

# The New Policy Of Stalinism In America

By JAMES P. CANNON

Once again American Stalinism has apparently changed its color. The bright yellow of recent years, which reflected the alliance, or attempted alliance, of Stalin and the imperialist democracies, has been suddenly transformed, like the color of a chameleon on an autumn leaf, into the reddish-brown of the Stalin-Hitler pact.

Overnight the raucous demand for American participation in a holy war against German fascism in the name of democracy has given way to fervent appeals to "Keep America out of war"—against Germany. For good measure—and for the benefit of dupes—the Kremlin agents have even begun to mutter something about socialism and to threaten to "vote against war credits" in "all the belligerent countries," including, it is to be assumed, Hitler's Germany if and when the Communist party deputies are summoned from their concentration camps or resurrected from their graves to cast their votes in the Nazi Reichstag.

What is the real meaning of their new policy, which so sharply contradicts their pronouncements of yesterday, and whom do they expect to deceive by this obscene horse-play with revolutionary slogans?

The answer to that double question must be divided into two parts. The new policy is designed to serve a definite purpose in the service of the Stalin-Hitler alliance. At the same time, by giving the pro-Axis agitation a superficial radical coloration, they hope to make it acceptable to the workers whose interests and sentiments have been so rudely violated. The new policy spells as sharp a turn of the American Stalinists in American politics as Stalin's alliance with Hitler represents in the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and reflects the latter like an image in a mirror.

## Agents of the Kremlin

The Communist Party of the United States is a direct and immediate agency of the Stalinist bureaucracy of the Soviet Union. All the otherwise incredible twists and turns and overnight reversals of policy are understandable only in the light of this relationship. The fraternal association of the various national Communist Parties in an international organization for the promotion of the common aim of world revolution—the original design of the Comintern—has long since been replaced by the arbitrary rule of Stalin over staffs of functionaries in the various countries, selected for their readiness to execute any order, no matter how infamous, without hesitation. This mercenary staff in the United States is now beating the drums for the joint policy of Stalin and his axis partner, Hitler.

The Stalin-Hitler pact, first explained as an innocent device to secure the neutrality of the Soviet Union, actually gave the signal for Hitler's invasion of Poland. This has already been followed by the Red Army's invasion, first of

(Continued on Page 3)

## Behind the Lines

By GEORGE STERN

It hasn't taken long for Sino-Japanese peace rumors to begin circulating as a direct sequel to the Soviet-Japanese truce. These rumors may be nothing more than a smoke-screen barrage accompanying the resumption of large-scale hostilities by the Japanese on Kiangsi, Honan, and Shansi fronts. Nevertheless, such rumors seldom arise out of a vacuum.

The fact that the proclamation of the new central puppet Chinese government to be headed by Wang Ching-wei has been again postponed. This latest bit of Japanese midwifery was supposed to be scheduled for Oct. 10, the anniversary of the establishment of the Chinese Republic. Postponement of the blessed event is being attributed in Shanghai to the opening of secret negotiations involving the Japanese, the would-be puppets and Kuomintang leaders at Chungking, with Russia in the role of mentor.

Out of Chungking come sharp denials that such negotiations are under way or even contemplated. At the same time Chinese leaders are clearly digesting the effect upon them of the spectacular turn of events in Europe. Should a Moscow-Berlin-Tokyo axis become a reality—and it is far from that as yet—we may be sure that Chiang Kai-shek will ponder deeply the ultimate value of friendship with Britain before decisively rejecting any peace overtures that come from Japan. For Chiang Kai-shek yields to no one, not even to Stalin, in his capacity to make 180-degree turns in policy and his ability to make such turns effective by ruthlessly crushing all who oppose it.

But the war will have to proceed to a further stage and the tempo of Roosevelt's drive to bring the U.S. into it will have to be measured before the Kuomintang chieftains would care to take any such decisive step. For the time being, however, they are confronted with the fact that they face a Japan untrammelled by any serious deterrents. Japan is freed—even if only temporarily—from the need for counting on a clash with Russia. Of this the Tokyo militarists are determined to take the fullest possible advantage by hastening conclusion of their grab in China. Reading the news from Poland, the Tokyo generals doubtless figure they had better take while the taking is good before Stalin commits another of his acts of "peace and liberation" on the Far Eastern front.

This leaves the Chungking government suspended in a position of uncertainty that is likely to become agonizing before long. Judging from the news dispatches there are mixed feelings in the Chinese capital on the effects of the Soviet-Japanese truce upon the Sino-Japanese war. Certainly by no stretch of any imagination do they believe the Chinese position to be improved by that truce—as Harry Gannes of the Daily Worker would like his readers to believe. The thin trickle of arms from Russia has not been much help to the Chinese, but if this trickle ceases, and along with it the supplies secured from the Western powers, the resultant disadvantage may outweigh the geographical factors which for the present constitute their principal military asset against the new Japanese drives.

# Socialist Appeal

Official Organ of the Socialist Workers Party, Section of the Fourth International

VOL. III, NO. 74

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 29, 1939

LET THE PEOPLE VOTE ON WAR

3c a Copy

# ROOSEVELT WAR DEAL HITS SNAG IN MASS RESISTANCE TO WAR

## Refuse to Shoulder Burden of Boss War

Seamen Insist on Extra War Pay; S.U.P. Plans Real Fight

By B. J. WIDICK

The general flare-up of seamen throughout the world against sailing in war zones unless given bonuses and special insurance marks a new stage in labor's struggle to prevent all war burdens from falling on its shoulders.

Recently, ship owners took as a matter of course the announcements of underwriters that all insurance rates would be boosted tremendously for all craft shipping in danger zones. Property must be protected.

A similar demand for adequate protection of human beings on these ships was distinctly disregarded by the operators. Crews of Irish, British, Dutch and American ships were forced to tie up the vessels in order to obtain even a consideration of their demands.

### Refuse to Sail

In America, seven liners were tied up by members of the National Maritime Union who refused to sail for Europe unless their demands were met.

The sympathetic strike of British sailors and the complete tie-up of all ships involved gave promise of a real victory for the NMU despite government attempts of intimidation against strikers through false arrests.

However, the NMU officials are dominated by the Stalinist fakery, and a poor compromise agreement resulted which has intensified rank and file dissatisfaction and resentment.

So strong is the feeling of the NMU ranks that Curran and company are finding it difficult to get crews for the ships. The men just won't sign up under the terms negotiated by Curran. This boycott is what the newspapers have been calling a "shortage of labor."

Original demands of the NMU included \$250 a month bonus, \$25,000 insurance, a 40 per cent increase in personnel.

(Continued on Page 4)



Smoke-Screen

## Hold WPA Strikers on Conspiracy Charge; Labor Defense Widened

Canada Convicts Watson, Anti-War Militant

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

TORONTO, Ontario—Frank Watson, anti-war militant, was the first person convicted under the stringent War Measures Act, following his arrest last week.

He was found guilty by Magistrate R.J. Browne who remanded him until Sept. 28 for sentence.

Watson was charged with conducting an anti-war meeting, during which he was quoted as saying, "Why join the army if you are going to be used for cannon fodder."

Another piece of "evidence" against him was the claim of governmental witnesses that Watson had said that fundamentally the democracies were as bad as the fascist states.

AFL National Convention May Discuss Case As Federal Agents Press Frame-up against Indicted Minneapolis WPA Strikers

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

MINNEAPOLIS, Sept. 22—With the federal government now openly pressing "conspiracy" charges against over half of the sixty workers listed in the second batch of indictments handed down in the Minneapolis WPA strike case, the Central Labor Union's WPA Defense Committee is getting in touch with leading national trade union figures to bring the Minneapolis defense case before the coming annual convention of the American Federation of Labor in Cincinnati.

