The Future Is Not A Gloomy One---For the Bosses!

V EDITORIAL

You have no job? Do you live in a dump?

Are your clothes falling apart?

Are you heading for death in the trenches?

Don't worry. Conditions aren't as bad as you think.

General Motors has been doing fine. The N.Y. Times of Oct. 28 reports of General Motors profits are headlined : "Third-Quarter Net Profit Equal to 15 Cents a Share,

Against 7 cents in Period in 1938." That's an increase of more than 100% in one year.

Not bad, eh? And it's going to get better. "Sloan Sees War a Factor," says another headline. The more war, the more profits.

"For the nine months ended on Sept. 30, the corporation earned \$109,619,799 or \$2.93 a share for the common stock. against \$38,387,707 or 73 cents a share in the 1938 period and that in view of the fact that "third-quarter results are norntally small because of the change-over in car models."

The same issue of the Times shows that General Motors is not alone. "Profit Increase of 55% In Year Is Shown In Quarterly Reports of 220 Companies."

"The heavy industries," continues the Times, "made the most notable improvements. The rise in steel earnings was tremendous.'

Last year, 23 steel companies reported a deficit of \$4,372,-000.

This year, the same companies report a profit of \$15,732,-000.

Last year, 4 aircraft companies reported a profit of \$2,425, 00).

This year, they report a profit of \$5,854,000.

And the prospects are getting better every day!

The bigger the war, the bigger the profits.

The more men they can get killed, the bigger the rake-in.

The more steel used in the war, the bigger the profits. The more bombers, and bombs, the bigger the dividends.

The Merchants of Death are looking forward to a great

season. The blood and bones of the war dead will fertilize the soil until it blooms with profit, and more profit and still more profit.

Let labor, which has nothing to gain by the imperialist war and everything to lose, demand the Expropriation of the Death-profiteers, the munitions-makers, the bomb and bomber five out-of-state farmers, a filling appeal the convictions registered makers!

Demand the Expropriation of the Sixty Families, the rulers of America, the war-mongers!

Behind the Lines

By GEORGE STERN

IWENTY-FIVE MINNEAPOLIS W.P.A. STRIKERS GO ON TRIAL **BEFORE HAND-PICKED JURY**

Trial Is Third of Series in Which the War Deal Government Seeks to Railroad 150 Workers to Jail for Striking

(special to the Socialist Append) MINNEAPOLIS, Nov. 3-Twenty-five workers who partici-Under the 75 prospective jurors. Judge Handicaps Defense

pated in the nationwide WPA The uefense attorneys had only strike last summer went on trial ten challenges and quickly exhere Monday morning in the third pended them on the most obvious of the series in which the Fed- labor-haters in the panel. Then eral government is attempting to the government had a field day railroad to jail a total of 150 picking the jury.

workers indicted, with still other Judge Joyce, who also presided ndiciments pending. in the two previous trials, began The specific incident for which by rejecting one after another, they are being tried was the one, three motions of the defense: to at the WPA sewing project, permit a delay of 72 hours in orwhere police fired on the picket der that the defense might invesline, kill ng a relief worker and tigate the 75 talesmen; to limit wounding a score of others. The the number of defendants to 10 killers are the accusers and wit- nstead of 25; to permit the de-

der capitalism. Hand-Pic':ed Jury

nates.

VOL. III, NO. 86

The jary of eleven men and one Meanwhile the AFL_WPA Dewoman, picked from the entire fense Committee, set up by the Federal district, is made up of Central Labor Union, moved to station owner, an accountant, a against eight workers in the first road grader operator, a non-un_ two trials.

on carpenter, a salesman, and a garage owner. The lone woman is housewife. Another farmer and retail merchant serve as alter-

The jury panel, it was brought out in the courtroom by defense attorneys, was drawn from the CRIPPLES following sources: 22 of the 75 names were submitied by county CUINDINC

GOOD SHOWING AT POLLS SEEN FOR S.W.P. CANDIDATES

Socialist Appeal

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

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 10, 1939

STALIN'S FAKE 'LEFT TURN' MASKS

REACTIONARY FOREIGN POLICY

NEW YORK, Nov. 7-Workers throughout the city voted today in elections to the City Council.

Since this issue of the Socialist Appeal will appear too late to carry the returns on the vote for Max Shachtman and George L. Paine, candidates of the Socialist Workers Party for the Bronx and Manhattan, complete returns will be carried in Saturday's paper. Meanwhile, on the eve of the balloting, Max Shachtman reiterated his confidence in an

encouraging vote in the "I am confident that our anti-war program, which has been widely made known during the course of this campaign, will

mass rallies at which the S.-

were held throughout the week in the Yorkville section of Manhattan, where Sarah Rice, former leading member of the



Radical Coating of New

Comintern Line Serves

Alliance with Hitler

167

The Communist International openly and officially completed this week its transition from the "democratic" war camp to the Hitler-Stalin war camp.

Three documents sketch the "ideology" of the new line: a lengthy article by Dimitrov, manifesto of the Comintern and-applying these to America - a speech by Browder Daily Worker, Nov. 4-6). Every class conscious worker should study these documents, in order to understand to the full the latest infamy of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

The Stalinists made the transition from the "popular front" to the camp of Hitler oin three jumps: SPEAKS FOR STALIN

1. Aug. 23-Sept. 17-Violent denials from the Stalinists that the H.t'er-Sta'in alliance would in any way change the popular front line. The British and French Stalinist parties issued declarations supporting their imperialist governments in the war against Hitler.

WORKERS OF THE

WORLD UNITE!

THREE (3) CENTS

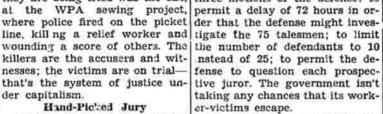
Here are some typical items from the Stalinist press of those weeks. "Maurice Thorez, general secretary of the great French party, has presented himself for military service with the army of France . . . Thorez offers his life to defend the national security of France." The Communist party of England vigorously proclaimed that it continues to work more actively thanover to help win the war against fascist aggression." In America the Stalinists demanded "repeal of the false 'Neutrality Act' which now stands exposed as being the opposite of a 'true neutrality.' It is obviously not in America's interest, not in the interest of true neutrality, that America shut off its trade with Poland, England, France, Canada, and Australia." On Sept. 4 the American C.P. issued the following "slogans of action":

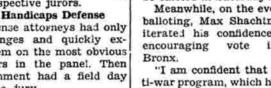
"Full moral, diplomatic and economic help for the Polish people and those who help Poland defend its national independence.

"Embargo Japan and Germany for the defeat of fascist aggression and for establishing a democratic peace." (Daily Worker, Sept." 4-7)

Stalinists Used Same Trick in 1935

Unimpressed by all these violent assertions along the old popul





be endorsed by many workers. The vote which we receive will be a source of great satis_ faction to us," he stated, adding that "it will serve us with a measure for our next step in the fight against the war." The election campaign for Shachtman wound up Monday night with a series of three

W.P. candidate was the principal speaker. Accompanied by a loud speaker and a number of cars filled with comrades waving bright red flares, Shachtman toured the chief working class areas of the Bronx, addressing large rallies at Townsend Avenue and 170 Street, Prospect Avenue and 161 Street and Simpson and 163 Streets. Rallies for George L. Paine

transformed Russia 22 years ago, the consciousness of every Amer- were submitted by probate court victory of the world workers' rev- ican worker:

olution seemed near. As the Bol- The Russian revolution showed submitted by the labor-hating sheviks saw it, their conquest of the way out of a world of war Minneapolis Junior Chamber of power advanced them only to the and poverty. It was checked and Commerce; two were suggested first ramparts of the citadel of tur.ed off the load because it was by the postmaster at Albert Lea; capitalist reaction. They opened left isolated in a host le boss_ fifteen came from rural telephone the first gates to a new future, r. led world to cope with the gi- directories. Needless to say, there

the glimpse of which dazz'ei gantic prollen of reconstructing masses all over the world, sick- one of the largest and one of the ended by the years of slaughter most backward countries in the and suffering to which their rul- world.

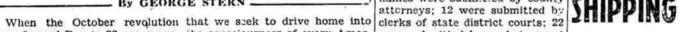
BRITISH IMPOSE It was the enormity and imers subjected them. But the revalition fell short of possibility of this task that crethe greater victories that were ated the premises for the mon-

ONE-MAN RULE need.d. Above all, in Germany, strous regime built up around the workers held the power in Stalin. their grasp. Had they retained it. But that does not mean, Amer-

their grasp. Had they retained it. But that does not mean, Amer-the tides of history would have ican workers, that we must fail ON INDIANS washed quite other shores. But for the cagy propaganda of our the Social Democrats became bosses that Russia proves the stewards for the capitalists and falsehood of the Communist proto them the power was finally re- gram! No, Russia proves its turned. In one country after an- truth, for the Communist proother the masses rose and were gram holds that Socialism must beaten back. The revolutionary be erected on a word scale to wave receded and left Russia an flour.sh. It cannot survive in one isolated rock in the Llack sea of corner of the earth's surface, evrerid reaction. en so large a corner as Russia. This was the circumstance that Stalinism was created out of world reaction.

gave rise to Stalin and the ruling the backwardness and isolation of bureaucracy he symbolizes and Russia. But the American revolurepresents. Stalin has ruled rev- tion will start from the advanced being placed under one of the the N.M.U. it is now clear that olutionary Russia for 15 of these positions of the most highly-in crudest one-man dictatorships ev-22 years. He and his minions have dustrialized country in the world, er known in history. grotesquely mangled the form of a country that holds in its grasp the workers' power but have not real world leadership. But who ignation of 6 out of the 8 minis- all seamen, both N.M.U. and altered the substance. They re- will wield it? If we let that lead. tries that were organized by the SIU, and any attempt to sail main the usurpers of the power ership be assumed by Wall Streat Indian Nationalist Congress, the the struck vessels will meet with created by the Russian workers & Co., it will mean more wars, Viceroy of India has announced active opposition from the seain their great revolution. In the more destruction, fies. crises, that henceforth Article 92 of the men. upheavals to come they shall be and the estatlishment of Fascism Government of India Act is in swept away along with all the in this land and everywhere. But effect. other instruments of reaction if we grasp it ourselves we will that hold the masses of the world break across all war fronts with

in chains. sary of the greatest historical to this struggle that we salute event of our century. It is this this anniversary.



judges; one was taken from a list Sympathy for Strik-Longshoremen Seen Among all Seamen

> The strike of 10,000 longshore men continues to cripple all New York harbor coastwise shipping No attempts have been made to load cargo or run scabs through the picket lines, so that the unon has not found it necessary to guard the docks with more than ndividual watchers. Operators have threatened to

divert cargoes from coastwise ships to rail and freight transportation. Thus far this remains Constitution Suspendmerely a threat. Sympathy, how-

ever, for the striking dockers could be easily aroused among railroaders and teamsters once the call is made, according to current reports.

