the masses to swallow the war (and be swallowed by it) if you told them that they were fighting so that the Indian and African and Arabian and Irish masses might continue to be exploited by the noble British ruling class? That's why Mr. Chamberlain suddenly discovered, with a great shock to his sense of equity, that Hitler is not acting like a real British gentleman towards those he puts in concentration camps.

Of course, the "discovery" is so brazenly hypocritical that even the shameless British lords feel they must make some apology and explanation for their belated indignation. As the New York Times correspondent so delicately puts it: "Declaring that even after the war broke out Britain was reluctant to take action 'which might have the effect of inspiring hatred,' the government said it was forced to disclose the facts so that the public might know that under the present German regime 'the treatment accorded is reminiscent not of Macedonia but of the darkest ages in the history of man.'"

This is most touching and we do not want to deny that we are deeply moved. But we would have a little more faith in the moral indignation of Chamberlain and Co. than we now have (and we now have absolutely none) if the same White Paper, or a supplement to it, contained an account of the "treatment accorded" those who suffer under the lash of British imperialism—the Irish nationalists in Belfast, the workers and peasants in India, the slaves of Britain's colonies in South Africa.

Until that appears, workers would be well-advised to treat Mr. Chamberlain's shocked indignation with the contempt which his war-mongering hypocrisy deserves.

## Let's Fight Russia!

Washington is all het up about the way the Soviet Union disposed of the American steamer, City of Flint. Ambassador Steinhardt has the pip, the State Department is verging on apoplexy, and every upstanding patriotic editor is foaming at the mouth.

Now we think they're all right as far as they go, only they don't go far enough. Why confine ourselves so cravenly to editorial diatribes? Why confine ourselves to more or less polite diplomatic notes? Why not declare war upon the Soviet Union, send some of our bully-boy Marines or Army lads to Siberia or Murmansk, and clean up the damned Roosians once and for all—teach 'em a lesson?

We've done that before—in Haiti, in San Domingo, in Puerto Rico, in Nicaragua, in Mexico and elsewhere. If we can't civilize the Roosians with the outdated Krag, as we did the Filipinos, we can do it with the modern Army automatic rifle. Our Honor is involved, by the eternal! And so is our contraband-carrying Flint, with the fine wages it pays its seamen and the splendid food and conditions it gives them.

And if we lick the Roosians, why, at the same time we can starve the country to bits, take over its raw materials and put its labor to work for the greater glory (plus 6% minimum) of American business.

So let's cut out this diplomatic piddling around and give them a war—with both barrels.

## Thirty-Thirty

In our last issue, we published an excellent circular issued by Local 3 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, calling for the six-hour day, thirty-hour week in industry. In previous issues we have described the energetic campaign which Local 3 is conducting on behalf of this progressive demand.

Inadvertently, we placed an inaccurate heading on the latest story: "Thirty dollars-thirty hours is slogan of electrical workers manifesto petition." Local 3 is campaigning only on the thirty-hour week. Our copy-writer was thinking of our slogan, No. 4 of our slogans carried below the masthead:

"Thirty-thirty! \$30 weekly minimum wage—30-hour weekly maximum for all workers on all jobs."

We demand a thirty dollar minimum wage, as well as a thirty-hour maximum week because we want not only jobs, but a decent living for every worker. We are sure that Local 3 also stands for that; but its slogan, issued by a union which is preoccupied primarily by the situation in the building trades where the hourly rate is relatively high, only deals with the question of hours.

We believe that the general slogan of American labor in favor of the six-hour day, five-day week, will have the broadest support if that slogan has added to it the demand for a weekly thirty-dollar minimum. Without that addition, it is impossible to secure the support of the lowest-paid workers—and that means the support of most of America's workers.

## Czech "Trotskyism"

A dispatch from Prague to the New York Times, Oct. 28, states:

"Labor agitation in Prague, particularly in regard to the threat of a strike, has been branded officially as the work of 'Trotskyite Communists.'"

We are proud to be denounced by the Nazi overlords of Czechoslovakia as the "agitators" responsible for the struggle of the masses of Prague against Nazism. In the interests of accuracy, however, we must record the fact that our Czechoslovakian section is comparatively small, and that the present workers' actions in Prague are probably more spontaneous than systematically organized.

But what is significant is that everywhere reaction denounces as "Trotskyist" the first stirrings of revolt. Coughlin likewise last week devoted his weekly to warning that the Fourth International is the real menace while the Third International "is crumbling into dust." Everywhere reaction understands that spontaneous and unorganized struggles of the masses become a danger to the capitalist system only when the masses become linked to a leadership which is firmly founded on a system of revolutionary theory and practice. And reaction understands, too, that that leadership, that system of revolutionary theory and practice, in this epoch, is embodied in the Fourth International.

When the small gear of the revolutionary party is meshed into the great gear of the masses—that is the successful socialist revolution. Reaction fears that moment, and incessantly seeks, by preventive measures, to forestall that moment. That is the meaning of the Nazi denunciation of the "Trotskyists" in Prague.