Resentment against the vile gang of union-smashers, from Roosevelt and Murphy down, reached a new pitch in this city yesterday when it was learned that some of the latest indictments name more than 30 persons, charging "conspiracy to violate the emergency relief appropriation act." They charge defendants with conspiring to deprive the WPA of the workers services!

Charges unsubstantiated. Needless to say, the government has no facts to back up its charges of conspiracy. And

(Continued on Page 3)

## Boss Politicians Seek To Trick People Into War by Lies and Scares

Mounting Mass Opposition to War-Makers Compels Administration to Shift Tactics In Drive to Get U.S. into the War

Under the pressure of mounting public alarm at the war moves of the Administration, and increased popular determination to resist entry of this country into the war, Roosevelt's hope that he could railroad his repeal of the arms embargo through Congress in double-quick time is, for the moment, confronting unexpected obstacles.

The President has been compelled to shift his tactics: on the one hand, making certain concessions to isolationist sentiment; and on the other spreading war-mongering rumors reminiscent of the Spring of 1917.

No sooner had the Special Session opened than Roosevelt announced to the press that two submarines of "unknown nationality" had been sighted off the coasts of North America. This story, even if true, which is at the least doubtful, has in itself not the slightest significance. But Roosevelt's purpose was served. The headlines played it up as if the mainland of the United States were being threatened by immediate attack.

Smearing War Opponents. A far more despicable, and dangerous maneuver followed twenty-four hours later. The White House and members of Congress are being swamped by hundreds of thousands of letters demanding that this country be kept out of the war. An overwhelming majority of these letters insist that the arms embargo be retained. There is no doubt that a certain percentage of these letters are "inspired" by the pressure campaigns of Coughlin and even the Nazi Bund. However, the reports from Congressmen make clear that most of them are genuine and spontaneous expressions of the opinions of the ordinary people of the country.

Determined to ride roughshod over any and all opposition, the administration released a "confidential report" that messages had been intercepted from Berlin and Moscow which instructed Hitler's and Stalin's friends in the United States to put pressure on Congress to retain the embargo. Here is the perfect foreshadowing of the future! Anyone who opposes any act of the government—is an enemy spy!

Landon's Proposal. Alfred Landon, in the only smart trick he has yet chalked up as a politician, added to Roosevelt's discomfiture by reminding Roosevelt that he could aid in clarifying the political atmosphere by announcing publicly that he would not run for a third term. Roosevelt naturally had no comment to make on Landon's suggestion. Roosevelt recognizes that the war is the one factor that can save him, personally, from political oblivion. He looks forward to riding straight into a third term as war president, and this is not the least of the reasons why he plans entry into the war in the shortest possible number of months.

(Continued on Page 2)

## HOTEL UNION PROGRESSIVES FIGHT C. P. RULE

NEW YORK—Denouncing the "cancerous growth of Communist Party policy and Communist Party domination" and demanding "the re-establishment of inner-union democracy," representatives of progressive groups in the Greater New York Locals of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers' International Union and Bartenders' International League of America met in a twelve-hour convention last Monday and united their groups into a joint, inter-local organization to carry on their fight on a city-wide scale.

From the opening address de-

livered by Louis Rifkin, chairman of the Provisional Committee which called the convention, to the adoption of the final resolution, the several score delegates voiced their determination to emulate the progressive painters who had recently united their forces and delivered a crushing blow to Communist Party domination of their District Council in New York.

Progressive Program. Declaring the necessity of full trade-union democracy, amalgamation of craft locals, and "reliance only upon our own efforts and actions" to or-

ganize the unorganized, the declaration of principles pledged the progressives to fight for the following points as part of their program:

1. For the fullest inner-Union democracy and freedom of expression and opinion for all members of our International Union.
2. For the re-establishment of the closed shop and real job security in our local unions.
3. For the ratification of all agreements and the adoption of uniform wage standards by a membership vote of the local union.
4. For the equal distribution

of work to the unemployed; for a genuine, rotating open work list.

5. For the democratic election of officers in all local unions.
6. For the organization of the unorganized on the basis of achieving real union conditions and wages for the unorganized workers.

Industrial Unionism. 7. For the application of the principle of industrial unionism in our industry, wherever feasible.

8. For AFL-CIO unity without sacrificing the principle of vertical organization in mass

industries.

9. For the governing of finances in all local unions by a budget system based solely upon the needs of the membership and not upon the requirements of any political party or faction thereof.

10. For the fullest freedom of expression, without discrimination, of any member, regardless of political faith; and that we fight political domination of any local union by any political party.

Stalinist Crimes. The convention thoroughly discussed and adopted a reso-

(Continued on Page 2)

# WAR--WHAT FOR?

The First of a Series of Friday Night Lectures

By James P. Cannon

The First Imperialist War---1914-1918  
Its Causes and Consequences

Friday, Sept. 29  
8:30 P.M.  
Irving Plaza  
(Irving Pl. & 15th St.)  
ADMISSION—25c



# Confidential Bulletin Exposes Bosses' War Schemes

By JOSEPH HANSEN  
Article II

The most important task now facing the capitalist class, according to the confidential report issued by the Tax Research Institute, is the completion of preparations for the war into which Roosevelt will plunge the United States in the immediate future.

The inside information, according to this bulletin issued by the top circle of Big Business for the benefit of the capitalist class, is that American participation in the second world war is imminent, and every capitalist must hasten his preparations in order to reap the enormous profits that will drain from the blood-soaked battlefields.

## Roosevelt Role Important

An important part of these preparations is thorough understanding of the new role that will be played by Roosevelt and his regime.

In language clear enough to penetrate the iron skulls of even the most reactionary members of the capitalist class, the bulletin explains that Roosevelt will act solely in the interests of capitalism when he clamps down the military dictatorship in America which has already been prepared for the day when the dough-boys start sailing for their graves in Europe.

"Primarily," says the bulletin, "business must understand two facts: (1) the plan is NOT new: it is not a 'New Deal' accomplishment; (2) the plan is the product of the joint efforts of the War and Navy Departments applied to the business problem since the close of the World War."

This declaration concerning the Industrial Mobilization Plan is true in that the Republican regimes have fostered it as much as the Democratic, but it fails to give Roosevelt the credit that is conspicuously due him for his indefatigable efforts to push the plan throughout his term of office and to see to it that it got funds diverted from relief allowances.

## Want to End Boss Factionalism

This slight omission of the credit line in the bulletin is clearly designed to appeal to those old-fashioned die-hards who look at the world through the door of their office safe and who have been particularly exercised over the pink New Deal paint Roosevelt sprayed over his administration. Big Business is anxious to end factionalism in the capitalist class in the interests of unity in the face of war and the dangerous operation of wringing maximum profits from a blood-bath that will inevitably deal the coup de grace to more than one capitalist state in its death agony.

Army officers are back of this plan, the bulletin therefore explains soothingly, the same men who run the National Guard, men who see eye to eye with you about profits, bayonets, and labor problems.

But the bulletin does not stop with this explanation. Big Business, stream-lining itself for the super-profits of modern warfare, wishes to assure that no capitalist—not even those with the antiquated mentality of the flint pistol—crosses the interests of his class because of past factional differences as to just how the executive arm in Washington should have conducted its tactics before the war broke out.

## War Board Represents 60 Families

"The Industrial Mobilization Plan," continues the bulletin, "... is the work of the Army and Navy Munitions Board, the coordinating agency which acts for both departments of War and Navy in the problems of war planning and procurement. The War Resources Board which has just been appointed will act as the civilian advisory committee to the Army and Navy Munitions Board. This civilian board will review the policies already prepared pertaining to the mobilization of industry and the nation's economic resources."