Wh.le Joe Ryan, president of The 375,000,000 people of Bri- the longshoremen, has turned

pathy for the cause of the strik-Folowing closely upon the res- ing longshoremen exists among

ed—Masses Ripe for

Revolutionary Action

Considerable concern was expressed among longshoremen and similar buncombe, they have here that coastwise shipping agreed to rehire some 70 odd men Suspend Constitution

Under the provisions of this might be diverted to other At- of the original 105 discharged on a new revolutionary October article the British appointed antic ports. Thus far no orders the alleged charges indicated It is firmly with that confidence which this time will not be Viceroy of India, and the Vice have been sent out from the In- above. The union has refused to that we celebrate this anniver- henmed in. It is looking forward roy-appointed Governor Generals ternational office instructing oth- trade the jobs of any of the worker locals to tie up ships working ers fired. They are remaining firm (Continued on Page 2) on the demand that all of those on coastwise traffic.

Communist Party and present organizer of the Yorkville Branch of the S.W.P., reports The next issue of the Socialist Appeal will be devoted to the that the response to the anti-22nd Anniversary of the Russian war candidacy of Paine was Revolution. warmly received.

CHRYSLER OFFICIALS STALL ON DEMANDS OF AUTO WORKERS

Workers Ready for Action-Militancy Is **Only Guarantee of Good Settlement**

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MOLOFOFF

NOTE

(Special to the Somalist Appeal) fired be returned to their jobs. DETROIT, Nov. 7 - Chrysler | The mora'e of the workers is workers remain locked out of high and this will undoubtedly be their plants while corporation of - expressed in any attempt the ficials are stalling and hedging on corporation makes to operate the the just demands of the auto plants on the old conditions. workers union. What is proceeding in the nego-Sufficient concessions have al- tiations is not completely a mat-

ready been made by the corpora_ ter of public record and it is diftion to prove the justified basis ficult to say what progress has of the workers' grievances. The been made,

main demands for a union shop

the conference table. No Trading Despite the loud-voiced pub-

licity of the Corporation about slow-down strikes, "sovietization"

> Join the Socialist Workers Party

workers' militancy.

lar front line, we predicted in the Socialist Appeal at the time that all this eyewash would soon be discarded in favor of a line support ing Hitler's war program.

For we had seen this same phenomenon before. In May, 1935 the Stalin-Laval communique sealing the Franco-Soviet pact had been issued; the Stalinists hotly denied that it would change their attiude toward the French bourgeoisie, and as late as the Seventh. Comintern Congress that Fall, Dimitrov was swearing that the French Communists would continue to vote against the military budget of the French government. Two months later, of course, the French Stalinists were voting for the military budget, for military loans to reactionary Poland, etc.

As in 1935, so in the recent months, the continuance of the popular front line for a little while after the Hitler-Stalin pact was a deliberate device to keep the duped members of the Stalinist parties on their old course until they could be presumably prepared to! swing to the new course.

2. Sept. 18-Oct. 31-The second stage of the transition. Support of the democracies was dropped, and with it all the previous slogans. The British, French and Canadian parties withdrew their previous pro-war man festoes, Thorez deserted the French army, the American party withdrew its support of Roosevelt's revision of neutrality legislation, the atroc.ty pict res of the effects of German bombings disappeared from the Stalinist press, etc. A "Declarar tion" by the Stalinists declared:

"The outbreak of the Second Imperialist War, which for years has been developing as a one-sided war, fundamentally changes the situation hitherto existing. All issues and alignments are being re_examined and re-evaluated in the light of these changes. The previous alignment into democratic and fascist camps loses its former meaning." (Daily Worker, Sept. 19).

A dangerous omen for the out- Violating All that Lenin Taught

How the character of the war could change upon its actual outstandards are still the object of announcement that union offi- break and become different from that of the war which had been haggling by the corporation over cials may bring Lewis and Mur- preparing for years-this strange transmutation the Stalinists did ray in from Washington to take not and could not explain. This "theory"-if one could dignify this

over the negct ations. Previous scoundrelly alibi as a theory-was of course in direct violation of participation of these heads of Marxist principles. "War is the continuation of politics by other the heads of the CIO in the strike (i.e., forcible) means"-this was the fundamental tenet of Leninist at General Motors resulted in a analysis of war. Imperialist countries could not but prepare for imsettlement far inferior to what perialist war. But the Stalinists had been halling it as a "democratic could have been gained by the war against fascism." The.r "theory" of transmutation had to ce

invented for the occasion to justify the flip-flop. In this period all the belligerents were characterized as "equally guilty for this war." That formula lasted just six weeks, until the present documents provided the complete, finished line.

3. The line as now completed is an exact replica of the line as (Continued on Page 3)

MASS MEETING! ON THE 22nd ANNIVERSARY **OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION** Whither Soviet Russia? James P. Cannon Hear the Answer by The Meaning of Stalin's Role in the European War National Secretary, S.IV.P. Wednesday Evening, November 15th, 1 9 3 9 IRVING PLAZA, IRVING PLACE at 15th Street Socialist Workers Party-4th Int'l.

Admission: 25c

A New Anti-War Pamphlet _____ Labor and the Second World War -By J. R. Johnson

The Achievements of Soviet Russia

"But," says the doubter, "capitalism is bankrupt. We agree. Chamberlain is not fighting for 'democracy.' Neither is Roosevelt preparing to fight for 'democracy.' Any fool can see that. But what can we do? Socialism, you say. But look at Russia!"

v

Many ask this question with genuine concern. They must follow their own advice and look carefully at Russia.

Russian in 1913 was the most backward of the great European states. By 1920, owing to the imperialist war and the war of intervention that followed, production had dec ined by 82%. Such was the country that the Bolsheviks took over, with every imperialist government plotting their downfall.

This is the record to date.

In 1913 Tsarist Russia produced 4.2 million tons of steel; in 1937 Soviet Russia produced 17.7 million tons. In 1913 Tsarist Russia produced 4.2 mil ion tons of pig iron; in 1937 Soviet Russia produced 14.5 million tons. In 1913 Tsarist Russia produced 29 mil ion tons of coal; in 1937 Soviet Russia produced 127 million. In 1910 Tsarist Russia produced 63 millions of barrels of crude petroleum; in 1937 Soviet Russia produced 199 millions. Grain production, 801 million centners in 1913, was 1202 millions in 1937. No such economic progress has ever been seen under the capitalist system.

Capitalist Bankruptcy

And while the new system has been piling up these achievements, what have the imperialists to show? Crisis after crisis, stagnation and rottenness. With 1929 as 100, industrial output in Great Britain was 98.8 in 1934 and 112 in 1938. We have seen its catastrophic rise and fall in the United States. In Soviet Russia it was 238.3 in 1934 and 477 in 1938. We need not take Stalin's figures as Gospel; in lies and exaggerations he overtakes and surpasses his imperialist rivals. But the fact remains, admitted by the Litterest enemies of the Soviet Union, that in contrast to the worldwide crisis of capitalism since 1929, the public ownership of the means of production and the planned economy of the Soviet Union have startled the world by their rapid and long-sustained progress. Some detractors say that it is because the country was backward to begin with. Malice and stupidity here contend for mastery. Spain was backward in 1913. So was China, and India. And what have they to show for their twenty-five years' worship of the capitalist system?

As in the material, so necessarily in the cultural sphere. More of education and facilities for culture have been provided proportionately for the Russian people in twenty years than in India during the last two hundred and twengovernment, in its labor legislation, its social code, its po'itical honesty, its enlightened encouragement of the arts and sciences, gave a glimpse to humanity of the great future that awaits it when imperialist barbarism is overthrown.

Why Then the Terror?

But if these things are true, as they are, why then does Russia today present the dreadful spectacle of political and so.ial tyranny and growing economic chaos, which create doubts in the minds of many who see capita'ism for the rottenness that it is? The reason is to be sought, as always, in the productive system, but here not in its basic nature but in its special circumstances.

Russia started too far behind; despite its provress it is still a poverty-stricken country. Where Soviet Russia produces annually 16 meters of cotton fabrics per person of the population, the United States produces 58 and Great Britain 60. Where Soviet Russia produces one pair of shoes per person, the United States produces 2.6 and Britain 2.2. The amount of paper produced in a country is an index of its culture. Where Soviet Russia produces 5 ki'ograms of paper per person, the United States produces 48 and Britain 42. The output of steel per head in Great Britain was 226 kilograms in 1938; in Soviet Russia it was only 107.

And so on. Russia is still a backward country. In twenty short years even Soviet progress could not lift the actual production per person of Soviet Russia to anywhere near that of the great capitalist countries, bankrupt though they are. Soviet Russia is still a country of great starcity of the necessities of life ,and as long as this is so, so ialism must remain only an aspiration.

Socialism demands above all things abundance of production. It is the fierce competition for the means of living that now disfigures our society, divides it into classes, breeds economic exploitation and political tyranny. That abundance of production is possible in America to-day. The official statisticians of New York City have shown that even under capitalism every American family by working four hours a day could enjoy an annual income of \$4000. It is capitalism and its system of private ownership which prevent this prosperity. But backward Russia, even with its economy socialized, cannot yet give a tenth of this sum to each family. And on the basis of this poverty and backwardness, on this necessity of the great masses to labor under miserable conditions, there has arisen the bureaucracy.

