

A Vote for Shachtman and Paine Is a Vote Against War!

LET THE PEOPLE
VOTE ON WAR

Socialist Appeal

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WORKERS OF THE
WORLD UNITE!

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G-MEN FRAME UP TEAMSTERS UNION LEADERS

Workers of Manhattan and Bronx, Your First-Choice Vote Must Go To Labor's Anti-War Candidates!

With last minute preparations completed for a whirlwind finish to the New York Councilmanic campaign, Max Shachtman and George L. Paine, candidates for the Bronx and Manhattan respectively, in their final statements on the eve of the elections, declared, "We are confident that many workers of both boroughs will underscore the anti-war program of the Socialist Workers Party by casting their first choice votes this Tuesday for the only candidates who have publicly demonstrated their irreconcilable opposition to the second world war and the efforts of the Roosevelt administration to fling the American workers into it."

Assured that their vote will equal in size the enthusiasm shown at election rallies for the anti-war program of the Socialist Workers Party, candidates Shachtman and Paine stated, "Thousands of workers

in the Bronx and Manhattan have shown their interest in the campaign, conducted at tremendous odds. It gives them the opportunity of casting a protest vote against the war and against its instigators and its apologists. Let the workers of both boroughs rally to the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party in a manner that will make the instigators of war seriously contem-

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C.P. SUPPORT OF KUOMINTANG SEEN AT END

Leading Chinese Stalinist Indicates New Line in Statement

By E. SAXE
The Chinese Communist Party, reacting swiftly to the coordinated change of Comintern and Soviet foreign policy, is preparing to withdraw its support from Chiang-Kai-Shek and the Kuomintang.
In an interview with Edgar Snow, author of "Red Star Over China," published in the London Daily Herald of Oct. 21, and marked "delayed by the censor," Mao Tse-tung, leading Chinese Stalinist, recently returned from a visit to Moscow for purposes of "information," denied flatly that the Chinese Communist Party had ever submitted to the Kuomintang.

Mao claimed that the CPC program was completely independent of the Kuomintang's, and aimed ultimately at "social revolution." Asked whether Soviet troops would enter Inner Mongolia and Manchukuo, the Stalinist chief answered: "Such action is quite within the possibility of Leninism."

Mao declared that he supported Soviet policy in Europe as a "logical part of world liberation, and the revolutionary movement."

"Soviet help to China," he said, "depends on the continuance of the war against Japan, and closer association with the USSR. China cannot be unified until the Kuomintang dictatorship is abolished and replaced by democracy in which the communists are represented."

A Reuters dispatch from Tokyo, published in the same issue of the Herald, but not yet officially confirmed, declares that the Soviet Union has presented demands to Chiang Kai-Shek, which include the entry of Soviet troops into Siankiang and Inner Mongolia, and the sovietization of Northwest China.

Join the Socialist
Workers Party

"The Enemy Is At Home!"



Growing Protest Movement Challenges Watson Arrest

ONE DACHCHUND EQUALS ONE HUNGRY WORKER

According to the latest news from Nazi Germany, all dachchunds over sixteen inches high must have ration cards entitling them to meat scraps from food shops.

As reported in the Socialist Appeal last week, hungry men and women in the democratic American city of Gary, Ind., must be equipped with licenses before they can hunt through garbage cans for scraps of food.

The moral is interesting. In the United States a needy person rates as high as a German dachhund. But in the Germany of the hated Hitler, a dachhund rates as high as a freedom-loving American.

Canadian Defense Committee Calls Creation Of American Watson Defense Fund a True Act of International Labor Solidarity

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

TORONTO, Nov. 2.—The Canadian Frank Watson Defense Committee greets the American Watson Defense Fund!

The formation of the Watson Defense Fund in the United States is a striking testimony to the international solidarity of the working class movement!

The arrest and conviction of Frank Watson, young English-Canadian worker apprehended by the Dominion police for having publicly denounced the imperialist war and Canadian participation in it, on the streets of Toronto, represents the first abridgment of civil rights on the American continent as a result of the outbreak of the new world war.

The imprisonment of Watson by the Canadian government has demonstrated to the hilt his statement at the now celebrated street-corner meeting that "Democracy is the first casualty of the war."

Lying Testimony
That the imperialist rulers of Canada could not abide this brave opponent of their war is demonstrated by the lying testimony introduced by the prosecution in order to justify the vicious sentence imposed on Watson. The witnesses, a soldier and

(Continued on Page 3)

F.B.I. Agents Engineer Anti-Union Cases In Preparation for War

Five Union Leaders Face Unusually Severe Sentence and Fine for Allegedly Damaging Bakery Truck During 1938 Strike

Eight union officials, representing the teamsters union locals in Sioux City, Des Moines and Omaha, were placed on trial this week in Sioux City, in the latest of a series of prosecutions engineered by the G-men—U.S. Attorney General Murphy's Federal Bureau of Investigation—on orders direct from Washington.

Meanwhile the third trial of WPA strikers was proceeding in Minneapolis, where over 150 workers who participated in the nationwide WPA strike have been indicted on evidence cooked up by the FBI. Eight were found guilty and four acquitted in the first two trials.

Other trials instigated by the FBI against unions are shortly to take place in Washington, D. C., Cleveland, and other cities.

Thomas V. Smith, secretary-treasurer of General Drivers Local 554 of Omaha, which bore the brunt of the bosses' blows in the successful struggle of the teamsters movement which finally culminated in a contract covering 350,000 drivers and helpers in the North Central Area, comprising over a dozen states, has issued to the labor press a detailed account of the latest FBI frameup.

It is clear from his account and the proceedings in the Minneapolis trials, that the FBI is systematically persecuting the labor movement as part of the Roosevelt government's preparations for dragging America into the war. Roosevelt wants first to crush the labor movement, especially its most successful and progressive sections.

Brother Smith concludes that the FBI is pursuing "a road which is surely leading to the development on American soil of the same sort of anti-labor political police which is the instrument of the ferocious dictatorship in Europe and Asia." Every worker who reads his detailed statement will agree with him. We publish it in full below:

By THOMAS V. SMITH
(Secretary-Treasurer,
Local 544, Omaha)

FBI agents, operating according to a prearranged plan, at 4 a.m. Saturday morning, Sept. 23, descended upon the homes of sleeping union officials in the widely-separated towns of Sioux City, Des Moines and Omaha, arrested six union officers and took them to jail. Later, two more union officials were arrested. They were held on five separate indictments for \$40,000 cash bail.

Behind the arrests is a story which should cause the gravest concern to every union man and woman in America.

This story begins back in July, 1938, fifteen months ago. At that time the bakery drivers in Sioux City, organized in the General Drivers Union, Local 383, AFL, were conducting a strike against the local bakeries for higher wages and better conditions. During the course of that strike, the employers claimed that a bakery truck had been damaged near the Iowa-Minnesota state line.

The union questioned the claim of the employers that a truck had been damaged, emphatically denied that the union had anything to do with the incident, and charged that if a truck had been damaged, in all likelihood it had been done with the knowledge and consent of the employers as a means of influencing public opinion against the striking bakery drivers.

The strike was eventually won. This Sioux City bakery drivers' (Continued on Page 3)

Behind the Lines

By GEORGE STERN

Like Italy Japan stands today between the warring camps, unable as yet to decide where its maximum advantage lies as an ally and its minimum disadvantage as an enemy.

Realizing full well that it will be compelled to make a decision, Japan is making desperate efforts to relieve the frustration it suffers in its unaccomplished conquest of China. But the grinding pressure of Russia to the east of it and the US to the west of it is making itself increasingly felt in Tokyo.

Whether the Japanese militarists like it or not, the development of their adventure in China, as we have long foreseen, will be tied up closely with the course of the general war, the development of the war alignments, and the final choice of the main battlefields.

Japan was tied up in the anti-Comintern group with Germany before the present European war naturally because it seemed to promise the prospect of forcing Russia into a war on two fronts. Simultaneously the anti-British basis of the Hitler drive fully satisfied the Japanese who regarded Britain as the main obstacle to their expansion in China proper.

The Hitler-Stalin pact seemed momentarily to knock all these calculations into Hirohito's cocked hat. The government responsible for the axis policy was removed and its ambassadors recalled. Japan retracted visibly from all its previously established policies with respect to the different powers in order to leave the field clear for a fresh orientation. It signed the truce with Russia. It ceased off the anti-British campaign and the Tientsin blockade. It appointed a foreign minister who was hailed as the great and good friend of the United States.

For a time it began to look as though the Hitler - Stalin pact might have as one of its results the temporary patching up of Anglo-Japanese and even of Anglo-American differences in the interest of a new anti - Soviet alignment.