That this civilian War Resources Board is not simply a reviewing stand of flag-wavers for Army parade day but in reality an executive committee directly representing the interests of Big Business is explained in the following paragraph:

"As soon as the President declares that an emergency exists, however, the War Resources Board will become THE important executive agency of the Government with the broad powers exercised by the old War Industries Board. The possibility that, shortly after war breaks on the European continent, the President WILL find that an emergency exists in the United States and that war is imminent, makes the War Resources Board of paramount importance to business. The Board will then be in a position to exercise its full-fledged role in the preparation of American business for its part in the war."

One would think that such a paragraph explaining the complete wiping out not only of the entire "New Deal" but

every one of the democratic institutions that might possibly boomerang against the interests of the capitalist class could not be misunderstood by any one capable of clipping a coupon. But the confidential bulletin goes still further and even fills in the names and addresses:

## War Deal Replaces New Deal

"T.R.I. Observation: It is important to note that despite the New Deal Administration, if the War Resources Board plays its emergency roll, its effect upon American Business will be that of a conservative agency. Note the names of the Board: The chairman is Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., U.S. Steel Corp., Board Chairman. The other five members of the Board are: Karl T. Compton, President, M.I.T.; Walter S. Gifford, President, Amer. Tel. & Tel.; Harold G. Moulton, President, Brookings Institution; John Lee Pratt, Director, General Motors; and General Robert E. Wood, Chairman, Sears Roebuck & Co. The Board's Secretary, Col. Harry K. Rutherford, is particularly equipped for the analysis of the military-industrial problem."

A wax museum wishing to depict the murderous overseers hired by the Sixty Families—Morgan, Rockefeller, Mellon, DuPont, Girdler, etc.—could not have chosen a list of names more gory than these.

In brief, the political tip of this confidential bulletin to the capitalist class is this: The New Deal is wiped out. The War Deal now reigns. Big Business runs the War Deal. Stop all factionalism. Prepare your business operations for the PROFITS OF WAR

### In the Labor Unions

By B. J. WIDICK

The conventions of the AFL and the CIO called for early in October assume historic significance because Congress will be in session on the war question at the same time.

Many a Washington politician is not going to cast his vote for or against Roosevelt's war policies until he sees what the labor movement has to say.

## Many Issues

War! That is the burning issue before the delegates to the two conventions. For or against the Roosevelt war program. For or against a people's referendum on war.

Labor unity! Will it take the form of a united front against war and its menace to Organized Labor or will it be a unity with the Army and Navy to hogle the unions to the military machine?

Roosevelt? Will the man who turned the New Deal into the War Deal be repudiated or is labor going to put its stamp of approval via a third term endorsement on its chief opponent?

While both conventions face many other important problems, these three questions are the decisive issues. Recent events give a fairly accurate forecast of how labor will give its answers.

## Stalinist Turn

The new turn of the Stalinists ("Keep America Out of Imperialist War") already has been felt in the labor movement. The New Haven Central Labor Union adopted the new line which includes ducking the neutrality issue as presented to Congress.

The American Federation of Hosiery Workers, CIO, rejected a resolution endorsing Roosevelt's "peace policy," and adopted the new C.P. line of "Keep Out of Imperialist War," and for "true neutrality."

Evasion of the fundamental problem of fighting against the war policies of Roosevelt is the essence of the new Stalinist treachery. It will carry much weight at the CIO convention because of the strength of the Stalinists in those unions.

## Lewis Silent

The decision of the CIO convention, however, rests primarily on John L. Lewis and the top bureaucracy. Outside of his Labor Day blast Lewis has been silent. Perhaps he is waiting for the CIO convention to give his views a more authoritative backing?

Present indications are that Lewis will follow along the same lines of his Labor Day speech. His criticism of Roosevelt for spending sleepless nights worrying about entangling America in a foreign war while the unemployed starve at home probably will result in a convention decision against a change in the neutrality law.

Since the AFL top leadership has had a "more friendly ear" at the White House than the

CIO in recent months, William Green and the AFL executive council will be more receptive to support of Roosevelt's war program.

## Obstacles

But they face an obstacle that will be very difficult to overcome. The Minnesota Federation of Labor convention went on record for a people's referendum on war. Passage of a similar resolution at the national convention would constitute a heavy blow to Roosevelt's war aims.

Let the People Vote on War! This rallying cry from the AFL and CIO conventions would gather whirlwind speed and support throughout the country. It would put a serious crimp in Roosevelt's style.

## Unity Prospects

Prospects for labor unity of any kind are less than they were a year ago. The AFL leaders think the CIO is rapidly disintegrating. Let time solve the problem.

John L. Lewis hasn't even made a gesture towards reopening unity negotiations which were postponed at his suggestion during the coal strike last spring.

Roosevelt is pushing for a reactionary unity behind the war machine. The rank and file in both camps want unity but its voice has not been powerful enough yet to force a progressive unity.

Unity in action against M-day; against emasculation of the unions; against the de facto repeal of the wages and hours law and the Wagner act; against war profiteering; this kind of unity must emerge from the conventions. It will come only from rank and file pressure.

All the ballyhoo in the world can not keep the terrible tragedy of unemployment from demanding attention at the conventions. Will the unemployment problem be "solved" by sending millions to European trenches, or will all war funds go to the unemployed?

## A Job for Delegates

The sniveling attitude of Lewis and company in begging for a labor representative on the War Board shows that any serious action will not come from them. It's a job for the delegates.

A third term for Roosevelt was the usual stand of many labor conventions, both CIO and AFL. However, recent events changed this situation somewhat.

## Rebuke Roosevelt

The New York State Federation of Labor very deliberately avoided a vote on that question as a rebuke to Roosevelt for his WPA wage cuts. There is much sentiment of that kind in the AFL. The executive council has always been divided on support of Roosevelt. A Republican wing headed by William Hutchinson of the Carpenters union, has other reactionary ideas.

From every point of view, this is one question on which the AFL convention will find itself divided. If a progressive wing develops at the convention capable of clearing through the muddle-headed thinking, repudiation of Roosevelt as a war-monger and anti-labor politician can become a reality.

## Lewis Changes Tune

John L. Lewis recently changed his tune in regard to Roosevelt, as we outlined in a previous column. No longer is it the policy of the top CIO lead-

## Progressives in N. Y. Hotel Union Unite to Combat C. P. Domination

(Continued from Page 1)

lution on policy to be sent to all local unions and officers of the International, enumerating the crimes of the Communist Party machine committed during the past three years:

"They defended the racketeers against the Dewey prosecution; "Criminal incompetence in the conduct of the Horn-and-Hardart strike of 1937-1938; inefficiency and incompetence in the handling of the current Brass Rail strike;

"Commisar Jay Rubin, President of the Hotel Trades Council, conceived and consummated an agreement with the Hotel Association in New York City which provides for: split-shifts, complete control of hiring and firing by the employer, a "Czar" in the industry to decide all other vital union disputes, a four-year contract which falls to provide for periods of sky-rocketing cost of living, and deprives labor of its strongest weapon during such

periods—the right to strike; and which contract is similar in many respects to a company-union contract;

"Complete lack of organization of the catering establishments at the World's Fair and no accounting of the funds collected for work permits from non-union workers;

"Vicious and dictatorial rule over 30,000 culinary workers by threats, terrorism, suppression of free speech, suspensions and expulsions without fair trial."

The convention pledged itself to defend any member victimized because of his participation in the work of the Inter-local Progressives. It established a permanent organization with representation for the progressive groups in all the local unions. Plans are being drafted for the publication of a newspaper, and the beginning of a drive which will end in smashing the traitorous Communist Party machine and the re-establishment of a militant, democratic union.

## PREVIEW OF WAR-TIME SUPPRESSION

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 19—A preview of police suppression and intimidation during war times, was seen in the announcement made by Superintendent of Police Hubbs which stated that all "subversive meetings" hereafter would be required to be held under a police permit and under surveillance of plain clothes detectives.

Heading his message "a precautionary measure to prevent mob violence" Hubbs said it would be a comparatively simple matter to place the blame on them when they occur. The fact that sponsors of each meeting must obtain a permit will serve as a means of clamping down on those with unfavorable records," Hubbs concluded.