"Every Cook Must Learn to Govern"

Where all cannot have a free and full existence and all possibility of development, some must be better educated, better fed, better clothed, better housed than the rest, in order to be able to carry on the administration of govern-

modern kitchens and draw secure and comfortable wages. Under such conditions, any tyrannical or offensive bureaucrat can be immediately thrown out of office: there would be hundreds to take his place. But in Russia the cook works at a wage lower than the relief rate in this country. Vastly improved as Soviet education is, it cannot yet educate the who'e population. It can barely teach the great masses to read, and it has to reserve a thorough training for the privileged few with the more difficult work to do.

Socialism in One Country Impossible

In a backward country like Russia, iso'ated from the rest of Europe, a bureaucracy living above the level of the masses was inevitable. First the bureaucrats assumed only those privileges and special consi erations necessary for their work. But gradually, as production increased, they took advantage of their authoritative position in society to increase their share. They suppressed those who opposed their usurpation. After Lenin's death, Trotsky and his supporters, who opposed the bureaucracy, were iso'ated by slander and violence and ultimately driven into exile, imprisoned, or killed. The bureaucrats, in defiance of common sense, announced that they would build socialism in a single country, by which they meant that they were quite satisfied with their own position. But the Russian masses were not. This socialism began to look too much like the o'd capitalism. They had not made the revolution for t is. Sta in and the bureaucrats replied to their cissatisfaction with a redoubled terror.

Were Lenin and Trotsky blind to the possili ity of such a degeneration? Certainly not. Long before the revolution actually took place, they warned that socialism could never be built in a backward Russia surrounded by hosti'e capitalist states. Russia could build socia ism only in collaboration with the advanced economy and victorious proletariat of some at least of the more hi hly developed countries. They saw that either capitalist economy would be transformed by the workers' revolution into international socialism, or Russia would be dragged back to capitalism. Only the workers, in alliance with the farmers and the millions of colonia's, could destroy the rotting but still powerfuimperialist system. Lenin and Tro.sky organized the Communist International to assist the workers of the world in the struggle against imperialist war and capitalist reaction. They knew that sooner or later the workers would face the alternative, victory over capitalism or the destruction of their organizations and the descent into war. For Bolsheviks then and for Trotsky to-day the world revolution was and is the only ultimate safeguard of Russia against internal degeneration (on the basis of a backward economy) or external destruction, by the implacable enmity of world imperialism. And this enmity remains, however much this or the other imperialism might for a moment see c an alliance

WORKERS' FORUM

WANTS TO SEE A DAILY APPEAL Dear Editor:

IN ANSWER TO A COMRADE

The Socialist Appeal can be In the Workers Forum last week, G.L. writes from Detroit criticized for a lot of things. And that it's hard for him to sell the I have a number of criticisms to Socialist Appeal when it carries make. But I want to speak out news like the Shachtman election in praise first. First, I want to campaign, the struggle for Irish say that B.J. Widick's column, and Indian freedom, the ALP, 'In the Trade Unions", is an excellent feature. Workers looking

G.L. writes that when he can- for the inside stuff on trade unasses with the Appeal, it's hard ions are sure to get it in that for him to sell it with such news co.umn. Secondly, George Stern's tems

column, "Behind the Lines", is cv-I think G.L. is wrong. The cry bit as good and from a workgreat thing that has to be im er's point of view a thousand pressed on the workers when one times better than anything that canvasses with the Socialist Ap- appears in the capitalist press. peal is that not only is it a work- The info one gets out of it rates ers' paper but that it has enough a lot higher than the stuff pedvariety in it to round out the pic- dled by Dorothy Thompson, Walture of the class struggle. ter Lippman, Arthur Krock and The big part of canvassing is all the other fancy "writers."

not so much to sell the paper at For just four pages put out one clip, but to give a good im- twice a week, the Soc.a.ist Append pression of it and the party that has the edge on plenty of our publishes it. That takes a lot of heavily backed metropolitan explaining. The more explaining dailies. Let's go forward to a real that is done gives one a chance workers Daily Socialist Appeal. ED ROBERTS to really get cose to a worker.

WAR;

and gain his confidence for fur-ther visits and talks. I think these FIGHT AGAINST THE are the big things to remember.



GIG CIFIES Local Akron, likewise, is put-FALL BEHIND ting on a campaign for new sub-The major cities have not done scriptions, and Comrade Carlyle any too well in the past days in is confident of obtaining soveral he matter of subscriptions, a to- new and renewal subscriptions in tal of 25 new subscriptions and 7 the next month. enewals being the count as fol-

Ro_ New newal New York City ... 4 2 Lynn 4 3.0 Chicago 4 1 Minneapolis 2 Evansvile 3 1. 1 Quakertown 2 St. Louis Cleveland 1 St. Paul 1 •• Boston 1 ... Akron 2 ... oLs Angeles 1 Connecticut 1 Pennsylvania 1

The Philadelphia organization inder the direction of its new Literature Agent, Lois Lowe'l, assisted by Sol Thomas, is making creased circulation determined efforts to put the circulation of the Press on a more substantial foundation and has Socialist Appeal more systemalso taken measures to liquidate atically, but a sharp lag continues more swiftly its debts.

The St. Louis organization, Everett W., Agent, functions very systematically in the circulation of its Press, and among other things has evolved a method

whereby all working members are automalically enrolled as subscribers both to the Socialist Ap_ peel and The New International and payments are made through the Bran h Financial Secretary.

DISTRIBUTION OF

PAPER IMPROVED

St. Lou.s is a model, also, alongside of Lynn, Mass., in prompt payment of its accounts, and this is reflected in their systematic distribution of the pa-

Joe Roberts, Toledo, and the comrades there are hopeful of in-

By and large all the cities are now distributing and selling the in subscriptions.

A new order for 10 Socialist Several locals lately have en-

ty. These achievements are history, indelibly inscribed, and there are others that are today in danger of being forgotten. In the early years under Lenin and Trotsky, the Soviet ment and industry. Lenin said that every cook must learn to govern. But that can be only in a socialist society, where cooks work only a few hours a day in highly organized

with the Soviet Union and even for a time fight side by side with it.

(Continued in Next Issue)

Appeals has been placed by a tered legitimate grievances be newly organized branch in Cleve- cause of the failure of the Socialland ist Appeal to arrive on schedule.

Local Chicago has placed or- Apologies and an explanation are ders for additional copies of the herewith given. There have been Socialist Appeal and The New In- technical difficulties at the printternational, in order to have suf- er's which have caused unavoidficient to cover their needs for the able delay in publication. It is Russian Revolution Anniversary hoped these can be overcome meetings, etc. soon.



ON INDIANS

a reactionary communal organization similiar to the Urban League of America and attempts to split the unity of the Hindu-Moslem people for the benefit of the Brit'sh imperialists.

There is no question that under its present Gandhi leadership the Nationalist Congress is pro-Hindu. This too serves the interests of the British 'divide and rule"

(Continued from Page 1) of India's 11 provinces, may now policy. The net effect of the Mosexercise full dictatorial rule over lem leadership and the Gandhi the Indian people. The Constitu- leadership is the same-division tion of India, with its highly lim- of the masses into warring com. ited democratic rights, is declared munal camps, all to the advansuspended. To summarize the sit- tage of the British. uation briefly-the Viceroy of In-

Ripe for Revolt

do anything whatsoever calcu-But the Nationalist Congress lated to maintain British imper- has launched the demand for a alist authority in India. Within freely elected All-India Constitutheir hands reside powers no less ent Assembly which will frame a great than those of the German constitution for an independent Fuehrer himself. India. If this slogan is taken seri-

This declaration of dictatorial ously and is pushed forward by rule over Ind a is a direct reflec- the Congress left wing then there tion of (1) the complete break- will be an end to such miserable down of negotiations for a com- undertakings as Gandhi's negotipromise between the British au- ations with the Viceroy. The Conhorities and the conservative na- gress right wing desired not real tionalist leaders (Gandhi); (2) independence for India, but Parthe rapidly growing clamor of liamentary concessions in the India's workers and peasants that Central Government. But the Briimmediate action against Bri. tish, knowing that the Congress tain's attempts to exploit India would sweep any democratic elecfor her war needs be taken. The tions and hlod an overwhelming failure of the negotiations is a majority in the Central Legis:aresult of a refusal on the part of tive Assembly, could not make the masses to accept any kind of even this concession. They know treacherous bargain. They will that things in India are ripe for not support the British Imperial- revolt!

The main task in India now ists under any conditions. They want their freedom, nothing more falls upon the left wing moveand nothing less! mnet, in particular, upon the

"Divide and Rule"

Congress Socialist Party. The stage of parliamentary negotia.

In an attempt to cover up their tions had a brief span and is now real motives for remaining in In- ended. Repressions by the authordia and establishing military ities are now on the order of the rule, the British have dragged in day. Before this year is up we the pro - imperialist Moslem shall see whether the first stages League. This organization does in India's struggle for national not represent the 75,000,000 Mos- emancipation have indeed begun. lems who make up India's largest It is the workers and peasants minority grouping. It is headed who will act now, despite the by Moslem landlords, civil ser- twists and turns of the conservavants and is pro-imperialist. It is the

Who Says That We Have to Starve Starve Sary proceeded to wave the filthy rag. "Sary is handy with a needle By THOMAS FORSEN

He was a big guy and you'd out all that was left of his family think a guy like that ate pretty was his brother Joe, his wife Sarregular. But you'd be thinking ah, and the old man, his grandwrong mister. The squarest meal father. The president called such ever saw him take was four people ill fed, ill clothed, illhamburgers and a cup of coffee housed. Ill nothing. It was sickly! down at Joe's Shack. And ham- The old man was shaving a woodburgers didn't fit for a guy like on block. There were broken that. He was tremendous and one stems and cracked bowls strewn gargantuan bite finished half of a about the place. George said the hamburger. Eight bites and he old man was making pipes. was through with the biggest And that's how I found out meal I ever saw him take. He about the old garbage dump. would then guzzle down the sizz- George was talking to the old ling coffee, toss his high head man. He was holler.ng, in fact.

back and wait for the cigarette I because the old guy was a little always offered him. He could spin or the deaf side. a yarn that boy. I tried to get "Say Grandad, you've more

him to write. It was futile. His parts than you ever had when I up a fine mattress only she had knowledge of the language was used to be around. Where are too limited and his grammar too you picking them up?" unorthodox. So I've turned his Joe answered for the old man.

ales into a few magazine pieces. "He gets them down at the dump, We've made a few bucks between George." "Hell," said George, "I bet he's us like that .