American pressure worked on all cylinders to bring this about. Roosevelt had already abrogated the 1911 trade treaty and sent his ambassador back to Tokyo there to deliver a resounding blast against Japanese military actions in China. Simultaneously, fighting units of the US fleet and air force began taking up battle stations in the Pacific. Great bombers were sent in formation to the Philippines. The major fighting divisions were posted at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii.

By last week the Japanese had been so deeply impressed that policy?

they announced the opening of concurrent negotiations with Britain and the United States on the China issue. But a few days before these talks were to begin there was another sudden shift. The intent to negotiate was denied. It became plain that the Japanese generals had forced postponement because they saw the renewed possibility of an axis, stretching this time from Tokyo through Moscow to Berlin and possibly still to Rome. They know such a bloc is the ugly specter that haunts London and Washington like a malignant demon. Molotov's friendly references to Japan last Tuesday did not exactly help exorcise the ghost.

The Japanese army mouthpiece in Tokyo, the Kokumin Shinbun, came out bluntly with the statement that Japan was subject to Russian and American pressure and had to come to terms with one in order to deal with the other.

And the army organ—no less violent in its day against Russia than Hitler's papers—pronounced in favor of making a rapprochement with Russia a cardinal point of Japanese policy!

The tug-of-war that shall now ensue is of far greater import to the war in general and to this country in particular than anything that happens in the Balkans.

CAN WORKERS ACCEPT MOLOTOFF'S EXPLANATION?

By FELIX MORROW

The Soviet press, echoed by the Stalinist press throughout the world, is complaining bitterly that the Anglo-French-American capitalists and press are attempting to "poison relations" between the Soviet Union and Finland and the other Baltic countries. A Moscow radio broadcast of Nov. 3 went further: it accused "certain powers"—obviously the "democratic" bloc—of egging Finland into a war against the Soviet Union.

It is certainly true that the American press is being inspired by the Roosevelt government to beat the drums for war against the USSR. In the City of Flint incident, in the comment on Molotov's speech, the retort of the White House, etc., it is clear that Washington is deliberately inciting a hostile attitude toward the Soviet Union, and Washington is, of course, acting in concert with the British and French empires.

The "democratic" incitement against the Soviet Union is a fact and a fact which should cause us to treat with the greatest skepticism all comment in the American press on the relations of the Soviet Union with Finland. But this fact does not exhaust the question. We have at hand, not only "democratic" comment, but also Soviet statements, notably Molotov's speech of Oct. 31, reviewing foreign affairs before the "Supreme Soviet."

The Stalinist regime today asserts it claim to the support of the masses of the world in all questions, including the Finnish, on the ground that it defends the interests of the toilers of the world. The Soviet press suddenly reminds us that the demands on Finland are motivated by the need for defending "Leningrad, the cradle of the Socialist revolution."

Today as always, we are prepared to defend the cradle of the Socialist revolution. But is that the motivation of Stalinist foreign

What Is the Record of Stalin's Policy?

Stalinist foreign policy is, like all foreign policy, a continuation of its internal politics. We have characterized both its internal and external policy over many years as a policy serving the interests of the Stalinist bureaucracy and not the interests of the Soviet masses and the world working class.

When the Stalinists say they are defending the cradle of the Socialist revolution, the blood of those who made the revolution and were murdered by Stalin cries out in protest. When the Stalinists say they are defending the interests of the world toilers, millions of martyrs give them the lie: the revolutionists they murdered in Spain, the French working class which they shackled to its "own" bourgeoisie in the Peoples Front, the Chinese masses whom they delivered—twice!—to Chiang-Kai-Shek, the American workers whom they taught to swear by Roosevelt, etc., etc. The entire record of the Stalinist bureaucracy confounds their belated claim that they are acting in the interests of the world toilers!

The Stalinist bureaucracy comes before the court of proletarian public opinion with unclean hands. Never mind what the democratic imperialists are saying—that scarcely explains why millions of workers throughout the world, who are irreconcilably hostile to their "own" bourgeoisie, do not accept the Stalinist version of the annexation of Western Poland, and view with the greatest suspicion the Stalinist moves in the Baltic.

Molotov's speech motivated the demands on Finland on the need for increasing the security of Leningrad. He denied any claims against Sweden and Norway, emphasized how modest the claims against Finland are, that compensation is provided for—in the way of land cessions, disarming the Soviet-Finnish frontier on the Karelian isthmus, improved economic relations, etc.—and an assurance

that Finland's independence will in no way be impaired.

Can the Finnish workers, or the revolutionary workers of the world, accept Molotov's version of the Finnish situation at its face value?

They cannot. The Kremlin has forfeited the right to the trust of the workers. We need not recapitulate its reactionary course of the last fifteen years to demonstrate that. We have only to refer to the most recent event—the invasion of Western Poland.

What did the Kremlin ask the workers to do in connection with Poland?

Molotov's Promises — Second Chapter

On Aug. 23, the day the Stalin-Hitler pact was signed, the Stalinists promised support of Poland against Hitler and called upon the workers to do likewise:

"The people of Poland, whose national independence is in imminent danger from the threats of fascist aggression and Chamberlain's appeasement schemes, now as before realize the firm position of the Soviet Union in uncompromising support for their freedom and independence. And as they gather their strength to resist the fascist threats and to defend their national independence, this support will be continued and further strengthened."

"It is also clear that by entering into these negotiations for the conclusion of a pact of non-aggression with Germany, the Soviet Union is seriously weakening Hitler's hold upon the German people."

"... The Polish people will be further encouraged to resist both the threats of fascist aggression and the underhanded conspiracies of the Munichers." (Daily Worker, Aug. 23, 1939.)

(Continued on Page 3)

In the Labor Unions

By B. J. WIDICK

The blast of the Navy Department against the CIO this week charging that labor was seriously jeopardizing national defense through its struggle for decent wages and conditions was a deadly warning of days to come.

It was in line with the recent charge of the Chrysler Corp. that the auto workers union was sabotaging production.

Both claims are one hundred per cent frame-ups against the labor movement.

The auto workers through R. J. Thomas, president of the CIO-AUAWA, were able to expose the fakery of the Chrysler slanders against labor. Similarly, the CIO was able to prove that the Navy Dept. was really trying to smash union conditions and the labor movement.

On Guard!

Surely, it is obvious that if the big corporations and the American military machine are willing to go in for strike-breaking before war, labor can expect nothing except ruthless suppression during war—unless a terrific struggle doesn't take place against this danger.

The strategy of the bosses and the military machine is quite simple. "National Defense" is only an excuse. In the name of national defense, strikes must be suppressed. Wages cut, accepted, humiliations working conditions permitted. Otherwise the workers are jeopardizing national defense.

Under this slogan, and by fomenting and utilizing a patriotic feeling, the bosses hope to hog the labor movement.

The military machine announces in advance that it will do more than its share to help in a union-busting campaign.

A Lesson from France

How this campaign will culminate in the complete suppression of the labor movement during war, if the bosses have their way, was revealed in another "democratic" France, this week.

All labor is requisitioned through a special registration. He becomes a soldier in the factory, subject to military discipline. He can not quit his job or leave it without official permission.

A worker may not refuse to accept any post to which he is ordered. He must work on holidays, with or without pay, as the government sees fit.

These are just the highlights of the new plan decreed by the government. In practice they mean no shop committee negotiations, no strikes, no sit-downs.

Labor is completely conscripted and all life in the factory or out, is determined by the military machine. This is what French imperialism apologists still call "democracy."

Would America in event of war be any different? Would labor be guaranteed its "democratic rights"? The attitude of the Navy department gives a clear answer. No! M-Day plans indicate that a course similar to that pursued in France is planned for American labor.

In making its present struggle against the plans of the bosses and the military machine, the CIO must learn soon that a really effective fight can ensue only if it is elevated to a higher plane: a struggle against imperialism war is the only guarantee that labor will not be hogged in the future.

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ANNOUNCEMENT
ANTI-WAR HIKE—Young Peoples Socialist League, November 12; Alley Pond State Park. Watch for further notice.

Statement of the Ohio S. W. P. On the Bigelow Pension Plan

The Socialist Workers Party endorses the Bigelow Pension Plan which is before the voters of Ohio in the form of an amendment to the Ohio Constitution for a popular referendum on November 7.

In general, this plan is progressive in character, particularly because, unlike the demagogic and crack-brained plans of elements like Dr. Townsend, it is based upon providing for the needy aged through forms of taxation which will bear directly upon those most able to pay, the big property owners and those with large incomes.

It is a plan worthy of support, also, because it is not proposed as an economic and social cure-all,

but simply as a sound reform based on the needs of the most dependent section of the masses and not adding additional burdens upon the wage-earners but upon those whose idle wealth should be put to some productive or socially beneficial use.