The metropolitan press headed this new police order as a campaign to stamp out "subversive activities" during the

ers to call for an unqualified endorsement of Roosevelt for a third term.

The Transport Workers Union convention, Stalinist-directed, last week passed a resolution giving the new line. For a president who carries out New Deal policies. No direct endorsement of Roosevelt! It's the same line that Eli P. Oliver, executive vice-president of Labor's Non-Partisan League, gave to the United Rubber Workers convention.

duration of the European war. This reactionary measure is already in effect on all SWP street meetings. All meetings are attended by a number of detectives, who write down the names and addresses of the speakers as well as a gist of what they said.

Recognizing that this measure is intended to bulldoze and intimidate the anti-war workers in the city, the SWP is going ahead with their work, refusing to be cowed, and using this opportunity to show the workers of the city what they will have to contend with when this country goes to war to "stamp out" fascism. Making use of this opportunity to show that fascism will be introduced in a legal fashion, the day the U.S. goes to war, the SWP is planning a vigorous campaign of anti-war activity to expose the reactionary activities of both the national and city administrations.

## STUDENTS SPIKE MILITARY PLAN AT UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

A bill to make military training compulsory at the University of Wisconsin—already passed by the Wisconsin State Senate and now before the Assembly—struck a snag this week when the student body returned to school for the new term.

The students jammed the meeting of the Assembly subcommittee holding hearings on the measure (the White bill), hooted the sparse defenders of the bill and cheered on its opponents, despite the strenuous gaveling of Chairman Schritz.

The quick reaction of the student body showed their determination to prevent the militarization of the youth, just as the bill reflects the government's drive toward girding the country for war. Following the students' display of militancy, the Assembly committee failed to endorse the bill, reporting it to

## You Can Aid the Fight Against War by Signing Nominating Petitions for SWP Candidates

All citizens resident in New York who sympathize with the campaign of the Socialist Workers Party to place a candidate in the Bronx and one in Manhattan on the ballot for the Councilmanic Elections are asked to sign a nominating petition immediately.

Drop in at headquarters, 116 University Place, N.Y.C., or at the headquarters of the nearest branch to place your name on a petition. If you have friends who are registered voters too and who will sign the petition, bring them with you or give us their names and we will have a canvasser call upon them.

The circulation of a petition for signatures among your shopmates, if you are in a position to do so, will give the campaign a big boost.

Absolutely no obligation is entailed in signing. Without any commitment on your part, by signing a petition, you give the only anti-war party in the United States a chance to fight against the second world war from the vantage point of the ballot.

We need your help now as never before in placing our anti-war, anti-fascist candidates on the ballot for the coming election.

## ANNOUNCEMENTS

**WANTED**  
5 BICYCLES to help build up the Socialist Appeal newsstand routes. Anyone willing to loan or donate a bicycle should get in touch immediately with the Labor Bookshop, 116 University Place.

## Minimum Guaranteed Earnings!!

**WANTED—Men, Women and Students**  
to sell the Socialist Appeal as a part time job. Socialist Appeal now selling very fast on the streets. One dollar a day guaranteed. Possible to make much more. Apply all day from 12 o'clock on at 116 University Pl., Abe Miller.

## Read The New International

## STUDENTS SPIKE MILITARY PLAN AT UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

the Legislature without recommendation after a 3-3 deadlock. A stream of student, labor and farmer spokesmen appeared at the hearing to condemn the militarization measure. One of the students was enthusiastically cheered when he told the committee that he could guarantee opposition to the measure from every one of the organized student groups on the campus—"with the sole exception of the Young Communist League," he added.

In support of the White bill, its proponents rounded up the American Legion, a Racine chiropractor, two women speaking for the Daughters of 1812, and a freshman ROTC student.

A representative of the Farmers Equity Union told the legislators that he would not send his sons to the state university if military drill were made compulsory.

## MORE BRONX NEWSSTANDS CARRY APPEAL

So popular has the Socialist Appeal become in the vicinity of the West Bronx that the S.W.P. branch in the neighborhood has decided to add a number of newsstands to its present route in order to make it easier for interested readers to secure their copies of the paper.

In the struggle against war, the Socialist Appeal is a mighty weapon in the hands of a worker. The Bronx comrades call upon all sympathizers and friends to push the sales of America's only anti-war newspaper—the Socialist Appeal.

You can do your part in the fight against war by telling your friends to buy their copy of the Appeal at the following newsstands that have been added to the route:  
167 Street and River Avenue, SE corner; 170 Street and Jerome Avenue, SE corner; 3 East Mount Eden Avenue (candy store); 150 E. 174 St., (candy store); Tremont & Davidson Ave.; Burnside & Jerome Ave., SW; 183 St. & Jerome Ave., SE; 188 St. & Grand Concourse, SW; 17 E. Kingsbridge Rd.; Kingsbridge Rd. & Jerome Ave., NE; Kaplan's Stationery, 3889 Sedgewick Ave.; 204 St. & Valentine (candy store); Moshulu station—East Side; 166 St. & McClellan, SE;

**Bound Volume of SOCIALIST APPEAL NOW AVAILABLE**  
First 6 months of 1939 (52 issues)  
\$2.00, including postage  
Order now from:  
**SOCIALIST APPEAL**  
116 University Pl.  
New York City



## CHICAGO LEADS THE PARADE

Chicago led the parade in the past week with new subscriptions, sending in a total of 11, besides 4 renewal subscriptions.

Rochester, New York, also did very nicely, sending in 4, while 6 new subscriptions were entered from New York.

St. Paul sent in an additional 2, Boston 3, Fitchburg, Massachusetts 2, and several scattered subscriptions totaling as follows:

|                    |    |
|--------------------|----|
| Chicago            | 11 |
| Rochester          | 4  |
| New York           | 6  |
| St. Paul           | 2  |
| Boston             | 3  |
| Fitchburg          | 2  |
| Evansville         | 1  |
| Gloversville, N.Y. | 1  |
| Allentown, Pa.     | 1  |
| Newark             | 2  |
| Minneapolis        | 2  |
| Albany             | 1  |
| Los Angeles        | 1  |
| Miscellaneous      | 3  |

The total number of new subscriptions in the past week was 42. This is among the best weeks for new subscriptions.

## RESULTS SHOW GREAT POSSIBILITIES

St. Paul again did splendidly in obtaining renewals, sending in 8, and local Philadelphia also did well with 6. From Los Angeles and New York came 3 each, two from Minneapolis and one each from Newark, Chester, Pa., Allentown, Detroit, St. Louis, 4 scattered for a total of 31 renewals, or a combined subscription total of 75 for new and renewals.

The results of the past week show the possibility for a large number of subscriptions if systematic efforts are employed. Oakland, California placed a new bundle order for 10 copies. Eloise Booth, the unusually fine literature director in San Francisco, writes that the column on the Negroes by Comrade Johnson is attracting the interest of the young Negroes.

Local St. Paul has once again increased its bundle order, particularly for new and renewal subscriptions for both the paper and the magazine.

## NEWSSTAND SALES GOING UP

The Newark organization, George Breitman, literature director, is now going full speed in the sale of the Socialist Appeal on the streets and elsewhere.

Denver, Colorado, notes slow, but steady improvement, as indicated by the increase of its regular bundle order, and Los Angeles sales on the streets and newsstands are now more systematically handled under the able charge of Harry Baker, despite a temporary decrease in the regular bundle order.

In New York City, Abe Miller, city literature agent, reports there has been a big increase in newsstand sales, particularly in the Bronx.

**SPECIAL \$5.95 FOR ONE WEEK ONLY**  
Collected Works of LENIN (8 Volumes)  
The Iskra Period (2 Vol.)  
Materialism and Empirio-Criticism  
The Imperialist War  
The Revolution of 1917 (2 Vol.)  
Towards the Seizure of Power (2 Vol.)