He always wanted to go back been caught a lot."

and see his old home town, Gary, "No," said Joe, "they's been Indiana. After all, he had his new doings here since you've left. whole family back there and a They've legalized picking at the guy begins to yearn for old faces dump grounds. They're out issu_ and old sights when he's been ing licenses now figuring maybe grounds. We knew we were comknocking about the nation. And it'll help us poorer folk in the ing to it when we were ten blocks little chilly and George put his

it's a hell of a nation to be knock- town." ing about in. So many people with different thoughts, customs, and diversions. Instead of knowing

blood sick and then the horrible

more about the damned country me. you only get puzzled, tired, lonely. You begin to ache. Not physic- at the dumps and clamp us in

"They used to catch us picking ally but mentally, and that tears jail for picking up as much as NEAT AND ORDERLY BASIS walked. The two of us not utter_ at your brain and makes your an ash," George said. "Sure," said Joe, "You can pick thing happens. You begin to take up some fine stuff there i some pity on yourself! That's hell and days. Grandad used to pick up

after that you're licked. to sell them and make a few step forward in solving the prob- in that town. The blood coursing From the Garbage Dump pennies but they clamped him in I sold a piece at Chicago for jail so many times, it didn't pay

fifty dollars and we hopped a bus for the trouble. But now, they've guy's face. for Gary. George was all hepped legalized it so Grandad can have up about it. You'd think he had his parts now."

run into the other room of the AMERICAN IMPERIALISTS TURN small shack, and soon she cam. HUNGRY EYES TOWARDS CHINA

rag. "Sary is handy with a needle so she'll fix where its needing it She brought me some chew to bacco and a set of slippers, and she brought the old man parts

for his pipes." **Family** License

Sarah ran to the kitchen and brought out a pot containing some smelly evil-looking fat. "I picked some of this there," she said. "Well I think it's a damn fine

dea," said George. I looked at the big baboon.

"Trouble is," said Joe, "they only allow one license to a family. We could use another hand in picking up some of that stuff." Sarah said, 'Yesterday Emmy

across the way could have picked no one to help her with it. We tried pitching in together and dumping our pickings onto the mattress, but them there fellows U.S.) "... can not possibly overstanding around are so gosh darn

fussy." Stink A-Plenty

"You've got to fight like hell to get a license," said Joe. chewed tea biscuits, cork-tipped That evening George and I walked over to the dumping cigarette butts."

away. It smelled worse than a hand in his pocket and took out tannery. The gates were locked a piece of paper. He handed it to and we stopped to read the sign me and I saw it was a license is-

Fine Stuff I whistled. George turned to on the fence

CITY DUMP KEEP YOUR SEARCH ON A

clothed."

"What do you think of the ing a word. What the hell, that whole thing," George asked.

"Goddamn benevolent," I said, you can't expect a guy to keep "It would seem to me that the pushing around in circles. After stray parts for his pipes. He used City Fathers have taken a long all his only folk were right there

iem of the ill-fed, ill-housed, ill- through him had known only one home and that was Gary. It was Nothing registered on the big strong in him and he had to stay. market for fore'gn goods is far "You know George," I said, "I other George. That guy could for imperialist investment in

ment of Gary.

certainly spin a varn.

Well we walked and it was a

By WALTER O'ROURKE look and will not fail to reflect The announcement by Ambas- in its policies and actions." This threat was answered the ador Grew on October 19 that following day by the Japanese he United States looks with dis-Foreign Minister with an equally approval at Japan's establishment of a "new order" in the blunt statement that Japanese Far East once again brought determination to bring about a home the fact that American im- new order ". . . in East Asia is perialists are turning hungry too strong to be changed or af-

Hence, the Disapproval with Which the U.S.

Looks Upon Japan's Creation of a "New

Order" in the Far East

eyes toward China.

fected by the interference of a third power." Talking "straight from the horse's mouth" Grew said the South America Insufficient 'American people" believe that

There is a tendency, even . an effort is being made to among those who recognize the establish control, in Japans own imperialist character of Amerinterests, in large areas of the can economy and government, continent of Asia and impose on to believe that the main course them a system of closed econon the menu for American imomy." Such an opinion, he conperialists is South America. tinued, a government (i.e., the "Upper" circles, however, al-

ready feel that South America s not enough.

scavenger can pick up some The United States News, Oct mighty fine delectable items such 16. savs: as scraps of top steak, slightly Effort to blow up Latin

> America into an area of vast new opportunities for U.S. business is more interesting than important. By capturing all of the Latin American market for foreign goods this country would add less than a

sued by the Sanitation Departbillion dollars to its business. Big role of the United States I asked him how he got it but in world-wide maneuvers now

the big fellow was silent. So we under way is likely to be played in the Pacific. Europe's pre-occupation will increase meant I was losing George. Well, temptation for Japan to spread her influence; may lead to American restraint. (Their emphasis-W.O'R.)

China More Valuable

The small South American-It will be tough trying to find an- outweighed by the opportunities China, i.e., for shipping capital

purpose of comparison): China 19 India 122 S. A. 670 Here is shown in vivid contrast the reason for the superior worth of China over South America to desperate imperialist nations. South America has 35 times China's per capita railroad mileage; the steel mills of U.S. Steel (whose chairman Edward R. Stettinius Jr. was appointed

abroad. The ideal country for

imperialist exploitation is one

with a large population and low

One of the best indexes of industrial development is railroad

mileage per capita; a glance at

a very few statistics shows why

enticing dish than South Amer-

ica for American imperialists.

The mileage of railroad for each

mil.ion inhabitants is as follows.

(U.S. and India are included for

China presents such a far more

industrial dveelopment.

kept busy for quite a time "developing" the vast Asiatic continent.

sequences.

125 West 33 Street New York City Dear Friend:

contribute \$..... to the defense of Frank Watson, imprisoned by Canada's government for the crime of speaking out as a worker against the war of imperialism.

Let the People Vote on War!

d.a and his appointees may now

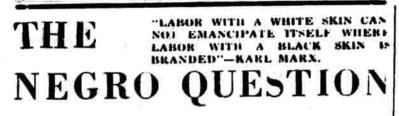
Herein lies the compelling reason why the American cap talists must challenge and eventually fight Japan over the right to exploit China. Herein lies the reason for the entire U.S. fleet being in the Pacific, and for the recent Grew speech and its con-

American Labor Aid

I PLEDGE MYSELF to

chairman of the War Resources Board by Roosevelt) could be

NOVEMBER 10, 1939



By J. R. JOHNSON

Industry and the Negro

Then came the Civil War. Every Negro should know by now why the Civil War took place. The capitalists and their alies of the North were fighting for control of American economy and of the Federal Government. The Southern slave-owners wanted to ma ntain that control. Every new State added to the union meant more representatives and more power to one side or to the other. If a new state was a slave-state then the slave-owners gained more power at Washington. If the new state was a state based on free lator, then Lincoln and the Northern capitalists gained more power. So that for years there was always a quarrel whenever a new is simple state was to be added to the Union.

But the slave_owners were in a jam, not only politica'ly but for democracy. This war is our victory. From what I have economically as well. To make profits at all they had to have new fought for who shall have the observed in America, the Socialland. The huge plantations and their wasteful methods of cultivation exhausted the soil and periodically they had to extend the terratory they controlled. So that when the North said, "No more new save states" the slave owners replied, "If we do not get new territory our economy will collapse." And the next thing was the Civil War.

Lincoln would never have fought to free the slaves. He didn't intend to free slaves at all. But he found that he could not win nothing to do with either gang. unless he pulled the slaves powerfully over to his side. This he could "Whatever democratic liber dec.sively do only by ceclaring the a olition of slavery.

International Labor Aided Emancipation

There was also another powerful current sweeping Lincoln on toward the abolition of slavery in America. When the Civil War began, the British ruling class wanted to intervene on the side of the English have organized an ille-Southern slave owners. But the British working class, took the side of Lincoln. Led chiefly by Karl Marx, they maintained a powerful 3al terrorist militia which they ag tation in Britain, mass meetings, protests to Parliament, and are beginning to employ aga nst open letters of support to Abraham Lincoln, etc. The British ruling the workers' and peasants' un class used to point to the fact that the North was not fighting any ions throughout Ceylon. The war to atolish slavery, for Lincoln himself had said so. But one of British-appointed Governor Gen the strongest weapons in the working class anti-war agitation in eral has suspended the constitu-Eritain was this very argument, that the war of the North was a wa. for apolition. Lincoin, thereiole, for the sake of his valuable working class allies in Great Britain, was further driven to declare the abolition of slavery in America. A Negro, therefore, who as really trying to get at the root of the Negro position today, cannot help drawing the following conclusions: "The actual question of color had very little to do w th the abolition of slavery in America. Fowerful econom.c and political forces were at work in America. The military assistance that the Negroes could give played a great part. And, finaly, the international working class movemnt, in this viven to them they must employ case the British working class in particular, played a great part in ther means to obtain their free-Negro emancipation."

From this, such a Negro worker would be justified in thinking that if color played so little part in that great event it is no: at all unl kely that in the great events of today, color and race, which in everyday affairs seem to cccupy so large a place, will in reality at the decisive moment, prove as unimportant as they did in the Civil (Social Democratic) Internation-War.

Negroes Enter the Factories

How does that apply in recent history? The biggest event that has taken place in the history of the American Negroes since the Civil War is the great migration of millions of Negroes from the South to the North that began in 1915. Between 1915 and 1928, 1,200,000 Negroes came from the South to the North. The Negro gained a place for himself in industry. Now, ten thousand workers ii. a factory have infinitely more capacity to struggle for better wages, better living conditions, and an extension of their democratic rights than fifty thousand farmers scattered over the countryside Thus the entry of millions of Negro workers into indistry, particularly in the North, marked a dec.sive stage in the development of the American Negro. But how did it happen? Was it because the white employers had listened to some preachers and had been converted to the view that Negroes should have a better chance in life? Nothing of the sort.

What happened was that Northern industry was faced with a

AN INTERVIEW WITH A COMRADE **CEYLONESE MASSES WANI NO** PART OF THE BOSSES' WAR

A comrade from the island of one imperialist tloc as against Ceylon representing the Ceylon- the other. Our policy is the polese Socialist Party which is conicy of internationalism-that is, the British imperialists had the rulers and oppressors. They ioliowing to say when interview- must fight for their own freeod by the Socialist Appeal: dom and for socialism.