Many Weaknesses

We recognize certain weaknesses in the plan as now proposed, however, particularly in the method of taxation based on land ownership. A big loop-hole is left for evasion in this form of taxation, first in the fact that the greatest source of taxable wealth does not lie in land values but in corporation and bank surpluses and large incomes; and secondly,

in the fact that taxes based on land valuations over a certain minimum value can be evaded by the simple procedure of taxing agencies, which set the valuations, arbitrarily fixing the valuations below the taxable value.

Further, the exemption of non-citizens from the benefits of the plan, is an unwarranted discrimination against many workers who for valid reasons have not secured citizenship, but whose labor helped to build this country. Need, and need alone, should be the criterion for who shall receive the benefits.

Commend Principle

But these defects are easily remediable, the most important consideration being the general principle of adequate care of the needy which this plan is directed toward, and the method of financing through taxation directed at the rich and not the poor. In this sense, this plan is the most honest and sound one of its type yet proposed, and should set the example for similar proposals in every state in the union.

The Socialist Workers Party calls on its members and sympathizers in Ohio to give all possible aid in forwarding the Bigelow Pension movement and in rallying the forces of organized labor and the wage-earners in general behind this plan.

We further commend the principle involved in the amendment, which is also on the ballot, calling for the democratization of the requirements for initiative and referendum, which if passed will be a valuable aid to labor unions and working-class political parties in destroying the monopoly of big-business over the legislation of the state and enabling the workers to have a more direct voice in the securing of pro-labor legislation.

Pure Hypocrisy
How hypocritical therefore is the present Stalinist "support" to the growing movement for Indian liberation! If Stalin were united with Chamberlain in the war, the Communist could be in the forefront of the suppression of the colonial revolt. Their struggle "against imperialism" is obviously motivated exclusively by the fact that Stalin is on the other side of the struggle. That is why they condemn the military enemies of Stalin and Hitler, and defend the Stalinist war alliance and "peace" ploy.

Gannes makes this crystal clear when, after stating that "both sides" in the present war are responsible for its outbreak, England and France alone are responsible for its continuation. The Soviet Union (and thereby the Communist Party), he writes, "accuses Anglo-French imperialism of bearing the responsibility for continuing the war." Hitler is exonerated from responsibility for the continuation of the war because he offered "peace"! What a shameful defense of Hitler! The whole world knows that Hitler used for "peace" because he had already achieved his immediate aim, (the conquest of Poland) and also because he wanted to show the German people that he was being forced to fight against his will.

Ready for Any Job
Gannes adds that "the Anglo-French warmakers hoped by war to reshuffle the German ruling reactionary cliques in order to bring about another more dependable anti-Soviet set-up." Isn't this a good basis for a united front with Hitler against Chamberlain and the "more dependable (German) anti-Soviet" clique? Tomorrow we may be told more openly that Hitler is fighting a defensive war against the anti-Soviet forces and therefore should be supported by the workers of the world. The unscrupulous henchmen of Stalin are ready to corral the masses for any dirty job assigned to them by their master.

Joe Ryan, president of the longshoremen, has already been offering "compromises." The employers, it appears, have turned them down on the theory that they will get a good deal more—and the union a good deal less—if the strike drags on for a while. Ryan called the strike "unfortunate" and is offering to take half of the wage increase originally asked, according to reports.

For some reason, unexplained by union officials, strike action against the United Fruit Line is being limited to the company's small coastwise ships and will not affect Caribbean service. Nor will the strike involve services of Moore & McCormack which operates to South America as well as Scandinavian countries.

Ryan Motives Unclear
With the Maritime Labor Board rushing its men to New York to buttress the mediators of the State Labor Board, it is not yet clear how Ryan will meet the sleazy compromise proposals that will fly thick and fast.

A strange aspect of the strike is the statement even before the men quit work to the effect that "the strike might destroy the industry." Just why the union leader should be placing the onus of responsibility on the workers for supposed "damage" to the industry is not clear from press reports.

As the strike stands today, the longshoremen can put the operators behind the well-known eight-ball provided they vigorously prosecute their action. Shipping is experiencing a little boom as a result of the upturn of industry and the war in Europe. The operators can hardly afford to have their ships tied up for any length of time.

WAR BULLETIN

According to the French Ministry of Information, the War Office has mobilized 100,000 pigeons for immediate transport to the Maginot Line.

Did they volunteer or were they drafted?

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

Let the People
Vote on War!

Labor and The Second World War

By J. R. Johnson

IV

"Murder-Day"

The people, particularly the workers, need to be warned! Roosevelt talks about democracy but he is preparing, as soon as war breaks out, to fasten an iron dictatorship upon the workers of this country. The plans for it are called M-Day. The M stands for mobilization, and mobilization this time includes not only soldiers but every worker in town and country. The draft registration blanks are ready, lists of draft boards are on file, the draft bill has been written, a skeleton draft administration is already in operation. This is the way that Roosevelt strives to keep America out of war.

Moreover, the M-Day plan provides for a dozen different ways of crushing the labor movement and prohibiting strikes. Only labor unions that accept the labor conditions imposed by the war dictatorship will be tolerated. The draft law makes it possible to break a strike by drafting into the trenches the strike leaders or, better, all the militant workers involved. Or they can be drafted into the army and made to work in the factory under martial law. Or workers in uniform can be called from the training camps to act as scabs.

Already, compiled is a list of labor and social legislation to be abolished by the President's decree. Minimum wage and hour laws will be scrapped. Laws limiting child and woman labor, will be scrapped. Trade union contracts will be subject to cancellation—by Roosevelt's board. The N.L.R.B. will give way to Roosevelt's war board. A tight censorship of the press and radio will be imposed, and a propaganda department for the dissemination of lies set up.

The first fatality in a war for "democracy" is democracy.

Franklin Roosevelt, Tool of American Capital

And for whose benefit? Let the facts speak. On August 9, 1939, well in advance of the beginning of the war in Europe, Roosevelt appointed the members of the war board that will take over America and exercise dictatorial power upon America's entry.

Here are the men who will rule the country: E. R. Stettinius, Jr., chairman of the U. S. Steel Corporation; Walter S. Gifford, president of American Telephone and Telegraph Company; J. L. Pratt, director of General Motors Corporation; General R. E. Wood, head of Sear, Roebuck; Karl T. Compton, president of Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Harold G. Moulton, head of Brookings Institute.

U. S. Steel, which during the last war made millions of dollars in war profits, is controlled by J. P. Morgan and Company. American Tel and Tel is another subsidiary of J. P. Morgan. General Motors is controlled by the du Pont interests, and these are a sector of the financial empire of J. P. Morgan. The Massachusetts Institute of Technology is a Morgan-subsidized university. Of the whole board only Sears, Roebuck, run by another of the Sixty Families who own America, and Brookings Institute, the official statistician for all of them, are outside the Morgan colossus.

The workers will be delivered bound and gagged to their most merciless exploiters and notorious enemies. Roosevelt however had acted too brazenly. Even some of his New Deal supporters protested against this early exposure of the fact that the war is an imperialist war run for and by the imperialists. Roosevelt temporarily dismissed the board. But he will bring them or their friends back again, with perhaps a labor "leader" or two to placate public opinion. The next time the censorship and the F.B.I. will see to it that there is no opposition. And all this has been prepared and polished and made ready for immediate use by Franklin Roosevelt, who for years has passed himself off as a friend of the people.

What Is This "Democracy"?

One indisputable truth emerges. If the people were anxious to go to war for "democracy," then war preparations, this many-sided, devious, incessant propaganda, this iron cage of M-Day, would not be necessary. Why is it that the people have to be dragged into fighting for "democracy"? Simply because the great masses of the people do not see anything in "democracy" to fight for.

There are today in America some ten to twelve million unemployed, who with their dependents constitute in all some twenty-five to thirty million people, a fifth of the population of the richest country in the world. Capitalist "democracy" condemns them to starvation.

Those that do get work are remorselessly speeded-up. If we set the 1932 output per man-hour in the manufacturing industries of the country as 100, we find that in 1938 it was 115. But the 1936 labor cost per unit, on the same basis, was only 106. Speed-up for the workers plus more profits for the capitalists equals still greater concentration of wealth into the hands of the few.

The percentage of the wages paid in 1937 was 82.1 of those paid in 1929. But the percentage of dividends was 83.8, and of interest 89.5. Always it works out to still greater wealth in the hands of still fewer people.

And goods for use? Industrial production, for the first five months of each year, was 122 in 1929, 67 in 1932, 119 in 1937, 79 in 1938. This is capitalist "democracy," with millions never knowing where they are from one day to another. The production index has crawled slowly upward since 1938, but Roosevelt knows it will never in peace time reach the 1929 level again, though every year sees an in-

WORKERS' FORUM

AN EXCELLENT ANSWER TO THE FASCISTS

Dear friend:

A friend brought me the current copy of Coughlin's rag featuring a lying attack on the Trotskyists. Of this tirade I retain only one feature: the American fascists turn their hate on the SWP as their authentic, and dangerous class enemy. The Stalinists for them are no longer a menace.