**LABOR BOOKSHOP**  
116 University Place  
New York City  
(Add 25c for postage)

this time to 125 copies per issue, and while temporary, hopes to keep the figure far beyond its original order of 75.

In Evansville Henry Schnautz systematically reaches a large number of readers with the Socialist Appeal and the New International and is confident of obtaining several regular subscribers.

Now that Sam Richter, Chicago literature director, who has been ill, is back on the job, Chicago will again be in the forefront as is indicated by the subscriptions sent in from there in the past week.

A bundle order for 5 copies has been placed by a new agent in Lincoln, Nebraska.

In Allentown sales of the Socialist Appeal and the New International have spurred ahead again, thanks to the spirited and energetic efforts of Comrade Ruth Querio and others.

Cleveland has reorganized its literature system with the addition of a couple of live wires, who are transferring their activities from other work into the literature field.

Minneapolis is now driving particularly for new and renewal subscriptions for both the paper and the magazine.

## NEWSSTAND SALES GOING UP

The Newark organization, George Breitman, literature director, is now going full speed in the sale of the Socialist Appeal on the streets and elsewhere.

Denver, Colorado, notes slow, but steady improvement, as indicated by the increase of its regular bundle order, and Los Angeles sales on the streets and newsstands are now more systematically handled under the able charge of Harry Baker, despite a temporary decrease in the regular bundle order.

In New York City, Abe Miller, city literature agent, reports there has been a big increase in newsstand sales, particularly in the Bronx.

## ST. PAUL ANTI WAR MASS MEETING LET THE PEOPLE VOTE ON WAR!

Speaker:  
**Grace Carlson**  
Friday Sept. 29, 8 p.m.  
147 West 5th St.  
Auspices: St. Paul Branch, Socialist Workers Party

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

Name .....

Address .....

City .....



# THE NEGRO QUESTION

"LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS BRANDED"—KARL MARX.

By J. R. JOHNSON

## The Negro and the War

We have now established that Negroes in America, particularly the great mass of the workers and farmers, have no reason whatever to support any sort of war for democracy. We have established also that in the great crisis through which humanity is now passing, in the great upheavals which will soon be taking place, the American Negroes have as their allies the millions of colonials in every country, those in Africa, in India, and all the other oppressed peoples who form the majority of men and women now living. And, most important, we have seen that many white workers in all parts of the world, although they do not suffer from the special discriminations imposed upon the Negro, yet see no reason why they must shed their blood for capitalism, whether it is democratic or fascist. These white workers believe that the working class and the farmers in every country have their chief enemy at home. They believe that the war the workers and farmers must fight is the war of all the oppressed against all the oppressors, the war to put an end to the capitalist system with its continual wars, its crises, and its fascist dictatorships.

The question now is how can the American Negroes best carry on the fight against being driven into the war. It is capitalism that drives us into war. So that the way to fight against war is to fight against capitalism. Who is it who will lead this country into war. None other than Franklin Roosevelt. True, he says that he will do his best to keep America out of war. But Woodrow Wilson was elected in 1916 on the slogan that he kept America out of war. And the next year he was leading America into war in the name of democracy. Roosevelt has made every preparation and is just waiting his chance to drag America in. How to stop him? There is only one way. By distrusting every word he says and opposing him in every move that he makes now.

### Roosevelt Cut Relief

When he and Congress cut down relief, it is no use listening to the Workers' Alliance when it says that Roosevelt has cut relief less than the reactionary Congress and therefore Roosevelt must be supported. Not at all. Fight against both. If you support Roosevelt you strengthen his hand for his war policy. Note that although Congress and Roosevelt will disagree about relief, they always agree about the amount that should be spent on armaments. On that, they have no disagreement. They may quarrel about when exactly America should go into the war. But as to the preparations for going in, on that they are both agreed.

Roosevelt proposes that you cannot strike against the government. Negroes who are working on government projects will strike for their rights and struggle against this fascist decision. The stronger the opposition of the workers on all fronts, the more the capitalists are impeded in their drive to war. Roosevelt proposes to lift the embargo. What he is doing is trying to link up America more closely with Britain and France. As far as we can, we oppose this move to bring us closer towards the war.

### Roosevelt Spends Billions for War

Roosevelt proposes so many billions for armaments. We protest against it. We want no billions or millions for armaments. Not one red cent. In return we demand that all war funds be given to the unemployed. The unemployed want money to live. They do not want to support Congress in voting money to kill people. We show our protest by meetings, demonstrations and joining with all those who carry on the same anti-war activities. That is the way to oppose Roosevelt's plan to drag America into war.

But the struggle can be carried on in a more immediate and regular manner. In the factory, in the mine, on the farms, wherever workers struggle for better wages and better conditions, when the danger of war approaches, that is the time to press for your demands with the greatest intensity. Taking them as a whole, all the capitalists will support one another in the war. It is they who stand to gain by it. So that all the workers, by pressing hard on them, and fighting against them by strikes, etc., can not only win privileges for themselves, but can so threaten the capitalists, that these, fighting their war against the workers at home, are so much the more prevented from fighting against the enemy abroad.

### Solidarity of White and Black

Negroes must organize for the abolition of Jim Crowism, must organize for their full political rights, for full social equality. It is by mobilizing for these things against the capitalist class that the Negroes can help in keeping Roosevelt and the capitalists so busy at home that they will not be able to drag the country into war.

But the workers themselves discriminate against their brother Negroes. Must the Negroes cease their struggles against discriminations in unions and other workers' organizations? Not at all. The Negroes and their friends among the white workers must point out to all that the Negroes must have their full rights as members of the working class and as citizens. The best way to mobilize all opposition against the war is to see that Negroes get the fullest opportunity to participate in every struggle against the capitalists. This can only be done by Negroes having full access to all unions. The Negroes will make no concessions here. In this gigantic task of the workers there must be full solidarity in the fight against war and this means a great struggle for equality among all members of the working class movement and all who are fighting against the capitalist war.

(Concluded in Next Issue)

# National Labor Defense for WPA Strikers Planned as Government Holds Men on Conspiracy Charge

(Continued from Page 1)

ments are Walter Frank, head of the Lathers Union and a leader in the WPA Joint Action Committee which directed the Minneapolis strike, and Myrtle Harris, an official of the Minneapolis Central Labor Union and a member of the city Library Board. It is further rumored that an indictment has been issued against Peter Murck, head of the Minneapolis Building Trades Council.

Among the unemployed leaders named in the recent flood of indictments are Roy Orton and Louis White of the Federal Workers Section of Local 544, and Rosenthal, head of the St. Paul Workers Benefit Association. Geldman and Palmquist of the FWS were among those indicted in the first batch.

Of the sixty indicted two days ago, twenty-five are to be released on RFR (Released on Personal Recognizance); for ten, the bail is fixed at \$3,000 each; for twelve, \$2,000 each; and for thirteen, \$1,000 each. The total bail asked for this group amounts to \$67,000.

The AFL's WPA Defense Committee is redoubling its efforts to secure contributions to purchase bail bonds for the new prisoners. The Committee has issued a call for women and girl volunteers to participate in the city-wide tag day to be held by the Committee on Saturday, October 7.

### No End in Sight

Of the sixty just indicted, only twenty-five have been arrested to date, and the identity of the remainder is still a secret. Labor anticipates that more union leaders have been indicted and will be arrested within the next few days. All those arrested have been bailed out by the Defense Committee.

It is almost impossible to follow the logic of the federal grand jury, which lurches along from one monstrosity to another. It is fairly certain that U.S. Attorney Victor Anderson, the young prosecuting attorney, originally undertook the case with the view of making a name for himself as a "law and order" man a la Calvin Coolidge. But it is doubtful if even Anderson meant to go as far as the jury has gone. Under pressure from the FBI, employers in the state, and the national administration, the federal grand jury has certainly gotten out of Anderson's hands and is running hog-wild. The end is by no means in sight. Anderson has announced the jury will reconvene October 23 and continue its investigation. FBI agents are now said to be working on the St. Paul angle of the strike.