## British Workers, Upon Whom War's Misery Has Fallen, Are Rallying To the Defense of their Interests

By BRITANNICUS

One most significant difference—which we have often noted in these columns—between the present world war and the last is that the masses have entered it without enthusiasm, without illusions of "glory" and "honor," without the jingoistic spirit which marked the opening phases of the war in 1914.

According to all reports, the workers both in the armed forces and in civil life are silent, sullen and grim—not, as the bourgeois apologists have it, with determination, but rather with disillusionment.

The betrayal of the "socialist," "communist," and trade union leaders is complete, as it was in 1914; but unlike 1914 when, right up to the outbreak of hostilities, the social-democratic leaders made demagogic speeches against the war, their betrayal this time has not caused such confusion and disorientation in the ranks of the workers, for the very reason that the leaders openly deserted to the bourgeoisie not on the outbreak of war but months and years before.

## MASSES PAY FOR THE WAR

Two things have brought home the meaning of the present war to the working class in the most brutal manner: its cost and the widespread unemployment to which it has immediately led. According to the Economist the war is already costing the British Government \$7 million (\$35 million) a day—the highest figure to which the cost of the last war rose in 1918. And the Economist calculates that next year the war will cost Britain a minimum of \$4,200 million (\$21 billion), or .56 million a day. This is 60 percent of the total estimated national income. In a previous article we reported what this means in the drastic curtailment of the social services, housing and general standard of living of the working class.

The British Government is doing its best to conceal the full extent of unemployment caused by the war. The Ministry of Labour Gazette no longer publishes its statistics for employment but merely a round figure of those unemployed. Thus it is impossible to see how far general employment has decreased and the residue being absorbed into the armed forces. The figures it does publish, however, reveal that during the first week of the war nearly 100,000 workers were thrown out of work, excluding those who were recruited for the army. The Economist asserts that since September 11 (the last date for which the Ministry of Labour has published statistics) unemployment has greatly increased. The largest proportion of unem-

ployment has occurred in the consumption industries and retail distributive trades, and has naturally affected the London district, where these trades are centered, to a greater extent than any other. The Economist sees no reason to believe that any significant proportion of these unemployed workers can be reabsorbed either into industry or into the army.

## WORKERS RALLY TO OWN DEFENSE

These facts, together with the rapidly rising cost of living and the obvious and shameful betrayal of their own leaders, have brought home to the advanced workers that they must take the defense of their interests into their own hands. And they have not been slow to do so. Early in September the railway companies threatened a drastic reduction in wages, amounting in some cases to as much as \$5 a week. Instantly the workers responded with a determined threat to strike; the railway companies had to give way, since the transport of troops and war materials could not be interfered with. (New Leader, Sept. 15)

In October the Economist reports that the seamen's unions demanded compensation for war risk; the shipyard workers demanded an increase of 2/- a week and 4 percent for piece work; the steelworkers an increase of 3/3 a week; and the coal-miners an increase of 1/- a day for adults and 6 pence for youths under 18. In all these cases the demands of the workers, backed by militant determination not to take no for an answer on the part of the rank and file, were granted by the companies involved.

In direct reply to the rising cost of living the cotton operatives demanded a twelve and a half percent increase in pay and the companies were unable to refuse because of the impossibility of holding up production at this time. Altogether something like 2 million workers have demanded and received wage increases. The Executive Council of the Transport and General Workers' Union, although headed by that professional strike-breaker and lackey of the bourgeoisie, Ernest Bevin, was forced by the pressure of its rank and file to issue a strongly worded protest to the Government on the rising cost of living. In particular, the resolution states: "The Council takes note of the fact that, in every price the Government has fixed to date, the cost of the commodity has been increased to the apparent advantage of the trader, and it appears to the Council as if a deliberate policy is being carried out to lower the real value of wages." It warns the Government

that such a policy will be met by determined action on the part of the workers, and calls upon the Labour Party to bring pressure to bear on the Government. (London Times, Sept. 27).

## IMPOSING CONDITIONS OF SERFDOM

In a former article we mentioned the iniquitous Control of Employment Act which introduces a species of serfdom by prohibiting the offering or accepting of jobs under penalties up to \$500 and \$5 for each day on which an employee works. George Hicks, a Labour M.P. who supported the Bill, described it as follows: "The object of the Bill is to prevent poaching . . . to prevent the general movement of labour . . . and to prevent enticement by higher wages." Another Labour M.P., who abstained from voting on the Bill, remarked: "The theory of the Bill is to stop a workman from leaving one place and going to another in order that his earnings might be increased." Such legislation has long been on the statute-books of the Totalitarian States; since September 15 it has been on the statute-book of "democratic" Britain. Although the Executive Committee of the Labour Party officially supported the Bill, it could only get 44 of its 167 members to vote for it, the rest abstained. The I.L.P. alone voted against the Bill. (New Leader, Sept. 22.)