There is only one possible answer to this. Enclosed find \$5.00 for a year's subscription to the New Internationalist and to the Appeal. Credit the "reverend tatter" with an assist.

Revolutionary greetings
KARL C.

A WELL-TAKEN SUGGESTION

Dear Comrade:

The undersigned committee was recently selected by our Branch Executive Committee to confer with your office and the National Center on the question of developing a "Workers' Open Forum" column or section, in the Socialist Appeal.

We think that our paper needs such a column or department. We think that a persistent and continuous effort should be made by our editorial staff to develop this workers' forum. A proper heading should continuously appear over this column and preferably in the same part of the paper in each issue. This in order that workers, who as yet have no interest in long theoretical articles, may easily find this column. As new worker readers note the various contributions to the open forum they will gradually develop an interest in other matters appearing in the Appeal.

We also feel that this workers' forum department will gradually become a valuable medium for our left wing in the trade unions as a clearing house for progressive ideas which cannot find their way into the trade union journals due to the bureaucratic censorship.

We recommend that this department, together with proper heading, appear regularly in the Appeal. That it appear, as far as possible, in the same part of the paper. That an editor's note appear regularly underneath the heading of this column inviting the workers to write articles for this column, and telling them that here is a space set aside for them in their daily experiences at their place of work, on the streets, or in their unions. The editor's note underneath the heading can be changed from time to time to keep in step with new developments and new experiences in connection with this department.

The committee is conscious of the fact that a workers' forum department cannot be developed over night in our paper with its small circulation. The idea is to keep relentlessly at it and we feel that a department in our paper can be built up which will not only be attractive for workers to read but also to write for.

Comradely yours,
C. R. HEDLUND
OSCAR COOVER

Minneapolis.

(The staff of the Appeal is in complete agreement with the Minneapolis comrades. We therefore ask all readers to contribute letters to the Workers' Forum — their experiences in the shops, their criticisms, their suggestions, etc.—Ed.)

IN CRITICISM OF THE APPEAL

Dear comrade editor:

I am a worker in a Detroit automobile plant. I am also a comrade (member of the SWP). In Detroit, three or four of us comrades go house to house every

Saturday or Sunday morning and give away the Appeal. At every home we explain it is an anti-war paper that workers gain nothing from a war. Then we ask for a contribution. We average 3 cents a paper, and in this way collect for about 200 papers (every week, 100 of each issue). Our Appeal bill used to be about \$100.00. Now it is about \$30.00.

But in order to use this method, the paper has got to carry articles against the war in a way that appeals to the workers. None of them knows or cares to read very much about the ALP, about Ireland and the fight for freedom, about Shachtman in his campaign in New York, India, etc. But they do care about the number of unemployed, about how you can't be a good union man and be for war, about the conditions of those on relief.

They don't ever finish reading long articles (I notice this in my union when the Appeal is passed out at a meeting). They like articles that deal directly with their personal life (if they are short) — with the rise in prices. They all ask questions about what we should do if Hitler comes over here. Won't we have to go to war to stop Hitler? Won't war give us jobs, etc.? The headlines have been very bad in the past few editions. They don't appeal to the workers. The content doesn't appeal either. The articles are too long and theoretical and don't appeal to workers.

One AFL union man told me he knew it was a scab paper when he saw the article about the AFL convention. We've got to show we're interested in workers' conditions, that we're for the unions (we're the best unionists), and that we're against a war for the millionaires. The union men care about themselves and their conditions, and not about the Hitler-Stalin pact, Ireland, the British Empire, etc. We've got to have news in the paper so that any union man knows we're for him, we're against price rises, we're for higher wages. We've got to show the possibilities of decent incomes for every person able to work in this country. The people that I talk to like our demands (those on the editorial page), but why doesn't each article carry propaganda for these demands. All we do is write about theory or denounce the Stalinists, etc. We don't show what we're for—not enough — and that's what appeals to a worker.

The last issue we just received has a headline about Shachtman in New York. I'm glad to hear this news. But nobody else around Detroit in the unions cares anything about it. How can we go house to house with this edition? We can't and we won't. The papers will not be received by workers. It doesn't even look like an anti-war paper. And if the paper continues to look like the last edition (especially this one edition) we'll have to cut our bundle order way down.

Comradely,
G. L.

Detroit.
P.S.: America will get into the imperialist war pretty soon. We haven't much time to become known as the anti-war party. The paper is important for this, and every issue should hit a unionist who gets it right between the eyes—we're anti-war, proletarian, we're for militancy. We've got to boost our circulation way up. We want to increase our bundle order if possible. It all depends on all of us.

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Note to Readers in Minneapolis:

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

crease in the population, with still more people demanding work and food and shelter. At intervals between his war-mongering, he raises his voice to the empty air: "We must get the idle men and idle capital together." But God has said no word, and as nobody else knows how to do this in peace, Roosevelt prepares to go to war.

The Negro and "Democracy"

The great warriors in defense of "democracy" raise their voices in horror at Hitler's treatment of the Jews. Protest is stifled and cynicism itself struck dumb at the sound of such words from such mouths. For three hundred years the rulers of America have persecuted the Negroes. Slavery was abolished only when it had become a drag on capitalist production. And since 1863, the year of manumission, American capitalism has Jim-Crowed and lynched Negroes, has deprived them of opportunities to raise themselves from debasement, and, worst of all, has succeeded in poisoning the minds of their brother workers against them, in order to keep the working class divided and therefore weak. If American "democracy" had nothing to its discredit but its treatment of the Negro, that would still be sufficient to blast its pretensions as a defender of civilization.

(Continued in Next Issue)

THE NEGRO QUESTION

By J. R. JOHNSON

Industry and the Negro

The first, the absolute indispensable necessity for Negroes who want to struggle for their emancipation, is to understand that difference of color is not the cause of discrimination against them in industry. The intelligent capitalist knows this. The Negroes must know it too. Not that the race question is unimportant. Not at all. It has acquired a tremendous importance. But it is a subordinate question.

In our pamphlet on the war, (Why Negroes Should Oppose the War; J. R. Johnson, 5 cents) we wrote the following: (p. 23)

"Whenever a problem faces us we should examine it in all its aspects, then examine similar situations in foreign countries, look back into our own history, see where the circumstances are alike and where they differ, and then attempt a conclusion."

To that something more can be added. We must see where the problem is today, then where it was yesterday, then see where it is likely to be tomorrow. In other words we see it from all sides and particularly we see in what direction it is moving, what is likely to happen tomorrow. This is known as the dialectic, and the method of investigation is called the dialectical method.

The very opposite of the dialectical method is the kind of argument that runs as follows:

"I went for a job yesterday. As soon as they saw my black face they turned me back. But the fellow who followed me was white and they gave him the job at once. Therefore the Negro problem is a race problem."

What Makes for Slavery?

It sounds good, but is it? Let us see.

First take the question of slavery. To too many Negroes, slavery is the badge of the Negro and his black skin. Error Number One. For white men were slaves for thousands of years in the greatest empires of antiquity, particularly the empires of Greece and Rome. White men enslaved white men by the millions. In fact white men have been slaves in Europe for far more centuries than black men have been free. Similarly, black men in Africa enslaved black men, and yellow men in China enslaved yellow men. Wherever economic conditions and political power enabled one class of men to enslave another class, there slavery existed, until the economic and political conditions changed and slavery was abolished. Color has nothing to do with it at all. So that a Negro who goes for a job and is refused because he is black, must stop and consider if there isn't more to this question than appears at first sight.

Let us now look at slavery in America. The Europeans who came to America in the early days tried to make the Indians slaves. But the Indians could not do the work. They died in millions. In the smaller islands of the West Indies they were wiped out almost entirely. On the American continent which was large they could fight and retreat, before the invader. When they were caught they fought back, for their brothers and friends were carrying on the struggle elsewhere.

The European invaders then tried to enslave whites. They imported poor white people from Europe and worked them in the fields side by side with the Negroes. In other words, the color question did not trouble them at all.

But white slaves did not stand the climate well. Enough of them could not be got from Europe to do all the work that was to be done. So that the employers of those days, looking round for labor, decided to use the Africans from Africa because they were the most suitable. There were many more Africans in Africa than there were Indians in America. The weapons the Europeans used were technically so much advanced and deadly that they had the Africans at their mercy.

The Africans were strong and could stand the hard work as slaves. Once brought to America, they had no hope, no society, no common language, no common tradition to bind them together and stiffen their resistance as the native Indians were stiffened. They had no perspective for freedom. So that they could only make periodic revolts one after another, which failed and left them often more miserable than before. In the same way the millions of slaves in the ancient Greek and Roman Empires made their periodical revolts and then submitted.