### AFL to Consider Strike Defense

The Central Labor Union's WPA Defense Committee has gotten in touch with leaders of state federations in the East, including New York and New Jersey, and it is certain that the Minneapolis situation will be brought upon the floor of the AFL convention in Cincinnati. The International Lathers Union which just met in convention passed several resolutions in defense of the Minneapolis strikers. William Green has already publicly protested against what he correctly termed the persecution of the Minneapolis WPA workers by the government and it is more than likely that the American Federation of Labor nationally will get behind the Minneapolis defense.

The defense has been strengthened recently by drawing the

St. Paul labor movement into the fight against the frame-ups. On Thursday a committee representing the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly met with the Minneapolis WPA Defense Committee. And on Friday at the regular Assembly meeting, a resolution carried to set up a permanent defense committee organized on the same lines as the Minneapolis WPA Defense Committee—two each from the Building Trades Council, the Teamsters Joint Council, the Allied Printing Trades Council and the miscellaneous trades—and to launch a campaign for contributions from the various St. Paul local unions.

"New Deal or New Slavery?" Indicative of the bitter resentment against the Roosevelt administration because of its outrageous treatment of the Minneapolis unemployed is the leading editorial in the September 22 issue of the Minneapolis Labor Review. Like most union papers in the country, the Labor Review has hitherto been more than friendly to the New Deal.

Entitled "New Deal or New Slavery?" the Labor Review editorial states: "... When a law was passed to turn this nation into a Nazi concentration camp WPA workers who were real Americans protested against this devilish outrage and they were supported in their protest by organized labor and every citizen who is opposed to slow death by starvation.

"Continuing to spit out injunctions is not frightening or overawing anybody. It is just simply proving that there does not seem to be any end to how outrageous and unjust the WPA administration can be in the persecution of innocent workers.

# California Masses Show Opposition to War Entry

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) LOS ANGELES, Sept. 20—At the very moment when President Roosevelt was greasing the machinery for repeal of the neutrality legislation so as to help ease the United States into the European war, two significant sections of California citizens expressed their grim abhorrence of sending American youth to die on foreign battlefields.

Mothers, whose sons will do the fighting, and male university students, who will be the first to be asked to lay down their lives, both signified clearly their hatred of this country's involvement in the useless overseas slaughter.

### Mothers Meet

A group called the American Mothers met in Los Angeles on September 19 and laid plans to obtain 20,000,000 signatures on petitions to the president urging that, whatever the cost, this country be kept out of the European holocaust.

At Berkeley, in the north, a poll among 2500 University of California male students shows that the students do not want this country to supply arms and munitions to the warring powers, do not want repeal of the neutrality legislation, and emphatically do not want to die for the greater glory of America's sixty families. Only 90 votes out of 2500 (3 1/2 per cent)

"Please tell us, somebody, why it is wrong for business men to furnish three times as much material and machinery to the WPA for less money than they formerly received for one-third as much material and machinery, and it is right for workers to be compelled to do three times as much work on WPA for less pay than they formerly got for one-third as much work?"

"WHAT IS THIS THAT IS HAPPENING ON WPA? IS IT THE NEW DEAL OR THE NEW SLAVERY? YOU CAN ANSWER FOR YOURSELF."

### What Is Leach Up To?

Considerable interest has been aroused by a news item in this morning's paper that Mayor Leach of Minneapolis has just conferred with President Roosevelt on, among other things, "WPA in Minneapolis." No doubt the White House asked how its campaign of repression against the Minneapolis labor movement was "going over" and if Leach thought they could get away with it.

If Leach told Roosevelt the truth, he would have to relate that the persecution of the Minneapolis labor movement was a flop, that it has only caused organized labor to close its ranks in a solid front against Mr. Hypocrite, that the Minnesota Federation of Labor is backing the Minneapolis defense, and that if Mr. Hypocrite really intends to go through with his frame-up he will find himself confronting an aroused labor movement on a national scale.

The trial of the 163 so far indicated will begin October 2 in federal court. Just let Mr. Hypocrite try to imprison these workers!

avored granting immediate military aid to Britain and France. Fourteen hundred (56 per cent) opposed revision of the neutrality law, and declared that even if the Allied cause appeared to be losing they would still oppose sending the Allies arms and munitions.

Still more significant were the answers to the question "What would you do if the United States is drawn into the war?" Eight hundred young men declared categorically that should such an eventuality arise they would flatly refuse to serve the government's war machine. They stated they would choose prison in preference to being drafted into the army. This number represents nearly a third (32 per cent) of the entire group polled. Twenty per cent (500) would volunteer if this country were involved in war; the remainder (1100) would wait until drafted.

These two expressions of opinion illustrate again what has been shown in every recent poll—that Americans do not want to fight on either side in the imperialist butchery now sweeping Europe.

### People Suffer

Despite this fact, President Roosevelt and his congress are going ahead at double the quick time to see to it that the United States is dragged into the war in the shortest possible time. The special session of congress was called for this express purpose. And this is supposed to be a "true democracy."

Those who will do the suffering and the fighting and the dying have at least the elementary democratic right to decide by vote the vital issue of war or peace. The Socialist Workers Party reiterates its demand that the people of this country be given the right to vote on war.

# Negro Department Affair Will Feature Voodoo Dances

Meet old friends, make new ones at "A Night in Harlem." Dancing, entertainment, fun. A good time is assured all at the Mimo Club on Saturday, October 7. A feature of the varied program of entertainment planned is a West Indian dancer. She will dance the Voodoo Dances of Haiti, dances from Martinique, and the Shango from Trinidad where this dance has been preserved from generation to generation. She has not only lived for many years in

# The New Turn in Policy of American Stalinism

By JAMES P. CANNON

(Continued from Page 1)

Polish Ukraine and White Russia and now of large sections of Poland proper which Hitler's army had conquered. The partition of Poland has been carried out before our eyes by the amicable collaboration of Hitler and Stalin. What else is needed to confirm the opinion that the pact of Stalin and Hitler is in fact a military alliance, that Stalin has linked his fate in the world war now unfolding with that of Hitler?

### Oppression, Not Liberation

Is this a turn to the "Left," as the Stalinist press, with monstrous cynicism, tries to represent it? Is Stalin, with the cooperation of Hitler, carrying "liberation" to oppressed peoples in other countries? What fantastic perversion of reality! The innumerable inhabitants in the concentration camps of Hitler and Stalin could tell a tale about this liberation if only their voices could be heard! A new and terrible oppression awaits the conquered people on both sides of the dividing line drawn by the swords of Hitler and Stalin, an oppression from which they will be finally liberated only when the new conquerors are overthrown by the workers' revolution.

Stalin's invasion of Poland, in agreement with Hitler, simply means that the Soviet Union has been drawn into the imperialistic adventures of Hitler and made responsible for them. The journalists of the Daily Worker are carried along in the military train to sanctify the "liberation" with "Marxist" formulas as conquerors of backward nations once carried priests to sprinkle holy water over the bloody conquests.

### Changing the Line

The task of the American Stalinists, as agents of the Soviet foreign office, is to switch around from pro-ally to pro-axis agitation. The whole apparatus has adjusted itself automatically to the new assignment. The "peace lovers" of yesterday—those who favored a war on the side of England—are now designated as war-mongers. The Stalinists now clamor for a new "peace front" of all those who, for one consideration of bourgeois interest or another, want to give no aid to the Allies, including the "isolationists" who until yesterday were described as "fascist agents."