Ceylon's 6,000,000 workers and "It is our belief that the colopeasants are absolutely opposed nial peoples will be the first to to giving any sort of support too raise the banner of revolt against Ingland in the present imper- this imperialist war. When that ialist war. The reason for this time comes we know that class conscious American workers will

"This war is not being fought be of real aid to us in assuring privilege of standing on our st Workers Party is the only tecks and exploiting our people anti-war, revolutionary part Leylon, one of the colonies of that is preparing to lead the he British and French Empires, workers to social.sm. We socialists and revolution'sts of Ceylon s a bone over which the imperalist dogs are fighting. The peowish to extend our fraterna reetings." ple of the colon'es will have

Stalin's Fake 'Left Turn' Masks Reactionary Foreign Policy

(Continued from Page 1)

pendence of their country from must act independently of their England and France is now taken by Germany. Then Germany was the "aggressor", now England and France are the "aggressors"! forward as the most zealous supporters of the continuation and Then the "peace-loving" powers were England and France, now further incitement of war." Hitler is the peace-lover!

The same false methodology of making a fundamental distinction between the two imperialist camps is used today as before Aug. 23, only the distinction is now made in favor of Hitler.

Molotoff and Dimitrov Whitewash Hitler

Molotoff's Oct. 31 speech officially indicated the new line. "Today, as far as the European great powers are concerned, Germany is in the position of a State that is striving for the earnest termination of the war and for peace, while Britain and France, which but yesterday were declaiming against aggression, are in favor of continuing the war and are opposed t othe conclus.on of peace. The roles, as you see, are changing." (Daily Worker, Nov. 1).

This estimate received its full-dress formulation by Dimitrov, two days later. He developed a 'theory" of "two slages" in the war. "In the first stage", Hitler was the aggressor. "Now, on the other

and the bulk of the rank and file | pposition organized along such

ines and with such a program-

Agree on "Truce"

les we had won during the N. M. U. Bureaucrats Stand in Way course of the last three and a half years were being smashed Of Winning Seamen's Real Demands clear what the new line means: support of Hitler, masked as support of his "peace" policy. However, even dressed up with the "two stages" theory of Dimitrov, that line would be too unpalatable a y the British "democrats" who feared the tremendous growth of our liberation movement. The

seamen has only demonstrated

these its inability to deal any

serious blows against the pres-

By SIDNEY MOORE

(Continued from Last Issue) There is at present a sharp isproportion between the workng conditions, the economic tion and now governs by military standards of the maritime working class and their organized decree, in the fashion of Hitler. power, their will to struggle for "If the S nhclose people were such concrete demands and their able to express themselves by inswerving militancy. Actually neans of a democratic vote 80-1 frightened and conservative 0 percent would vote to break officialdom is resting like a dea way from the British Empire weight upon the power and rewhich they feel is strangling sour.es of the seamen. hem. But since this right is not W.tness the 'no-struggle'

battle put up against the open ng of the Maritime Commission Fink Halls on the East coast. A "And this is where the work

ew weeks of lonely picket n. of our Party, the Ceylon Soc'aln.1 then the officialdom decided st Party, comes in. We are de that even such activit.es were too much of an embarrassment or the War Deal Administration Witness the peculiar and sup-

posedly practical method of putting the main emphasis on "secondary" picketing at such important centers as gasoline staions during the recent Tanker str.ke. Also the "practical" strike tactic of allowing union crews to sail vessels that were using the "hot oil" loaded from

scab-run tanker ships. W.tness the militant caliber of the present officialdom by how ministration nor the shipowners quickly they bowed when the wishes to face an organized mari-Maritime Commission barked time personnel during war. A and threw them a bone for a major offensive seems about to 'war-bonus" in the form of a 25 begin on the waterfronts. They percent increase in wages. An are undoubtedly heartened by a

eported the follo

Order of Stalin.

hand, the imperialists of Britain and France have passed over to Juct ng a struggle for the inde- the workers of every country it stood prior to Aug. 23, except that the place then occupied by the offensive, have hurled their peoples into war against Germany ... it is the British and French imperialists who have now come

The manifesto of the Communist International, in accordance with this theory of "two stages", directs all its fire against the democratic imperialists and has not a word of criticism of Hitler! Having served its purpose for six weeks, the view that all the belligerents are "equally guilty" is now dropped. Now only France and England are held to be culprits.

Comintern Struggles on Hitler's Behalf

The manifesto calls for struggle against England and Francebut not against Hitler. Its formulations are carefully tailored for .his purpose: "Take a stand against those who favor continuation or the war"-and the Comintern says that Hitler is for peace. "No support for the policy of the ruling classes directed towards continuation and spread of the imperialist slaughter." But, by obvious implication, support for the policy of the ruling classes directed against continuation of the slaughter, i.e., support for Hitler. Such are the key slogans of the manifesto of the Comintern.

Browder, applying the line to America, repeats it like a phonograph record. "At this moment," he says, "the responsibility for continuing this war lies, before all, upon the British and French imperialists."

We have cited the sections of the latest documents which make dose for even the members of the Communist parties, not to speak of the impossibility of selling this line to the masses outside the Stalinist organizations.

natic perspective could sweep Sweetening Stalin's Peppery Dish he Stalinist misrulers from

The line is therefore encased in radical language such as the y the defeat of the Stalinist Stalintern has not employed since 1933. It is offered in a casing of Weinstock administration in the talk about the "socialist revolution", the "bankruptcy of capital-New York Painters Union. Dis- ism", etc. This radical verbiage has no other function than to serve .ict Council No. 9, desp.te the as sugar-coating, as ornamentation, to the decidedly bitter, utilitaran core: support of H.tler in the present war. 'The radical coating is what the judges call obiter dicta: words and opin ons which are rrelevant and separable from the practical conclusion which is embodied in a judge's decision.

The radical s.gar-coating is, indeed, in flagrant contradict on to the practical conclusion reached. For example, Dimitrov quotes this from Lenin: "The character of the war depends not on who attacked and on whose side the 'enemy' is, but on which class is waging the war, what policy is being continued by the given war." If this very correct quotation from Lenin were more than sugar-coating for the document, it would be impossible for Dimitrov to go on to talk of two stages, in one of which Germany was the aggressor and the present one in which England and France are the aggressors. For what is Lenin saying? He is denying, repudiating, the concept of "aggressor"; he doesn't care who attacked.

For this very reason, Lenin refused to make any distinction between the two warring imperialist camps. That Germany made peace with the Soviet Union in March, 1918, and that a few months later both Austro-Hungary and Germany were seeking peace while the Allies pressed for a victorious conclusion-this made no difference whatsoever to Lenin in characterising both camps as imperialist warring camps, and calling for class war against both camps. Dimitrov has the effrontery to quote Len'n for window-dressing, all the better to advocate a policy which is the opposite of that which Lenin advocated!

The radical sugar-coating is also in flagrant contradiction to the truth. "The Communists", says the manifesto, "have always fought against such a war. They warned the working people aga'n and again that the ruling classes were preparing a destructive and bloody slaughter for hundreds of millions of people." But as late as Sept. 17, a few short weeks ago, the Stalinists, as we have seen, were still touting this war as a war for democracy!



Talented or Not, Be Sure To Come-A Good Time Is Promised, and Loads of Fun November 12, 1939 AT 8 P.M.

heir seats in no time, as proven ent boss offensive. This has only served to whet the open-shop appetites of the sh.p-owners. The Stalinists have succeeded in proucing nothing but a series of etreats, compromises and gen presence in the union of a more eal stalling with disappointowerful C.P. fraction than in hent the only end-result. Of he N.M.U. ourse, this stalling is always ccompanied by truculent and Meanwhile, another temporary nilitant editor als in the Pilot truce" has been agreed upon by his in the main is a picture of he N.M.U. leadership and the he N.M.U. during the last year hipowners, with the shipowners emanding the open shop, no nd a half of its existence. ess! It must become clear to

- the closed shop. This explains why during the recent reeks, the Negotiating Commitee of the union has found the osses driving for the very disolution of the union.

he general preparation of American industry for the new

var. Neither the Roosevelt Ad-

Bosses Understand The bosses have long since every honest seaman that this ensed this beauracratic immodespicable drive against his livulity and have brazenly launching standards and organized d a drive against the very core power can only be met with a f the mar.time workers' powmilitant counter-offensive.

An end to all this, cowardly stalling! Translate the "militant" tone of the Pilot editorials and headlines into some real essions at a stalemate with the job mil.tancy in the field! Demand a clear and precise trade union program against the boss-The conflict has sharpened to es and their stooges in the Mari-

such an extent only because of time Commission!

A GIFT FOR VOROSHILOV

The German Nazi press has "Field Marshall Goering pre-

sents an Airplane to the Rus-

sian Minister of War Voroshil-

Goering will now, in all pro-

bability, be rewarded with the

Russian Opposition

Bulletin

tremendous opportunity for expansion due to the war. At the same time the stream of immigrants from Europe was cut short, because instead of working or coming to America to work these Germans, Austrians, Italians, and others had to spend their time and strength massacring each other for the profits of their imperialist masters Our American capitalists, therefore, not only took Negroes into the'r factories but send hundreds of agents into the South offering Ne. groes free passage into the North and promising them a happy life. The Negro population of New York rose from 91,000 in 1910 to 327. 000 in 1930, while over the same period the Negro population of Detroit rose from 5,709 to 120,000. This meant millions of dollars more in the pockets of Negro wage earners. Negroes were able to get much better education and opportunities for development. Negroes living in cities were better able to organize and fight for social and political equality. To serve the needs of these Negroes a greater number of Negro doctors, teachers, and other professional men was needed.

Of course we know that the Negroes stil continue to suffer under heavy discrimination. But the fact remains that this migration and opportunity to enter into industry was a great step forward. And it had nothing to do with color. A great economic and social change was taking place in the country as a whole; great numbers of Negroes were swept along by it, and thus had an opportunity to improve their position.