What we must note is that in America the slave-owners tried Indians, tried whites, and then finally settled on Negroes as slaves; obviously not because they were black but because they were the most suitable from an economic point of view.

Here again, therefore, a Negro who is refused a job because he is a black man, must think over history and note how unimportant the question of color was in the history of slavery and how it was the economic factor, the question of highest profit, which predominated. This is the dialectical approach. We watch the subject in different periods of history, in different countries in our own country, see where it was yesterday, where it is today and where it is going tomorrow. That is the most important thing for us. Where is it going tomorrow? When we know that, we know how to act today, and how to prepare action for tomorrow.

Slave-Drivers Disguise Truth

Now there is another very noticeable fact about history which we must always bear in mind. In the same way as a man tries to cover his naked body with pleasing clothes, so men like to cover naked economic facts with pleasing moral ideas. Roosevelt wants to go to war for the sake of American investments? But he does not say that. He talks about war for "democracy". Does Hitler want to go to war to seize territory? He does not say that to the German workers. He says "The Aryan blood" the "Nordic race" and much kibble of the same sort. The reason for this constant blurring is plain. These men of privilege and power must fool the common people. If they spoke plainly "War for colonies and for profits" the masses, who never get any profits, would reply "Go and fight yourselves for your profits." The naked truth must be disguised.

It is in accordance with this historical law that the slave-drivers, when people began to challenge the system of slavery, did not dare to say "We tried Indians, we tried whites and now we use Negroes because they are the most suitable." No. They said "This black man is a barbarian. He lives like a wild beast in Africa. He is an inferior creature. God intended him to be a slave." Thus, to justify economic exploitation, they elevated the race question into a position of importance which it had never had before.

It wasn't an easy thing to do this, even in the South. A hundred and twenty years ago, there were many white people who denounced slavery. Wherever a man had a small farm, or where mines were worked, wherever in fact Negroes were not required for large-scale cotton plantations, the whites as a rule opposed slavery. There were scores of abolitionist societies in the South in the period around 1800. Benjamin Franklin, George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, the great men of those days had no love for slavery, and hoped that it would soon be abolished. And it would probably have been abolished long before 1863, if Eli Whitney had not discovered the cotton-gin in 1793.

This invention could do the work of a dozen slaves. Straightway cotton production began to jump. In 1791 it had been two million pounds. Ten years after, in 1801, it was forty million pounds. Ten years after that, in 1811, it was eighty million pounds and still ten years later, in 1821, it was 177 million pounds.

Huge cotton farms employing hundreds of slaves, spread over the country. The small farmers were driven off the land. So strong had been the abolition movement previous to Whitney's invention that up to 1826 there were still 103 emancipation societies in the South. But, as fast as the production of cotton and the profits doubled, equally as fast the propaganda against the Negroes doubled. The more the slave-owners exploited Negroes the more they proved that he was a being created by God to be a slave. In other words, to disguise the naked economic exploitation they had to say that in reality they only did it because he was black and inferior.

But even while they proved by the word of God and the laws of man that Negroes were inferior creatures fit only to be slaves, the need for profits made them act in a way entirely opposed to their lying propaganda. They found that slaves could become highly-skilled mechanics and could make the implements, tools and turn-

On the Ballot in the Bronx

1 | MAX SHACHTMAN | Socialist Workers

Write number 1 before name in the voting square to the left of his name as indicated above.

After marking your ballot as above kindly give your second and third choices to the American Labor Party candidates by marking the numbers 2 and 3 next to their names.

Take this with you to the Polls as a reminder on Election Day, Nov. 7th.

For the Write-In in Manhattan

1 | GEORGE L. PAINE |

The above is the correct spelling of the S.W.P.'s Councilmanic Candidate in Manhattan. To count, the name must be spelled exactly as here given. According to the election law, you must write-in George L. Paine on a blank line under the names of the candidates listed and put the number 1 in the square opposite to show that you are voting for him first choice.

Carry this with you to the polling booth to help you in voting accurately.

GROWING PROTEST MOVEMENT CHALLENGES WATSON ARREST

(Continued from Page 1)

An ex-recruiting sergeant, lied when they inferred that the large crowd which listened to Watson presented his anti-war statements. On the contrary, the crowd listened with great sympathy to his address. They murmured approval when Watson pointed out the slight differences existing between fascist rule in Germany and the military dictatorship in England.

When the arrest came on that fateful evening, it was counter to the wishes of the assembled workers. The police tried in vain to persuade the workers to appear in court on the side of the prosecution. Having failed to convince any of the workers at that meeting to appear against Watson, the authorities fell back on the testimony of the soldier and the ex-recruiting sergeant, both of whom had put in the call to the police for the arrest.

More than seven hundred workers gathered about Watson as the police waited for reinforcements to clinch the arrest. Members of the Socialist Workers League in the milling crowd heard sympathetic comment on all sides. One worker resolutely pointed out that Oswald Mosley, the hated British fascist leader, was permitted to hold open meetings on the streets of London while the anti-fascist Watson faced arrest and conviction for daring to voice honest working class opinion.

The brazen arrest and conviction of Watson has already had wide repercussions throughout the Dominion. Every day brings more news of the growing forces that are rallying to the defense of this young anti-war fighter. A public meeting called by the University of Toronto C.C.F. (Social-Democrats) to discuss the preservation of civil rights adopted a unanimous resolution protesting the conviction of Watson.

Bert Leavens, Ontario Provincial Secretary of the C.C.F., and a prominent trade unionist, has publicly stated that socialists would not give up the struggle "until Watson is released."

At a meeting of the Fellowship for a Christian Social Order funds were raised from its members, many of whom are outstanding ministers of this city, for the Watson Defense. Speakers at this meeting linked the fight for Watson with the defense of the seventy-five Canadian clergymen, ministers of the United Church of Canada, who have published an open manifesto against the war. The ministers

are required for the plantation. It was cheaper to have them made by slaves than by free whites. So that by 1861, the number of Negro skilled workers in the South was five times as large as the number of whites.

When a Negro in the South is kept out of a skilled job because he is black he should meditate upon the strange fact that eighty years ago he had nearly all the skilled jobs. Quite true he was a slave. But the white mechanic starved. The white employer, making a profit wherever he could and however he could, simply ignored the fact that by his own argument the slave was a barbarian, and certainly he did not care what happened to the white skilled laborer. In other words he had his eye glued on the economic situation and he made his politics in strict accordance with his pocket. He didn't let the race question interfere with his profits. Every Negro and every white worker should learn this great lesson from the capitalists.

G-Men Frame Teamsters Union Leaders As Part of U. S. Preparation for War

(Continued from Page 1)

strike was something of a turning point in union organization among Middle West drivers. Some four months later the International Brotherhood of Teamsters signed a one-year contract with the majority of the motor freight operators in over a dozen Middle Western states, a contract embracing over 200,000 drivers and helpers. During the past year organization in the driving industry in this area had made immense strides in scores of cities—in Sioux City, Omaha and other Nebraska towns, in Des Moines, Fort Dodge, Mason City, Dubuque, Kansas City—in every town of importance in the industry.

This organizational progress culminated early in October 1939, with the signing of a new working agreement between the International Brotherhood of Teamsters and more than 2,000 motor carriers, covering 350,000 drivers and helpers in thirteen states and bringing wage increases amounting to millions of dollars yearly. We mention this development at some length because it has an important bearing on the arrests occurring Sept. 23 of this year.

Upon arraignment on Sept. 23, the union officials—leaders of Drivers Unions in Sioux City, in Des Moines, and in Omaha—learned that the charges leveled against them had to do with the alleged destruction of the bakery truck fourteen months earlier.

Each union official was charged with five things:

1. Violation of the Dyer Act (transporting stolen car across state line). Penalty: 5 years in jail, \$5,000 fine, or both.
2. Interference with interstate commerce: 10 years, \$10,000 fine, or both.
3. Conspiracy to do both the above: 2 years, \$10,000 fine, or both.
4. Conspiracy to steal bread and bakery goods: 2 years, \$10,000 fine, or both.
5. Possession of stolen bakery goods: 10 years, \$5,000 fine, or both.

Each arrested union official is thus eligible to receive a total penalty of 29 years in jail, a fine of \$40,000, or both.

The combined penalty facing the eight drivers' union officials amounts to 232 years in the penitentiary, a fine of \$320,000, or both. Certainly one would have to agree that this was a disproportionate penalty even if any of the officials had been guilty of damaging a truck, which, of course, none of them was.

FBI Instigated Case

However, it is not the extreme penalty on which we wish to focus attention, it is the entire conduct of the FBI in this case which causes us such concern, and brings us to the heart of the story.

Since the arrest, drivers union officials have made a diligent inquiry into all circumstances surrounding the case and have uncovered some startling facts.