Roosevelt, who was lauded to the skies and supported uncritically in everything, as long as an ally of the Soviet Union and the imperialist democracies appeared in prospect, is now looked upon with a jaundiced eye. Tomorrow, it is safe to predict, the Daily Worker will begin to criticize and oppose him, for Roosevelt has a firm allegiance to the democratic imperialist camp. He wants a war against Germany and there is no chance to change his policy by new explanations of the nature of the conflict. The Stalinists, who were the most vociferous advocates of a third term for Roosevelt, dropped the slogan like a hot potato on the day the Red Army marched to meet Hitler's forces at the new line of partition in Poland.

The new line has already been transmitted to the C.P. fractions in the trade unions. The Transport Workers Union, the first organization under Stalinist control to hold a convention since the Stalin-Hitler pact, passed a resolution in favor of "New Deal" candidates in 1940, but forgot to mention the chief "New Dealer" himself. An oversight? Not on your life. Mike Quill, the Stalinist boss of the union, is a boy who catches on quickly. For him Roosevelt went out as soon as Hitler came in. This single incident throws a searchlight on the new course of Stalinist policy in the unions.

### A Pseudo-Radical Twist

What about the radical trimming of the new Stalinist policy?

# HISTORY OF SOCIALIST YOUTH TO APPEAR IN YPSL PAPER

The Challenge of Youth begins publication with this issue of extracts from Willi Munzenberg's autobiographical and historical account of the Socialist youth movement from its foundation in the early 1900's to the post-war period. The book was published in Germany in 1929 under the title of "Die Dritte Front" ("The Third Front"). This very important historical account of the Socialist Youth movement, has, unfortunately, never been available in English.

The extracts which we will present deal with the Socialist Youth movement during the World War. We are sure that militant anti-war fighters everywhere will find it of value in bolstering their determina-

tion to oppose war and learning lessons on the practical aspects of organizing anti-war resistance.

Munzenberg was actively connected with the youth movement in Germany and Switzerland. The outbreak of the war found him serving as the National Secretary of the Swiss Socialist Youth. He used the neutrality of Switzerland and its geographical location in the heart of Europe, to good advantage by making the Swiss movement the organizing center from which to reconstruct the Youth International. Munzenberg, later on, as a leader of the German Communist Party, degenerated into a typical Stalinist bureaucrat. He has recently broken with Stalinism to follow the path of so many other disillusioned Stalinists who lump Stalinism and Bolshevism together, and seek some new righteous ethical code for the conduct of revolutionaries, which is not based upon a materialist understanding, but upon some abstract, ethereal concepts.

The revolting climax to Munzenberg's career as a Marxist does not, however, detract from the great value of his work during the war and his historical writings on the sub-

ject, particularly the anti-war work. Tickets are fifty cents and reservations must be made in advance. Tickets can be secured at 116 University Place.

A revolutionary policy in the struggle against war, as on every other question, proceeds from the class independence of the proletariat and its irreconcilable struggle against the capitalist exploiters of all camps and all countries, in the first place against the capitalist exploiters at home. It is against imperialist war because it is against capitalism. It conducts this struggle independently of the transient opposition of certain sections of the capitalist class to entry into a given war at a given moment. The latest pseudo-radical anti-war policy of the American Stalinists has nothing in common with this fundamental class position.

The revolutionary phrase-mongering of the Stalinist bureaucrats is only a new deception, a transitional mechanism designed to bridge the abrupt change from a pro-democratic to a pro-axis policy and carry the workers along. A revolutionary anti-war policy cannot be turned on and off like a faucet. It can be the expression only of a consistent, principled class-struggle activity carried on systematically under all conditions. It must be animated by a clear and comprehensive revolutionary theory; its execution requires moral qualities of disinterestedness, courage and devotion to the cause of the proletariat. On all these grounds the unprincipled hirelings of the Stalinist apparatus are disqualified. In order to go forward to a revolutionary fight against war the militant workers must sweep this human rubbish from their path.

### Charlatans Add to Confusion

Stalin's invasion of Poland in union with Hitler has not only caused consternation and demoralization in wide circles, it has also created a certain demand for simple and ready answers to each and every new turn of events. Charlatans ready to supply these simplified explanations are not lacking. But the situation is one of unprecedented complexity. Light can be thrown on new incidents as they occur only if one keeps certain fundamental considerations in mind and thinks every thought through to the end—that is, to its political consequences. Superficial and simplified explanations only add to the general confusion and serve reactionary ends. Usually they are so designed.

Such a malicious simplification is that which arbitrarily classifies the Soviet Union as a fascist state and explains the Stalin-Hitler pact as a natural union of "brown bolshevism" and "red fascism." That formula leads to the conclusion that there is nothing left of the Soviet revolution worth defending, and then—as a rule—to a recruiting speech for the war of democracy (imperialist) against fascism. Revolutionary workers cannot accept this apparently simple formula which leads to such reactionary conclusions.

We do not identify the Stalinist bureaucracy with the Soviet Union any more than we identify a labor union with a gang of corrupt officials who have usurped leadership in it and betray its interests. We are for the Russian revolution and the economic system created by it. And precisely because of that the revolutionary workers, who are the only genuine and loyal defenders of the Soviet Union, conduct an irreconcilable struggle against the bureaucracy which, by its criminal policy, undermines the Soviet Union and leads it toward complete destruction.

Contemptible are those fakers who say that Stalin has established "socialism" in the Soviet Union and is now "liberating" the Poles and Ukrainians. But no less contemptible are the literary hirelings of the democratic imperialists who want to liberate the Russian workers from the Stalinist yoke at the point of British and French bayonets, as the Indian and Moroccan masses, for example, have been "liberated."

# WAR DEAL RUNS INTO SNAG OF MASS RESISTANCE

(Continued from Page 1)

It would, however, be a great illusion to imagine that Roosevelt's temporary difficulties represent any serious check to the march of the United States toward the war. The isolationist group is proving fully the justice of Roosevelt's refusal to grant them the title of "peace bloc." Though their opposition to the lifting of the embargo corresponds to a mass resistance to what is undoubtedly a definite step toward entry into the war, nevertheless, the isolationists, far from using this as a means of developing and extending a broad and general fight against the war and the war-mongers, and manipulating it as a cover for their own 100% allegiance to U.S. imperialism.

By concentrating all eyes on the embargo fight, they are joining hands with Roosevelt in trying to make the people forget about the super-armament program—whose only purpose can be war in the near future—which they both support, to make them forget also the demand for a people's referendum on war, and the plight of the unemployed who are being so coldly sacrificed to the building of the war machine.

At Your Service THE APPEAL POSTER SHOP



**SOCIALIST APPEAL**  
 Vol. III, No. 74 Friday, September 29, 1939

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

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for six months. Foreign: \$3.00 per year, \$1.50 for six months. Bundle orders, 2 cents per copy in the United States; 3 cents per copy in all foreign countries. Single copies: 3 cents.

Bronx and Manhattan subscriptions are: \$1.50 for six months; \$3.00 for one year.

"Reentered as second class matter February 16, 1939, at the post office at New York, N.Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879."

Editor: MAX SHACHTMAN  
 Associate Editors: FELIX MORROW, EMANUEL GARRETT  
 General Manager: MARTIN ABERN  
 Assistant Manager: SHERMAN STANLEY

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

**Spy Scares**

Watch out for the spy scares!

The Roosevelt Administration, Edgar Hoover, Attorney General Murphy and, following their lead, the entire capitalist press (to say nothing of the social-democratic rags), are working with might and main to work up a spy hysteria.

Why? Because a spy hysteria is a necessary part of the campaign to work up a war hysteria.

Why? Because a spy hysteria is aimed particularly at all those who refuse to be hornswoggled into another war, who oppose American participation in the imperialist slaughter and who expose the war-mongers.