The Next Step Forward

What was the next great step forward of the Negroes? It came in 1937 with the organization of the CIO. Here again we see that the decisive factor was not the question of race but the question of economic and social and political change, affecting American society as a whole. Up to 1937 the American Federation of Labor, representing on the whole the more privileged sections of the American working class, kept Negroes out of its ranks. But with the great crisis of 1929, American labor entered into a new phase of existence. One of the most important results of this shake-up was the organization of all workers in industrial unions, particularly the semiskilled and the unskilled. The CIO was essentially the organization of the poorer types of workers. But the CIO organizers found that if they were to organize the workers in an industry as a whole they could not leave out the Negroes. In the packing-houses in Chicago and elsewhere the employers had deliberately brought Negroes into industry in order to use them against the white workers. Obviously these new CIO unions, to win their battles, had to have the Negroes in. And today, 1939, we can see hundreds of thousands of Negroes in the new unions, firmly knit with the white workers and gaining many of the great advantages that come to all workers who carry on militant struggles in workers' organizations. This does not mean that prejudice and discrimination have been wiped away, even in the best of the new unions. But it means that a great step forward has been made. And here again the decisive factor was not color.

On the Eve of Great Upheavals

It may seem to an individual Negro that it is the color of his skin that is making all the difference. But this is true only to a limited extent. From an examination of history it can be stated with Negroes in the colonies. It is to such great crises in human history confidence that the Negroes as a whole, millions of them, have made strides forward owing to great economic, social, and political changes which were powerful enough to sweep aside the barriers of color. And this should teach us a great lesson for the future.

All human society today stands at the crossroads. Europe is plunged into a great war. In the Far East, Japan and China have been fighting for two years. America is visibly preparing to enter into the war. What is the cause of all this universal confusion? The cause is one thing and one thing only: the bankruptcy of the cap- there is no other road. And today the historical process is not at all italist system. There are in America today over thirty million people slow. History is moving very fast. That is why it is necessary to starving in the midst of plenty. The capitalist system can no longer know where we came from, where we are, and, infinitely more imfunction, neither here nor elsewhere. The capitalists did not solve portant, in what direction we are moving.

eement that settled nothing 1917 W. ERIE AVENUE ment of the rank and file and the belligerence of the administration-shipowners union-busting HARLEM

all'ance. Shifting the Blame

without even a fight.

"backward" membership.

As always, whenever a battle HOUSEWARMING s lost, the officialdom blames it upon the "non-understanding" TO CELEBRATE and OPENING There is soon coming the day OF HARLEM BRANCH when these despicable insults to HEADQUARTERS the militancy of the membership will not go unanswered. Time Saturday, Nov. 11th and time again, these maritime AT 8 P.M.

Dancing • Refreshments

HARLEM BRANCH S.W.P. **186 LENOX AVENUE** (Between 119-120th St.)

the crisis by the last war. The post-war crises have been more devastating than the pre_war ones. We are today on the ever of economic, social, and political upheavals infinitely greater than anything that took place in America during the Civil War. And in those upheavals color is not going to play any very great part. American society today, as society in all parts of the world, faces two alternatives. Either the workers and the poor farmers will get together in unions and political organizations and take over capitalist property, establishing the socialist system. Or, on the other hand, the capitalists will organize fascist bands, smash the workers' organizations, and by this means insure their profits and the continuance of the capitalist system. That is the great conflict in the world today It is a conflict in which the Negro must and will play his part. In America the white workers, as has been shown in the organization

of the CIO, will in time seek the assistance of the Negroes against the capitalists as certainly as Lincoln had to seek it against the Southern slave-owners. But whereas Lincoln and the Northern capitalists were rich and powerful and their Negro allies were poor, today the Negroes and the whites are members of the same class. For this reason, in the course of the struggle and after it, the barriers of race prejudice will be much more easily overcome than they were seventy-five years ago.

On the international scale the workers of Great Britain and France, for instance, may feel today little solidarity with Negroes in Africa. But when they find themselves in deadly struggle with British and French landlords and capitalists they will welcome the news that the Negroes in Africa are striking at the brothers and sons and cousins of the European ruling classes, who oppress the that the whole world is moving tdoay.

A Negro, therefore, who is turned back from a job because he is black will not lose courage. Instead he will see in what direction history is moving and, by means of political activity and industrial organization, he will try to assist those forces which make for greater solidarity among workers and farmers. That is the road along which we have to travel. It may seem slow, and it may seem also that it does not answer the immediate problems of the day. But

acilating a but only increased the resent- leadership in control of the organized seamen's ranks.

. Opposition Program ov." (headline) The entire membership of the "MOSCOW, Oct. 10 (TO)-N.M.U. would instantly mobilize A German plane of the 'Fieself it were given a concrete proer-Storch' type, piloted by gram that reflects their sentimembers of the German Air ments, as outlined above. The Corps, landed at the local airpresent agreement is entirely infield. It was sent to the Soviet adequate in meeting the eco-Minister of War Voroshilov as nomic needs of the seamen. In a gift by Field Marshall Goer_ this situation the compromisers must be cleaned out by a bona-

fide progressive opposition. anis opposition must however workers have demonstrated a proceed strictly on the basis of willingness "to go down the line" a program. It would doom itself for their demands and always to utter failure and sterility if the Stalinists went down first

it proceeded mainly on an "anti-Stalinist" or "anti-C P control" The present officialdom, trying program. The issues in the marivainly to act as a conciliatory time industry must not be limmedium between the steamship ted to the mere ousting of a wners - administration alliance number of centrally-located Stal-

nist stooges. You won't convince inybody that way, except pernaps, some minor American Legion elements. The real problem facing the maritime workers is to produce a leadership that would militanty attempt to win the economic

lemands. We do not oppose the present leadership only because they are C.P. stooges. We oppose inv trade union leadership, C.P. or not, only when its polic es fail to carry through the demands of he rank and file majority. An

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ANNOUNCEMENT

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ton-games-prizes and sur prises, 163 Norfolk St., (14th St. crosstown bus to Stanton St.). Nov. 11, 1939 Contribution-15c.

Now the Stalinists change . . . war camps. That is the only change they make: from one imperialist camp to the other.

The Third Camp

HEADQUARTERS Opening So-Against both these camps the irreconcileable war of the workcial, Joe Hill Unit Y.P.S.L. ining class must be waged. Not in alliance with either of these camps, vites all comrades and friends but in deadly conflict against both of them, will the masses of the to a gala affair. Community world secure their emancipation from war and all the other evils Sing, Folk Dancing, Profesof capitalism. Neither the camp of Hitler-Stalin nor that of Dalsional Magician. Sat., Nov. 11, 8:30, 4370 Broadway (186 St.) adier-Chamberlain-Roosevelt! The third camp, the camp of revolutionary struggle against war-that is the place for the workers of Washington Heights Youth he world. Center. Admission 20c.

The current issue of the **Russian Opposition Bulletin is** now available at the following Labor Book Shop, 116 Univer Store, 278 Grand St.; Bleder

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tains 12 articles by Leon Trotsky, including: The USSR in War, Stalin-Agent of Hitler, The Enigma of the USSR, and

Why the Press Passes this Counterfeit

The radical sugar_coating resembles the revolutionary policy of Lenin just about as much as the commodity sold in a house of prostitution resembles love. The Stalinists are, nevertheless, not alone in peddling this counterfeit as the real coin. They are being abiy supported in this obscene business by the capitalist press. "Reds urge world revolt", says the New York Times headline, and the other papers differ only in being more sensational. Why are they so insistent upon helping the Stalinists pass off this counterfeit? For one reason only: the Stalinists are hopelessly vulnerable to repression, being identified by the masses as a tool of Hitler; the Stalmists are labelled revolutionaries by the capitalists, precisely in order to assault all real revolutionaries. As the Stalinists made an amalgam between revolutionaries and fascists in order to destroy the revolutionaries in the purges, the capitalists are making an amalgam between Stalinists and revolutionaries in order to attempt to destroy the revolutionaries.

A Balance Sheet of the Peoples Front

The capitalists are everywhere on the offensive against the revolutionaries. This is a period of stark reaction, no question about it. that it is such a period, the Stalin sts have made possible as far as ay within their power. In closing their books for the peoples front period, the Stalinists are constrained to mention a'l their former partners in crime. Browder says: "The president and his administration . . . makes use of its former prestige among the masses to secure their acceptance of the program of Wall Street." But who provided Roosevelt with his "former" prestige? Who contributed more zealously than the Stalinists? Who concealed his every crime until today? Who called his WPA slashes the work of others, who supported his "neutrality" and armament program, marshalled the trade unions under his banners, etc.? Dimitrov says: "The Social-Democratic, Democratic and Radical flunkeys of the bourgeoisie are brazenly distorting the anti-fascist slogans of the peoples front and are using them to deceive the masses." But the slogans are not distorted, they are the slogans of the peoples front-written by the Stalinists during the last five years, and the Stalinists, by uniting with these "flunkeys of the bourgeoisie" in the peoples front and the French government, gave these flunkeys a new lease on life, helped them smash the French working class.

"The peoples front tactics pursued in recent years", says Dimitroy, "helped the Spanish people to wage an armed struggle for two and a half years"-and, as history testifies, doomed that struggle to defeat. "It made it possible", Dimitrov goes on, "for the proletariat of France to obtain considerable social gains"-where are the gains? The peoples front movement, Dimitrov has the effrontery to say, "made it possible to postpone for a time the outbreak of the

European war." Was that the effect of the peoples front votesincluding the votes of the Stalinists-for military loans to Poland, for French armaments, for Daladier as premier? The Stalinists change their line, but not its predominant characteristic: a fabric

geois allies in the peoples front, the masses of Europe were delivered bound hand and foot to the war-makers.

of foul, brazen lies.

Thanks to the Stalinists and their Social-Democratic and bour,

SOCIALIST APPEAL Tuesday, November 7, 1969 /UL III, NO. 85

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

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year: \$1.00 for six months. For sign: \$2.00 per year, \$1.50 for six months. Bundle orders 2 cents per copy in the United States: 3 cents per copy in 41 foreign countries. Single copies: 3 cents. Bronx and Manhattan subscriptions are \$1.50 for six months: \$2.00 for one year. "Reentered as second class matter September 29, 1939, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 1, 1879."

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FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY FOR:

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- Ful social, p'litical and economic equality for 12. the Negro people.