Passing over the fact that the union officials were denied such elementary courtesies ordinarily extended to labor officials as that of a telephone call from authorities asking voluntary appearance at police headquarters, or arrest at a reasonable hour of the day, the union's investigation has revealed:

1. FBI agents, led by a man named Coombs, have worked on the case of the alleged damaged truck for well over a year, at an expenditure of time and government funds which can only be guessed at.
2. "Out to Get Unionists"

CAN THE WORKERS ACCEPT MOLOTOFF'S EXPLANATION?

(Continued from Page 1)

The Kremlin lied when it made these promises. It did nothing to strengthen the struggle of Poland against Germany. The Stalin-Hitler pact, far from encouraging Polish resistance, undermined it. The Polish people got "uncompromising support for their freedom and independence" in the form of a Red Army invading Poland in collaboration with Hitler's army. Forgetting what had been said on Aug. 23—more exactly, cynically putting it aside—Molotov boasted in his Oct. 31 speech: "One swift blow to Poland, first by the German Army and then by the Red Army, and nothing was left..."

Thus did the Kremlin fulfill the promises it had made and which it had asked the world working class to underwrite!

But this is not the whole story.

When the Red Army began to march into Poland, repudiating all the previous promises made by the Kremlin, Molotov made new promises. In his radio speech to the Russian people explaining the reasons for the occupation of the Ukrainian and Byelo-Russian provinces, Molotov said, as a concluding point to justify the Red Army's march:

"At the same time, the Soviet government intends to deliver the Polish people from the disastrous war into which they have been plunged by their unwise leaders and to give them the opportunity to live a life of peace." Daily Worker, Sept. 18, 1939.

This promise, solemnly made to the Polish people by Molotov, was obviously meant to assure them that the Red Army was not marching in collaboration with the German Army. It was meant to assure the Polish soldiers in the western provinces that, if they yielded to the Red Army and surrendered their arms, it would not mean that the Polish people would be delivered up to Hitler. Press dispatches in those days reported that surrendering Polish soldiers thought the Red Army was marching against Hitler, and that Red Army soldiers also thought so.

More Broken Promises

How were his listeners and the Polish people supposed to understand Molotov's words? He was promising that the Soviet Union "intends to take every measure" to give the Polish people "the opportunity to live a life of peace." Could the premier of the government of the "Workers Fatherland" mean anything but what the words indicated? Certainly he could not have meant to define "the opportunity to live a life of peace" as—life under Hitler's boot! Those who listened and heeded his words did not believe that that is what his words meant. If that is what he meant, he could have said it.

That promise was, however, not repeated after the occupation of the Western provinces. It is not repeated, or even hinted at, in Molotov's speech of Oct. 31. On the contrary, the speech is a pro-German speech, calling upon the workers of the world to take as good coin Hitler's offer of "peace," saying not a word about the imperialist aims of the Hitler regime but, on the contrary, laying the entire blame for continuation of the war on the democratic imperialists. Hitler is whitewashed, including his annexation of Poland.

After this string of broken promises in connection with Poland, Molotov calls upon the workers of the world to accept his version of the Finnish situation. Can the workers accept it? They cannot.

Stalinism Cannot Defend the Soviet Union

We, the Fourth Internationalists, today as before, stand ready to defend the cradle of the Socialist revolution. We stand ready to defend the economic conquests of the October Revolution, the nationalized property wrested from the capitalist world.

We defend it, however, not at the bidding of Stalin-Molotov, nor on their pretexts, nor by their methods, nor for their reasons. They seek only to preserve their rule. We, on the contrary, seek the destruction of their rule, for if they continue for long to dominate the Soviet Union, the first workers' state is doomed. Only the proletarian revolution in the West can save the Soviet Union. And in the proletarian revolution, the Stalinists stand on the other side of the barricades.

Complete political and organizational independence of the world proletariat from the Soviet bureaucracy—that is the first step in the defense of the Soviet Union and the proletarian revolution.

every obstacle in the way of the arrested union officials when the latter sought to exercise their elementary legal rights.

FBI Hounded Unionists

We furnish you examples of the FBI's behaviour:

When Walter Stultz and Louis Miller, president and organizer of the Omaha General Drivers Union, Local 554, two of those charged, were arrested on September 23 and jailed, a \$10,000 bond was immediately secured from two local businessmen, who thus indicated their faith in the integrity and innocence of these unionists.

Bond was at first allowed and both men freed. Then Miller was re-jailed, and the court explained that the \$10,000 property bond was invalid because the property was not tenanted.

A second bond was secured. Miller was freed.

On October 17, Federal agents removed Stultz and Miller to Sioux City and again jailed them. Defense counsel immediately presented bond. But the Federal officials refused to free Stultz and Miller. This time they said there was "a technical error" in the bond. When defense counsel sought to discover what the error was, Federal officials refused point-blank to allow the bond at all, stating that a new bond had to be raised for the Omaha unionists in the Sioux City area.

Legal counsel have pointed out that the best bond is raised in the district where the defendants live and are known, and that courts have as a common practice allowed such bond.

Put Pressure on Bondsmen

Union officials and defense counsel then made an effort to raise the bond in Sioux City. It very quickly became evident that in the background enormous pressure was being exerted on local bondsmen by Federal men and employers to cause the bondsmen to refuse bond. One after another, the Sioux City bondsmen stated frankly that "the heat is too strong on us." When several bondsmen were finally found to make bond, their bonds were rudely rejected by Federal officials on one technicality or another.

5. The trade union committee from Omaha that went to Sioux City to raise bond for the two drivers' union officials were shadowed day and night while in Sioux City. At times their shadowers would speak with prospective bondsmen, with an official air, insisting it was not a good idea to go bond.

6. The secretary of the Omaha General Drivers' Union, then in Sioux City, finally offered a bonding company \$500 to get Stultz and Miller out of jail for three days in order to permit them to prepare their defense against the charges. The bonding company refused! Walter Stultz and Louis Miller, the Omaha union leaders, were kept in jail for eight days before being released. They were held on the flimsiest of technicalities, in what is an apparent effort to make it difficult for them to prepare their legal defense.

Trial Now On

Early in November, the trial of the eight union officials will begin before the Federal court in Sioux City. What the outcome will be, no one knows.

What we do know is that the Federal Bureau of Investigation (popularly known as the G-men) has played a startling role in this prosecution. Building on the basis of a minor charge by trucking

operators of the destruction of a bakery truck (a charge which has all the aspects of an act by agents provocateurs), FOR FIFTEEN MONTHS the G-men have painstakingly built up a case involving not only officials of the Sioux City Drivers' Union, but officials of drivers' unions in Des Moines, Iowa, and Omaha, Nebraska, as well.

Perhaps it would still be deemed unnecessary to call this case to the attention of the American labor movement were it not for the fact that the victims are leaders of a section of the organized labor movement that has had phenomenal success in the past year; and were it not for the further fact that in recent months the FBI has been used against organized labor in a number of cities; in Minneapolis in July, 1939, during the widely-publicized WPA strike; in Washington, D. C., just a few days ago against union officials; in Cleveland and many other cities, against building trades union officials in conjunction with the Department of Justice investigation of monopoly in the construction industry, etc.

FBI is Boss Weapon

Leading officials in the world of labor with increasing frequency have been calling attention to, and condemning, the increasing use of the FBI against the organized labor movement; and have expressed concern lest this might encourage a wide assault on organized labor by all anti-union forces. A few days ago in Washington, D.C., Joseph A. Padway, legal counsel for the American Federation of Labor, declared that the Department of Justice prosecution of the Teamsters' Union "is a desperate attempt to wreck labor unions and deny them the right to organize."

Referring specifically to the indictments returned against drivers' union officials in the nation's capital, Mr. Padway stated:

"If this indictment is to become law then no union is safe in picking any establishment in the District of Columbia, or any employer anywhere, if interstate commerce is involved." Padway asserted the indictments violated the principles of the Railway Labor Act and the National Labor Relations Act, and virtually "turn the clock back a century to the days when merely formation of a labor union was considered a conspiracy."

In the interests of the union movement of the United States, we submit the record of FBI operations against the drivers' movement in the Middle West, with the hope that trade unionists everywhere will give these facts serious thought; and with the further hope that even now the weight of public opinion will cause the FBI to withdraw from its present road, a road which is surely leading to the development on American soil of the same sort of anti-labor political police which is the instrument of the ferocious dictatorships in Europe and Asia.

SPECIAL!

The Labor Bookshop has on hand about 1500 copies of "America's Permanent Depression" by Art Preis. The pamphlets sell at 3 cents per copy. Offers for the lot or any part of the lot should be made immediately by any branch interested in the pamphlet. Write to the Labor Bookshop, 116 University Place.