The workers, however, have not abstained from showing their determined opposition to this serfdom Act. The Glasgow plumbers union took the lead against it by immediately setting up a strong Shop Stewards Committee to fight the provisions of the Act. Shop Stewards Committees are already springing up in many trades and factories, and there is no doubt whatever that the movement will spread rapidly. This too is an advance over the last war when the Shop Stewards movement did not gain strength or importance until 1917.

## BALK AT "SACRED UNION" WITH BOSS

It is clear from these examples and others that might be cited that the British workers are not prepared to make a "sacred union" with the bourgeoisie at the price of their wages and standard of living. Economic opposition to the effects of the war has already begun on a determined scale, and it is certain to spread and gain strength as these effects are increasingly felt.

But what of political opposition to the war? In our next article we shall deal with the Clarkman-by-election—the first contested by-election of the war—and with the various political organizations which are carrying on a struggle against the war.

## 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 j.s. 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.

## California SWP Stand on "Ham and Eggs" Plan

The "Ham and Eggs" Plan defeated in the last California election by the small margin of 200,000 votes in a total vote of several million is again before the voters of California. In the statement which we publish below, the Los Angeles Section Committee of the Socialist Workers Party advises the voters to vote YES on the "Ham and Eggs" Plan (Amendment 1) while severely criticizing its inadequacy.

THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY, Los Angeles section, advises all its members and sympathizers to vote YES on Proposition No. 1, (Ham and Eggs). We do this in spite of the serious criticisms we have of the plan itself and the method by which it proposes to secure pensions for the aged. Although the plan claims it will finance the pension by taxing no one, the end result will be higher prices. More money will be printed, resulting in inflation and a rise in the cost of living. Moreover, the added weekly two cents per dollar warrant will be made up by the capitalist who will place higher prices upon the necessities of life that the workers use and the few comforts a section of the workers can hope to get. The plan will be financed by a higher cost of living for the poor, and will amount to the poor paying for the poor.

## A Protest Against Insecurity

We urge our followers to vote YES, however, as a protest against the insecurity under our present social system of the aged, broken by decades of speed-up and often years of unemployment with its resultant hardships. We urge a YES vote to show the capitalist class of this state and their politicians of the Republican and Democratic parties that the people of the state demand security for the aged. We urge a YES vote without taking responsibility for the plan itself.

We vote YES, despite our opinion that the plan cannot work, in order not to stand in the way of the movement which strives to obtain economic security. We stand with the aged and the workers against the bankers, industrialists and the boss politicians. Our solidarity with our class must not be broken. We must present our criticism within the class movement and not from outside its ranks. It is clear that the vast majority of our class favors the plan. This is evidenced by the vote in the trade unions which have given almost unanimous support to the movement, by the support for the plan found in the working class areas and precincts of the state. Our task is to extend the movement for the demand for old age security into the channels of a correct method. We are confident that in the course of their experience the many workers supporting the measure will learn to fight with the Socialist Workers Party for old age security under the slogan of "Tax the Rich for Old Age Pensions."

## Labor Must Be Prepared

The major question that faces us is: After November 7, what? If the plan wins, we urge that labor be prepared to resist the inevitable rise in the prices by demanding a corresponding raise in wages. If the plan wins and the employers attempt to close down their factories, the workers must be prepared for energetic action in defense of their jobs and living standards.

If the plan loses, the pension movement must start all over again but on a healthy correct basis. It must be based on the proposal to "tax the rich to secure pensions for the aged poor." The workers produce the wealth of this society. When they are too old, the capitalists turn them out, free of any responsibility for them; or at best, with only a miserable pittance in the form of the State pension. It is the wealthy who must pay for the pension. If they cannot do so, let them give way to a class which can organize society so as to secure plenty and security for all: Let them give way to the socialist reorganization of society by the workers and producers.

## A Program For Labor

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.

## Labor Looks Through The Press

By Arthur Hopkins

Thought for the day: Well anyway, the bosses are beating their swords into shares.

**DAILY DOUBT:** "It is incredible," says the Minneapolis Star Journal, "that any person or group of persons would through false pride or desire for personal gain advocate a measure involving this country in a risk of being drawn into the war."

The traditional top hats of the Elton boys have been put under a wartime ban because they won't work with gas masks. Which is a fearful blow to culchaw. How can the working stiffs recognize their "betters" without their hats?

Says Herbert Hoover: Woodrow Wilson "met with the pressures of populations and the unsolvable problems of European boundaries and economic life." He means "unsolvable" under capitalism. The Socialist United States of Europe is our solution to the "unsolvable" problem.

Says war correspondent Henry C. Cassidy: "There is as little romance as there is high enthusiasm in this war. The troops rarely sing. After a month of war they have still to find a successor to the World War favorite 'La Madoleson.' But the French bosses have their song. 'If only the war, this beautiful war, lasts long enough, I'll make my million, or more or more. Pray God it's more.'"