India and the War

If you want to understand why what the newspapers call "this peculiar war" has not broken out into a series of round-house battles on the Western Front, take a look at the situation in India

The hundreds of millions of British s'aves in India long for nothing so much as their independence from the imperia ist rule which has brought them untold and unspeakable sufferings for generations. It is no easy matter for even the c.everest British propagandist to wor : them up to a high pitch of indignation against "German fascism" and its well-known Lorrors, for the Indian masses have aways feit the barbarism of dictatorial rule perpetrated on their own hides by the British ru ing class.

With the sound instinct that rarely fails the masses, they now feel that, as the Irish a'ways say, England's cifficulty is their opportunity. With the British imperia ists engaged on the Western Front, involved in a new world war, the Indian people realize that now is the time for them to strike off the fetters of colonial slavery. And they are, of course, one hundred percent right, and every genuine pro ressive, every consistent and not merely phrasemongering democrat, will enthusiastically wish the Indians win against the British pigs who lord it over them. That is precisely what England fears. Chamberlain and Co. understand that the very existence of the old British Empire is imperilled, and along with it the very existence of the noble gentlemen who have fattened on it for generations. The crisis-the war-is speeding the inevitable disintegration of that Empire. How the British would like to come to a comrade'y agreement with the German bandits! How they would like to call off this war! How they would like to combine-naturally, on their own terms-with French and German and Italian imperialism for a joint partition of the "still available" areas of exploitation-above all, the Soviet Union! Only, Chamberlain, like Hitler, is not complete master of his destiny. The conflicts, rivalries and contradictions amony the imperialist bandits themselves have been proved, by the reality of the war, to be so sharp that with the best will in the world, poor Chamberlain could not avert it. - But whether averted or not, the old Empires are doomed. One way or another, the oit-exorcized specter of revolution continues to haunt the living and waking hours of the ruling classes. This war will never run its full, "normal" course without revolutionary interruptions everywhere. What it will be tomorrow is difficult to predict. Right now, it is India, which is seething with revolutionary ferment.

breeds, native as well as imported. Our big job at present is to help the public to distinguish social democracy, the socialism of Debs and Berger and Hillquit, from the poisoned substitute that Browder is offering.' When Mr. Lee speaks of the "socialism" of

Victor Berger and Morris Hillquit, he not only feels at home and knows what he is talking about, but he is undoubtedly true to himself.

But when he speaks in the same breath of Eugene Debs, he displays more impudence than this otherwise prudent and elderly gentleman is accustomed to show.

Lee and his friends are supporters of the imperialist war. They are servants of the American ruling class, its attorneys and apologists, just as Browder and Co. are the agents of the Moscow autorracy. Lee declares :

"No one is going to be really deceived by the pretense that France and Great Britain, aided and abetted by President Roosevelt and his Wall Street friends, are wagin; an imperialistic war against Germany. . . It is worth noting, however, that in this country Fritz Kuhn's Bund and all the fascistic adventurers got ahead of Browder in taking up this line of attack."

And this apologist for the war-mongers has the effrontery to speak of himself as a protagonist of the "socialism of Debs"! Lee defames the Bo'shevik Revolution of November 1917 as a "counter-revolution." Debs proudly proclaimed himself a Bolshevik from his toes to the crown of his head. Lee defames all opponents of American imperialism (not merely the Stalinist pseudo-opponents, but the genuine revolutionary opponents) as agents or friends of the German Nazis. Debs replied in excoriating and contemptuous terms to the scoundrelly patriots of the last World War who accused him and fellow-socialists of being German agents, friends of the Kaiser. Lee is out recruitin; for the French, English and American Empires in the Second World War. Debs said, in the Appeal to Reason of Sept. 11, 1915:

"It matters not to me whether this war be offensive or defensive, or what other lying excuse may be invented for it, I am opposed to it, and I would be shot for treason before I would enter such a war.

"If I were in Congress I would be shot before I would vote a dollar for such a war. . .

"I have no country to fight for; my country is the earth; and I am a citizen of the world.

"I would not vio ate my principles for God, much less for a crazy Kaiser, a savage Czar, a degenerate king, or a band of pot-bellied parasites.

"But whi'e I have not a drop of blood to shed for the oppressors of the working class and the robbers of the poor, the thieves and looters, the brigands and murderers, whose debauched misrule is the crime of the ages, I have a heart-fu'l to shed for their victims when it shall be needed in the war for their liberation.

"I am not a capita ist soldier; I am a proletarian revolutionist. I do not belong to the regular army of the plutocracy, but to the irregular army of the people. I refuse to obey any command to fi ht from the ruling class, but I will not wait to be commanded to fight for the working class. "I am opposed to every war but one: I am for that war with heart and soul, and that is the world-wide war of the social revo ution. In that war I am prepared to fight in any way the ruing class may make it necessary, even to the barricades.



SPARKS IN THE NEWS

The Color Line in Culture

Waite Phillips is a Tulsa, Oklahoma, oil magnate-an "oiligarch," in Time's vocabulary. Mr. Phillips, a great public benefactor of Tulsa, recently turned over his big Italian-style mansion to be used as an Art Center. The other day the Art Center had its grand opening. Every one in Tulsa was there, except those whose skins happened to be black. Their presence was most distinctly not requested. But the Tulsa oiligarchs are broad-minded. They recognize that it would be unjust to exclude the city's Negroes from the cultural advantages of the Art Center. Therefore, according to Time for November 6: "One Thursday a month will be set aside as Jim Crow day at the Art Center."

Blood Money

Bourgeois economists lament the disappearance of the economic frontier in American capitalism. But there does exist one last great economic frontier for world capitalism, one remaining major market for the consumption of manufactured goods-a frontier which is at present located beween the Westwall and the Maginot Line. The bombing plane, furthermore, has extended the range of this sort of "consumption" from the actual battlefields to the whole of Europe. The beauty of air raids on industrial centers, from an economic point of view, is that not only are large quantities of those expensive and complicated mechanisms called bombs used up, but that their consumption destroys even vaster amounts of other machines and commodities on the ground. Thus is created a double-barrelled market for goods: to replace those destroyed, and to destroy still others.

Merely on the strength of such rosy prospects, our own capitalist system in the last few months has taken a new lease on life. The N.Y. Times weekly index of business activity has risen from J2.3 of "normal" in the week ending August 26 last to 104.7 in the week ending October 28. S2cretary of Commerce Hopkins has reported that the national income was \$50,800,000,000 in the first nine months of this year, as against \$48,-/00,000,000 in the same period last year. The American Federation of Labor, in its monthly ousiness survey, states that since the war cris's began to sharpen at the beginning of August, about one million and a quarter American workers have found jobs.

The New Deal has been administering to American capitalism various reformist "shots in the arm" for the last seven years. But all sections of courgeois opin on, from the AFL bureaucracy to the big business press, agree that the outbreak of the war has done more for American business than anything ever pulled out of the hat by Roosevelt and his brain trusters. This is flatly stated by the AFL business survey, and it is caitor.ally echoed by the N.Y. Times, chief newspaper voice of big bus ness. 'Much as one may deplore a business boom arising out of the tragedy of war," writes the Times in its usual sanctimonious style, "it is significant that the mere expectation of war demand has done more for relovery than our actual Government spending program.'

Great Expectations

But it is also significant-and a little worrying -that so far the whole war boom has been based on nothing but expectations. The September mer chandise exports of the United States were 17% higher than they were in the same month last year. But this increase was not to any great extent in war goods: over a third of it was in cotton, shipped under the subsidy plan, and the rest was largely other agricultural products. The war demand hasn't yet materialized. Steel production has gone up to over 90% of capacity, and more steel is now being produced per week than ever before in our history. But this is all based on the expectation of future war orders. And if the war fails to become 'serious" in the next few months, or if, even worse, some sort of peace is patched up, then American business will find itself far out on a limb.

The Continental Steel Corporation recently an nounced that it was setting aside in a special fund the equivalent of two-months' earnings as a "reserve for contingencies." The "contingency" it stated in these frank terms: "The war in Europe together with a domestic business improvement, has brought about an inflationary condition that could be rapidly reversed if peace negotiations were effected." Or, in plain language, peace would be a disastrous blow to the Continental Steel Cor. poration, as to other American corporations.

The First Swallow

A.ready the first swallow of spring has arrived, a harb.nger of the fertile summertime in store for American capitalism if only the war doesn't peter out. This is the repeal of the Embargo. Writing in last Sunday's Times, Arthur Krock reasistically summarized its significance: "The major.ty in Congress was persuaded that repeal of the arms embargo was desirable for two purposes-to remove the disadvantage it imposed on Great Br.tain and France in fighting Germany, an., to set up an industrial way ma make in the United States in the interest of national securi.y.'

As to the first point, it is reported that the aviation industry has already received from the Allies \$170,000,000 worth of plane orders. Eng lan. s about to launch a \$1,000,000 000 war oan drive among its c tizens, the proceeds from which nitions. Washing.on officials estimate that in the next few weeks the Allies will p'ace over here war orders totalling \$500,000,000, and in the next e ght months \$2,000,000,000.

Krock's point about repeal making it possible to build up, before the United States enters the war, a big native munitions industry has also receivel factual confirmation in the last few days President Rcosevelt has personaly urged that a steel-producing center te established on the Pacific Coast to turn out armaments. Also, the French Government has announced that it is lending \$5,000,000 to two American airplane man. tac turers so that they can expand their plants sufficiently to produce the huge number of plane France will need. Thus Allied capital will be used to help finance the expansion of our industrial war machine. This is what American "neutrality' means in the present war.



NOVEMBER 10, 1939

Any lingering doubts about the real meaning of Roosevelt's Neutrality Act, which honest men may have held on the basis of Roosevelt's own message to the Special Session and the Congressional debate which followed, should have been thoroughly cleared up during these few days since the Act's passage. Anyone in his right mind should now be able to see that Roosevelt's message was brazen demagogy, and the debate, on both sides, shameless hyposrisy from beginning to end.

Roosevelt and the Congressmen told us, beforehand, that they were trying to work out the best program for "keeping the United States out of the war." After the Act became law, not a single commentator tried to keep up the pretense any longer. All of the discussion centered on the questions of how exactly the Act would affect the war, how many hundreds of millions of war orders it would bring, and how world shipping would be reorganized in accord. ance with it.