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 revolutionary 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
IRVING PLAZA
IRVING PLACE at 15th St.
Wednesday November 15th
AT 8 P.M.
Aus.: Local N.Y. S.W.P.—4th Int'l. ADM.—25c

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Associate Editor: EMANUEL GARRETT
FELIX MORROW General Manager: MARTIN ABERN
Assistant Manager: SHERMAN STANLEY

FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY FOR:

1. A job & 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 week" maximum to all workers on all jobs.
5. Twenty dollar weekly old-age and disability pension.
6. Expropriate the Big Business.
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 units against vigilante and Fascist attacks.
12. Full social, political and economic equality for the Negro people.

Vote S. W. P.!

The Socialist Workers Party is running candidates in two cities of the east—New York and Newark, N. J.

Max Shachtman is the Party's Councilmanic candidate in the Bronx.

George L. Paine is the Party's Councilmanic candidate in Manhattan.

Alfred Lowenthal is the Party's Assembly candidate in Newark.

The main slogan of our Party in the elections may be summed up in one sentence: Cast your vote against the war and the war-mongers!

All the other parties are committed to the support of one or the other of the two imperialist camps now in conflict in Europe. The Socialist Workers Party is committed irrevocably to the support of the world-wide THIRD CAMP—the camp of the workers who have everything to lose in the war and nothing but poverty or coffins to gain.

Voting for the candidates of the SWP affords an opportunity of making a decisive demonstration against the war. Thousands of votes for the anti-war party in the elections will mean to the war-mongers that there are that many people who are supporting the most radical and determined opposition—a revolutionary opposition—to the war.

It is the war and the threat of full-fledged American involvement that are the main issues in the recent election. All other issues are subordinated to them, dependent upon them:

What can a housing program, so urgently needed, signify in the coming elections if a million coffins await the American dead in the war?

What can an improved transit system mean if millions are scheduled for a one-way ride to the battlefields?

What can democratic county reorganization mean if war breaks out and a military, totalitarian dictatorship is imposed upon the country? What will democratic rights mean if the generals rule and critics of war face prison walls or firing squads?

Demonstrate in the elections against the imperialist war! Vote for the candidates of the militant and uncompromising antiwar Party—the Socialist Workers Party! Vote for the international solidarity of the working class and toiling peoples against the warlords and assassins of the people!

Vote this way:

In the Bronx:	
1	MAX SHACHTMAN
In Manhattan:	
1	GEORGE L. PAINE (write in)
In Newark:	
X	ALFRED LOEWENTHAL

Mussolini: Democrat

The democratic press of the United States, England and France is jubilant over Mussolini's reorganization of his cabinet. It doesn't bother to conceal its delight over the report, on the

ground that the ousted Blackshirts were pro-German, whereas the newly-constituted cabinet will be increasingly friendly to France and England.

Which way Mussolini will jump, or even the question of whether he will enter the war in the near future, cannot be answered conclusively at this time. In all likelihood, this third-rate power with first-class pretensions, will repeat the performance it enacted in the first World War. It will wait, first, to see which of the two imperialist camps will promise it the greater amount of booty, and, second, to see which of the two camps is most likely to win the war.

Mussolini never was and is not now "pro-German" any more than he was or is "pro-English," and any attempt to judge his course by such designations is absurd. He was and is: pro-Italian. Like his contemporaries, he makes and re-makes his alliances in the interests of the Italian Empire, and if it suits him better at the moment to hook up with France and England, or with any other power, he will not hesitate to make the choice dictated not by his views on "democracy vs. fascism" but by his views on what serves the Italian ruling class.

What is interesting, however, is the reaction of our "democratic" war-mongers in London, Paris, and Washington.

Chamberlain is determined that "Hitlerism must go" because it wiped out Poland by brutal military methods. But as soon as there is the prospect of an imperialist alliance with Italy, he doesn't hesitate at the idea of recognizing Mussolini's conquest of Albania, which stands on the same level.

Chamberlain recently issued a White Paper expressing horror and indignation at the treatment of political prisoners under Hitler. That, you see, is supposed to justify the sacred and democratic war against Germany. But now that Mussolini is supposed to be flirting with an alliance with England, it can be said with absolute certainty that Chamberlain will issue no White or any other Paper dealing with the treatment of political prisoners under Italian Fascism.

As a matter of fact, the unashamed imperialists of England, France and the United States will—we freely predict this—jump to the front in defense of Mussolini the Democrat, if Italy is lined up in their war camp. At first it will probably be explained that Mussolini is not as bad as he is painted; in fact, that he is a much-misunderstood friend of the people.

Then it will be said that Mussolini is, at all events, not so much of an anti-Semite as Hitler is; in fact, he has rid himself of the real anti-Semites who were insidiously supported and influenced by Goebbels. Besides all this, the Italian people are very quaint, they like Mussolini in their own quaint way, and they like above all the way he keeps the trains running on schedule.

After all, in the last Great War to Make the World Safe for Democracy, the Czar of all the Russias and the autocratic Son of Heaven who ruled the destiny of Japan were in the forefront of the struggle.

If Nicholas Romanov the Bloody could be a champion of the Crusade for Democracy, why not Benito Mussolini?

Stalin's Prisoners

Joseph Baskin, secretary of the labor fraternal order in this country, the Workmen's Circle, has made public a report of the arrest and imprisonment of a number of prominent leaders of the Polish and Polish-Jewish labor and socialist movements. Most prominent among them, and perhaps better known to many in the American movement, are such men as Heinrich Ehrlich and Viktor Alter, the former especially well known in what was the "left wing" of the Second International.

What is particularly important about Baskin's report is that the socialist leaders were seized in Warsaw when the city fell to the Nazis and then turned over to the Stalinist authorities, who spirited away the prisoners to the Soviet Union.

While Baskin's report is thus far not officially confirmed, we do not hesitate to say that we are inclined to give it credence. In any case, it is now clearly up to the Stalinist authorities or their spokesmen either to confirm or to deny the report. Those who have no illusions about the assassin in the Kremlin know, however, that he is quite capable of so abominable an act as is reported by Baskin. The gang that did not hesitate to frame-up and murder the best representatives of the Bolshevik revolution, would surely not turn a hair at hounding anti-Stalinist socialists to prison, or to death, in cooperation with Hitler, Hitler's army and Hitler's Gestapo.

We have our political differences with the Polish and Polish-Jewish social democrats, and we have no reason either to conceal or minimize them. But that would not prevent us for a single moment from protesting most forcefully against the shameless procedure Stalin is now charged — by Joseph Baskin — rightly, in all probability — with having followed.

It would be entirely in character for the Kremlin butcher-turnkey to work hand in glove with reaction in the arrest and imprisonment of any labor leader who commits the crime of refusing to bow to the Soviet despots.

CHARITY—SWEET CHARITY

The WPA-Slashers Open a Pious Drive to Let the Masses "Give"

Another terrible winter is descending on the unemployed. Another season of cold unheated homes, of inadequate clothing, slow starvation and dull hopeless misery. This winter will bring the unemployed more suffering than the years gone by. Relief budgets have been brutally slashed. Tens of thousands have been fired from the WPA. Weakened by years of semi-starvation they are all the more susceptible to the ravages of disease. The war boom together with the seasonal pick up have only absorbed an insignificant number of workers.

Against this background the yearly Community Fund campaign has been launched once more in every city of the United States. From all sides direct and indirect pressure is being applied to wring every possible dollar from the workers.

Pious Appeal
First came the indorsement of this campaign by men prominent in the public eye. No less a personage than the President who recently discharged tens of thousands from the WPA has made a heart-rending plea on behalf of the needy. He was followed by all sorts of pious business men, high-minded clubwomen, sanctimonious sky-pilots, and professional humanitarians. Forgetting political differences they have issued a unanimous appeal: "Give! Give until it hurts!"

"Even if your earnings are meager give in order to help your more unfortunate neighbor." "Give for the sacred cause of Charity—Sweet Charity."

After this general appeal will come all forms of mass propaganda. Thousands of posters and circulars will shout "Give." The radio, the press, the pulpit, the screen will all shriek "Give, Give."

Then, the actual collection of funds will begin. Altruistic business men who have stopped at nothing to fight their workers' demands for higher wages will make contributions and will have their pictures printed in the newspapers. These same newspapers will uphold them as shining examples of the pure spirit of charity.

Shaking-Down the Masses
Finally will come the real squeeze. Every worker will be approached in his shop or factory. While the worker will be told that his contribution is a voluntary one, he will be impressed with the idea that he had better give—or else.

Thus millions of dollars will be squeezed out of the workers. It will come out of the pockets of workers whose wages are not always sufficient to provide for the bare necessities of life. And then this money will be doled out to "deserving" families.

Vicious Scheme
The workers must not allow

themselves to be fooled by the hypocritical phrases of the charity agencies. They must struggle against the compulsory contributions to the Community Fund. They must do this not because they are indifferent to the suffering of the unemployed, but because the Community Fund is just another vicious scheme to shift the burden of supporting the unemployed on to the backs of the employed workers.

The workers are not responsible for unemployment. It is capitalism which creates unemployment and its terrible consequences. It is the capitalists therefore who must be made to provide for the unemployed out of their swollen profits.

The money spent by the Community Fund will be like a drop in the bucket so far as the needs of the unemployed are concerned. The unemployed must organize and struggle for decent relief standards—for the turning over of all the war funds to the unemployed—for jobs on a huge public works program at union wages. The workers don't want charity. They want jobs and a decent living!

VOTE FOR MAX SHACHTMAN AND GEORGE L. PAINE ON TUESDAY

(Continued from Page 1)
plate their efforts at hurling the American workers into it."

Meanwhile, plans are going ahead on all fronts of the election campaign.

Friday, Nov. 4, candidate Shachtman will address a big campaign rally at Herman Ridgely Junior High School, Boston Road and 173rd Street.

Saturday evening, at the corner of Tremont and Prospect Avenues, scene of many of the most successful election rallies, candidate Shachtman, George Clarke, Steve Parker and others will address a mass meeting which will be the culmination of a torchlight parade.

Monday evening, Nov. 6, the night before the polls open, Shachtman will speak at a mass rally on Walton Avenue and 170 Street.

Loud speakers are being engaged for the Saturday and Monday mass rallies.

Watchers Needed

Charles Rubinstein and Salvatore Ninfo, candidates of the American Labor Party in the Bronx, established contact with comrade Shachtman in order to petition jointly the Board of Elections for permission to have watchers at the polls. Under the New York election law, it is necessary for three candidates to submit a joint petition requesting watchers, and the petition of the three candidates is now before the Board of Elections.

Max Burt and George Clarke, who are in charge of the campaign headquarters in the Bronx, appealed today for members and sympathizers of the Socialist Workers Party to be in attendance at the campaign office, 1334 Wilkins Avenue, all day Tuesday.

How to Vote

The Campaign Committee again reminded all workers in Manhattan on the methods governing the write-in vote for candidate Paine. 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 (other) candidates and put a number in the square opposite to show which choice you wish to give him."

Final arrangements for the distribution of election literature showed that 150,000 leaflets are being printed instructing workers on how to vote for Shachtman in the Bronx. The leaflets will be ready for distribution near the polls all day Tuesday.

First Choice
Dwight Macdonald, Secretary of the Campaign Committee, reminded workers today that all votes for Shachtman should be a first choice vote, bearing the numeral one (1) opposite his name on the ballot. Second and third choices, Macdonald stated, should be cast for the official candidates of the American Labor Party, Rubinstein and Ninfo in the Bronx.

The Campaign Committee also cautioned workers to write in the name of candidate Paine clearly and legibly. The official name to be written in, the Campaign Committee stated, is George L. Paine, which is the way his name appears on the nominating petitions.

UNSER WORT

The new issue of UNSER WORT, containing articles on the war situation will appear shortly. Order it from Dale Edwards P. O. Box No. 173, Sta. D, New York, N. Y. (12 copies 60 c.)

NOTE

The article on the situation in National Maritime Union, which was to have been continued in this issue, has been held over for the next issue.

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 the 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.

IN THIS CORNER

By Max Shachtman

The recent invasion of Poland has been contrasted in these pages with the situation that prevailed during the Russo-Polish war in 1920. At that time, the Red Army, exhausted and ill-equipped as it was, not only succeeded in repulsing the invading Pilsudski forces (backed by Western imperialism), but pursued them on Polish soil. With the Red Army marched the Revolutionary Polish Committee. Supporting it was the revolutionary vanguard of the Polish workers and peasants. Militants everywhere, unconcerned then as they are now with the frontiers arbitrarily established by imperialism, looked hopefully for the triumph of the Red Army and the extension of the socialist revolution throughout Poland.

The Russian masses, armed and unarmed, were giving a living demonstration of the vitality of international solidarity, of their overwhelming concern with the world socialist revolution. If the march on Warsaw did not succeed then, it was only because Lenin misjudged the revolutionary maturity of the Polish masses and overrated the Red Army's powers of endurance after years of difficult fighting. Lenin and the Bolsheviks were, however, animated exclusively by internationalist and socialist considerations.

Stalin? His clique is animated, at home and abroad, exclusively by what it believes will preserve the precarious rule of the anti-Soviet bureaucracy. Our press has made that clear for years. But there is undoubtedly more than this involved. Stalin and his bureaucracy are filled with Messianic delusions. The "Great Russian" attitude of Stalin was observed and condemned by Lenin as far back as 1921 and 1922. In recent years, Soviet life has been poisoned by Stalin with the glorification of the old Czars and their retainers, with eulogies to Peter the Great and other autocrats of the old regime. Stalin is depicted as his great heir and the executor of his ambitions. We may be sure that Stalin has devoted more than one spare hour to a study of the old Czars, their methods and their aspirations, and has increasingly identified himself with them in his mind. What they aimed to accomplish by cunning and brutality, can he not accomplish with his even greater cunning and brutality?

From the Archives of Marxism

In that connection, the by no means dusty documents of Marxism offer an interesting sidelight on the recent events.

"So well had this game succeeded," reads one of these documents, "and so long had it been played, that, when Poland at last was annihilated, there was no outcry at all in Europe, and, indeed, people were astonished at this only, that Russia should have the generosity of giving such a large slice of the territory to Austria and Prussia."

"The way in which this partition was brought about, is particularly interesting. There was, at that time, already an enlightened 'public opinion' in Europe. Although the [London] Times newspaper had not yet begun to manufacture that article, there was that kind of public opinion which had been created by the immense influence of Diderot, Voltaire, Rousseau and the other French writers of the eighteenth century. Russia always knew that it is important to have public opinion on one's side, if possible, and Russia took care to have it, too. The court of Catherine II was made the headquarters of the enlightened men of the day, especially Frenchmen; the most enlightened principles were professed by the Empress and her Court, and so well did she succeed in deceiving them that Voltaire and many others sang the praise of the 'Semiramis of the North,' and proclaimed Russia the most progressive country in the world, the home of liberal principles, the champion of religious toleration."

"Religious toleration—that was the word wanted to put down Poland. Poland had always been extremely liberal in religious matters; witness the asylum Jews found there while they were persecuted in all other parts of Europe. The greater portion of the people in the Eastern provinces belonged to the Greek faith, while the Poles proper were Roman Catholics. A considerable portion of these Greek Catholics had been induced, during the sixteenth century, to acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope, and were called United Greeks; but a great many continued true to their old Greek religion in all respects. They were principally the serfs, their noble masters being almost all Roman Catholics, they were Little Russians [Ukrainians] by nationality. Now, this Russian Government, which did not tolerate at home any other religion but the Greek, and punished apostasy as a crime; which was conquering foreign nations and annexing foreign provinces right and left; and which was at that time engaged in riveting still firmer the fetters of the Russian serf—this same Russian Government came soon upon Poland in the name of religious toleration, because Poland was said to oppress the Greek Catholics; in the name of the principle of nationalities, because the inhabitants of these Eastern provinces were Little Russians, and ought, therefore, to be annexed to Great Russia; and in the name of the right of revolution arming the serfs against their masters. Russia is not at all scrupulous in the selection of her means. Talk about a war of class against class as something extremely revolutionary;—why, Russia set such a war on foot in Poland nearly 100 years ago, and a fine specimen of a class-war it was, when Russian soldiers and Little Russian serfs went in company to burn down the castles of Polish lords, merely to prepare Russian annexation, which being once accomplished the same Russian soldiers put the serfs back again under the yoke of their lords."

An Interesting Parallel

"All this was done in the cause of religious toleration, because the principle of nationalities was not then fashionable in Western Europe. But it was held up before the eyes of the Little Russian peasants at the time, and has played an important part since in Polish affairs. The first and foremost ambition of Russia is the union of all Russian tribes under the Czar who calls himself the Autocrat of all Russias (Samoderzhets vsersossiski), and among these she includes White and Little Russia. And in order to prove that her ambition went no further, she took very good care, during the three partitions, to annex none but White and Little Russian provinces; leaving the country inhabited by Poles, and even a portion of Little Russia (Easter Galicia) to her accomplices. . . ."

Thus Frederic Engels, in "The Doctrine of Nationality Applied to Poland," the third of a series of articles he wrote on Poland in the British periodical, The Commonwealth, on Saturday, May 5, 1866.

Although the Stalin regime is not the feudal-military regime of Peter or Catherine or any of the other Czarist autocrats, and the situations are different in more than one other respect (the attitude of Beck's Poland towards the Jews is but one example!), the parallel in other respects is not uninteresting.