In all of the European capitals the passing of the Act was recognized and proclaimed as a smashing victory for England and France. Paris and London didn't make any bones about it: they told their people how the Act brought the weight of the United States into their side of the scales.

What the Act Provides

The Act is supposed to establish elaborate restrictions which will prevent this country from becoming "involved." As finally amended and passed, the important restrictions boil down to Lttle more than this: travel by U.S. citizens and ships to a small zone in the north of Europe is prohibited. Citizens, if they are of the right sort, can always get special permission. This leaves about n nety U.S. ships, heretofore in the north European trade, to suffer handicap. But even these ninety ships will be able to take care of thems, k + Some will be transferred to foreign regse that the posible of will not apply to them. Others will take the place of British and French ships nitimally sailing in unrestricted zones, which will be trans erred to the north Atlantic routes.

There a so many loopnois in the alleged provisions against granting credit that they will serve ch effy to make the war commerce as safe and profitable as possible for U.S. corporations.

The original plan to prohibit U.S. ships from all bell geren, ports was dropped. With the exception of the small "danger zone," they can go anywhere and carry anything except atms. There is no restriction on shipment into Canada.

There are no re-trictions of any sort on what U.S. business is permitted to sell to the belligerents. An amendment that would have prohibited the export of poison gas and flame-throwers was howled down in the Senate by a four to one vote. This vote was a rather ironic comment on the moral indignation of our democratic rulers over "inhuman methods of warfare.'

One Foot In

With the passing of this Act, the United States has one foot solidly in the war. From now on, that foot will be pulling and straining to drag the other after

United States industry becomes part of the armory of Britain and France. Indeed, this is just the way in which the London papers put it.

But the Act is not an isolated event. It fits in exactly with the other moves of the Administration since the war began. The armed forces of the United States are also, in their own way, already in the way The declaration that the be'ligerent, Canada, would be defended by the United States against its enemy in effect places a U.S.-manned Maginot Line around Canada. Just as the French Maginot Line, even when no shooting is going on, affects the military balance. so does the declaration on Canada. Roosevelt's neutrality is no more genuine than would be that of the biggest bully on the block who, at the beginning of a street fight, would say: "I am not going to do any h.tting, yet. But I am going to supply one of the gangs with all the rocks and bricks they need. And I am going to keep an eye on my special favorites: they can throw rocks at the other side as much as they want, but if they get any in return, you'll hear from me."

All power to the mighty arms of the mu'timillioned Indian masses! Now is their chance to strike a death-blow at imperia'ist rule-just as our chance, in this country, will surely present itself in the days to come.

Lee . . . and Debs

Among the statements issued on Browder's speech at Boston announcing the new Stalinist line in this country, the one of Mr. Algernon Lee, of the Social Democratic Federatio, is not the least interesting.

"We Social Democrats are proud to be attacked by Browder as well as by Fascists of all

"That is where I stand and where I believe the Socialist Party stands, or ought to stand, on the question of war."

Compare this bold, ringing declaration of defiance of Debs, the proletarian revolutionist, with the cowering, snivelling servitude to imperialism of Lee, the "social democrat"-and you will get the full measure of Lee's ghoulish inso'ence in even daring to mention the name of Eugene Debs to sanctify his own crimes.



Raymond Clapper ciling the danger of the Roosevelt spy hunt says: "We are not at war and every American has the right to argue as to what our best course should be. It is only after we declare war when the time for argument is over." Like a true liberal Clapper thinks freedom of thought is a fine thing-except when it's necessary.

In London all venomous snakes, black widow spiders, scorpions, and other dangerous insects of the London zoo were destroyed as a war precaution. However, the most venomous insects of them all, the bosses, are still at large.

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Bertrand Russell, speaking in Santa Barbara, sai dthat "after three or four more wars people will be willing to be under international law." But the Socialist Workers Party intends to make this tional workers' law. the last war before the world is under interna-

A. P. Giannini, approaching 70, acknowledged that "this is a young man's day." The chairman of the board of the far-flung Transamerica Corporation said in an interview, "although I'm still chairman of the board, I'm really on the shelf; I leave everything to the young men." How about the swag?

. . .

By Paul G. Stevens

In the World of Labor

Voices Against the War on the Increase in England

It is cheering to learn that right in the midst of the war, the revolutionary internationalists of the British Militant Labour League have decided to transform their excellent little paper, the Mili_ tant, from a monthly to a fortn gh.ly. Our comrades from the M.L.L. remain as before the clearest voices in the consistent socialist struggle agains, war there. The fact that they have combined political clarity with a practical knowledge of how to function from day to day in the official Labour movement augurs well for the future progress of revolutionary internationalism in England.

In the current issue of the Militant they define their stand in an article entitled "Working Class Attitude to War" as follows:

"This present war is a thoroughly reactionary war. The British capitalist class have embarked upon it in order to preserve their own colonial possessions, their own foreign investments against the growing menace of German imperialism. The working class have no possession; in the colcn'es, no investments. They have nothing to defend except their living standards and their democratic rights which are threatened by the war, and these must be defended against the capitalsts who are already attacking them. The enemy is in our own country, it is our own ruling class. The only victory which can bring any benefit to the working class is the victory over the exploiters. Only the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of socialism can end wars, exploitation and poverty for all time."

Contrast this unequivocal presentation of the internat onalist working class stand against war with that of the centrists in the Independent Labour Party as expressed in the latest issue of its paper,, the New Leader, to reach here. That paper carries as its main head: "Will Revolution in Germany End the War." The headline itself could just as easily be the lead in the Conservative Times. As a matter of fact, the entire capitalist press of Great Britain features revolution . in Germany.

The article in the I.L.P. paper takes up most of its space with a description of the possibilities of an overthrow of the Hitler regime. Only towards the end does it rem.nd itself that "we must strive to secure than when this war ends (is it presumably to end only in one way, by revo_ lution in Germany ?- P.G.S.) the system of capitalism which causes poverty and war ends with it, and that here, too (well, well-Ed.) we begin to build a Socialist Britain and a Socialist World." The I.L.P.'s "internationalism" has always been strangely coupled with a peculiarly nationalist behavior of its chief parliamentary spokesman, James Maxton. Here is an example of Maxton presenting the I.L.P. position, so to speak, at a time when anti-Munich sentiment ran high in the Commons:

"I am not a fighting man. I am not bellicose. I struggle against war appreciably.

am reasonable and rational. Great Britain (!) never disarmed, never without great resources of men, money and materials, cou'd surely face up and say something definite(!) to the powerful dictatorial nations of Europe."

His speech greeting Chamberlain's efforts at Munich itself created a scandal which is still remembered. The social patriots used it to great advantage in Great Britain today. Thus, the Lord Prevost of Glasgow, whom we mentioned in a recent column, in the course of an article in Forward: 'Even James Maxton, the chief spokesman of the pacifists in Parliament, has admitted that the Prime Minister did everything possible to avert the catastrophe."

The difference between the I.L.P. stand and that of the Militant Labour League is the difference between opportunists to whom program is a matter of indifference and revolutionists who approach every problem precisely from the point of view of their fundamental program.

John McGovern, another I.L.P. parliamentar ian, whose politics are not much better than Maxton's, nevertheless occasionally rises to a fa higher level of moral courage. The British press tells this story:

On September 2, when the declaration of wa was being debated in the House of Commons Arthur Greenwood, the leader of the Labour Party got up to make an impassioned speech pledging the support of the social patrio's to the Chamberlain government. His ringing jingoistic phrases were greeted by "members of all parties' with cheers and cries: "Speak for Eng. land!" Greenwood reached the peak of his oratory with this sentence:

"If we march I hope we shall march in com plete unity, and march with France."

Suddenly, the papers report, "there was a dra matic intervention by Mr. John McGovern."

"Turning round and facing the crowded So cialist benches, Mr. McGovern shouted: 'You peo ple don't intend to march, not a damn one of you!" "

The press attacked McGovern's remarks as "in bad taste." He was not polite enough to refrain from reminding the war-mongering Labour gen erals behind the front that their generous pledges to "sacrifice all ' were to be taken out exclusively from the hides of the millions of their trade union followers. Greenwood and Co., as is well known are amply provided with soft berths in the ad ministration at the rear.

McGovern's commendable "rowdyism" in the House of Commons is about the high point of the I.L.P.'s contribution to the struggle against war While we admire McGovern's sense of the dra matic we cannot refrain from pointing out that even such completely middle class politicians as the elder LaFollette in the United States Senate have in their time shown a similar disregard for the amenities on occasion with similar personal courage-without thereby furthering the ultimate

How Will the Act Affect the War?

It is generally conceded that at the beginning of the war German aviation was superior to both England and France combined, and Germany's factories were turning planes out at a faster rate than her enemies. This relat on would be reversed if and when the flow across the ocean of U.S. planes-which are probably the best in the world-got into full stride.

The experiences of Spain and Poland, and of Ethi. opia and China in a less conclusive way, do not show that superiority in the air alone can win a modern war; but they seem to indicate that air superiority is a vital and perhaps necessary factor in winning a victory which is c.inched by other means. At the very least, decisive superiority in the gir seems able to paralyze transportation and reconnaissance to such an extent as to weaken vastly the ground forces. Whether planes can win out against sea power is not yet established.

Germany is of course fully aware of the alteration in the balance of air power which the U.S. action can bring.

It seems to me to follow, therefore, that within the next week or two-month or two at the longest-Germany will be compelled to "begin the war in earnest." This need not mean a mass campaign on the western fornt. But it would mean actions designed to gain and preserve superiority in the air: air bombardments of strategically important objectives (airfields, factories-especially those connected with plane manufacture-docks, key railroad junctions, etc.), and a big-time campaign on and under the

I consequently expect such moves in the very near future. I do not see how they can be avoided. If they do not occur, only one explanation seems to me possible: that, below the diplomatic surface, really serious negotiat.ons are under way between England and Germany, and that Hitler believes these negotiations are going to get results.

The British government advised the House of Commons that sportsmen might be asked to make sacrifices to aid wartime economy. The government was considering whether to restrict fox hunting and was consulting county war committees on the advisability of putting sheep to graze on golf courses. This impertinent suggestion must be voted down! Make the working cads do the sacrificing -they ought to be used to it seeing that they've been doing it all their lives.