We haven't forgotten for a minute what happened in the United States during the last World War. The spy-scare machine worked overtime. Every union that tried to resist wage-cuts, or that tried to get higher wages and better conditions for its members, was denounced as "inspired by the Kaiser's secret agents." Every socialist and radical who told the truth about the war, who pointed out that it was not a war for democracy but a war for imperialist plunder, ran the risk of being mobbed or arrested as a "German spy." For every real German secret agent who was nabbed, literally hundreds of workingmen and revolutionists were hounded and persecuted.

We haven't the slightest doubt that there is a substantial number of German spies operating in the United States as elsewhere. But neither do we doubt that there are at least as many British spies and agents in this country. For that matter, every power, the United States included, has its spies at work in every other country of any importance. And "a plague on all your houses" is our attitude to the whole gang of them.

But American Labor would be making a tragic mistake if it allowed itself to be buffaloes by the cunning spy scare that is being worked up now for the double purpose of stampeding the country into the war on the side of the Allied imperialist pirates and of bulldozing the labor movement into docile acceptance of every dirty dish served up to it by the employers and their war-mongering government.

**The First Battle**

The apathy of New York voters towards the candidates of the Democratic and Republican parties as revealed in primary returns should act as a spur to every worker out gathering signatures on the nominating petitions for the two candidates of the only anti-war party in the field—the Socialist Workers Party.

This apathy is not a reflection of disinterest in the sudden jacking-up of the prices of food-stuffs and other household commodities which has been put through by Wall Street as a preliminary to bigger and better profits from the blood-soaked fields of war; nor a reflection of lack of interest concerning the LaGuardia fraud of paying Wall Street \$326,000,000 for the city-owned subways; nor lack of interest in LaGuardia's intention to raise subway fares.

It is a reflection of the profound realization among the working class people that the capitalist parties are 100 per cent behind Wall Street's recruiting sergeant in the White House, 100 per cent behind Wall Street's war for redivision of

the world, and 100 per cent behind Wall Street's drive for profits by any means and at any cost in working class lives and suffering.

Any party which succeeds in getting on the ballot with a clarion call to all workers to unite in relentless struggle against Wall Street's war will gather behind it millions of New York voters.

The ominous silence of American Labor Party leaders as to their stand on war makes still more imperative that the Socialist Workers Party get its candidates on the ballot.

Into your neighborhood with nominating petitions! Canvass your friends for signatures!

Make the battle to get on the ballot the first resounding success in the fight to end imperialist war forever!

**Pilate Socialist**

Our proud claim to be the only genuine anti-war party in the United States is sometimes challenged by a reference to the alleged anti-war stand of the Thomasite Socialist Party. The challenge is most easily disposed of by a direct examination of the position of the S.P.

The fight against the imperialist war is not a fight at all unless it is carried on in deadly earnest and with militancy and consistency. It is not a fight at all unless it is carried on primarily against the war-mongers operating right inside the labor movement itself. For if the labor movement does not take an independent and hostile attitude towards the big-shot war-mongers, unless it relentlessly purges its system of the poison represented by the social-patriots, there can be no talk of a serious struggle against the war.

The Socialist Party's National Executive Committee has issued a "Declaration against War" (Socialist Call, Sept. 23). We quote two sentences from it which, as we see it, are more important and more revealing than all the rest of the statement.

"Failures and mistakes such as these contributed to the present situation in which many European Socialists felt that they have no choice except the lesser of two evils. It is not for us to denounce the immediate choices of our European comrades in their present dilemma. . . ."

"It is not for us to denounce," say Thomas and Hoan, and along with them the rrrrevolutionary "Clarityites" Zam and Tyler.

And why not? The *Call* is filled with denunciations of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union. It attacks the Stalinist war-mongers in the capitalist countries, and it doesn't spare words or mince them. By what right does it refrain from whitewashing the Stalinist patriots by saying of them, too, that they "feel that they have no choice except the lesser of two evils"?

The arrant hypocrisy of these Pontius Pilate "Socialists" is still clearer when one bears in mind that the "European Socialists" of whom they speak are none other than the official affiliates of their world fraternity, the Second International. Thomas, Zam and Tyler are brothers-in-arms in that "International" of the British Labor Party and the French Socialist Party, whose leaders are the indispensable assistants of British and French imperialism. Chamberlain and Daladier couldn't carry on their war for five minutes without the active and zealous support of Atlee, Greenwood, Blum and Faure, the Judas-goats of the working class.

Thomas knows that. Zam knows that. They know that "our European comrades" are guilty of infamous treachery against the working class. But . . . "It is not for us to denounce."

For our part, we do not have the same hesitancy. The struggle against war is much too serious a matter. We do denounce. And for their polite silence about the criminal socialist-imperialists in their Second International, we denounce them as tacit accomplices of the Greenwoods and Blums who have dragooned the British and French working class into the trenches of war.

**Suggestions Wanted**

The current issue of the *Young Communist Review*, official organ of the Stalinist youth organ of the Stalinist youth organization in this country, went to press before the Stalin-Hitler pact was actually signed. Also, evidently, it went to press before Browder got his instructions from Moscow to turn over like a flapjack. For here is what the leading editorial has to say about the pact:

"Should Germany undertake aggression against Poland, the Soviet Union would denounce its pact."

We suggest one of three things for the Stalinists to do in this embarrassing case:

- (1) Expose and fire the editor as a smuggler of Trotskyist contraband.
- (2) Suppress the current issue of the magazine (if they haven't already done so).
- (3) Come out in the next issue with the explanation that what they really meant was that "the Soviet Union would denounce its pact" with Poland.

Any other helpful suggestions from our readers will be promptly forwarded to the unfortunate editor of the Y.C.R.

**Seamen All Over World Tell Bosses They Refuse to Shoulder War Burden; S.U.P. Prepares Real Fight**

(Continued from Page 1)

up to \$150 for possessions lost if the ship sinks, continuation of pay in event of internment in a foreign country, and a promise to negotiate on the main demands.

After the ship owners had stalled for over a month on these demands, and the ships are out at sea, one can hardly expect them to suddenly capitulate to the NMU demands, especially since Curran did not obtain an agreement that the terms of any settlement would be retroactive.

As usual, the real fight for maintaining the union conditions and protecting the interests of the American seamen will fall on the Sailors Union of the Pacific.

The SUP enters this battle with its militant banner waving high over the victory it achieved against the Maritime Commission and its fink halls.

Despite all federal government threats and maneuvers, Maritime Commission ships sailed last week with full crews out of the SUP hall! "You can't fight the government," Curran, and his Stalinist henchmen told the seamen of America when the fink hall issue arose. "We'll protect our hiring hall rights," Harry Lundeborg, secretary-treasurer of the SUP replied, backed by this militant union.

Is it a wonder that government officials are taking the SUP demands for bonuses and insurance ten times more seriously than all the speeches of Curran and company?

The SUP demands, voted by the membership on a coastwise scale, include: A 100 per cent increase in wages and overtime for crews on ships sailing to and from ports in war zones; on those vessels carrying munitions and contraband, the wages shall be the standard West Coast scale, plus 200 per cent increase; a \$10,000 life insurance policy; \$25,000 cash for permanent disability; \$250 for loss of clothing; wages if interned; transportation expenses if occasion demands; and an increase in personnel.

The state department was asked to give its interpretation of war zones, and negotiations with the Matson line, which sends ships to Australia, have begun.

While the SUP begins negotiating with the usual handicap of combating the lower standard agreements that Curran and the NMU crowd sign, the whole tradition and superior conditions of the West Coast Sailors are a good indication that once again the SUP will come through with a victory for the American seamen.

**See Victory in SWP Drive To Get on New York Ballot**

(Continued from Page 1)

Workers Party was again emphasized by the two candidates, Max Shachtman of the Bronx, and George Lyman Paine of Manhattan.

In a statement issued today they underlined the fact that the Socialist Workers Party is the only political party in the entire field which stands on a platform of 100 per cent opposition to war and fascism.

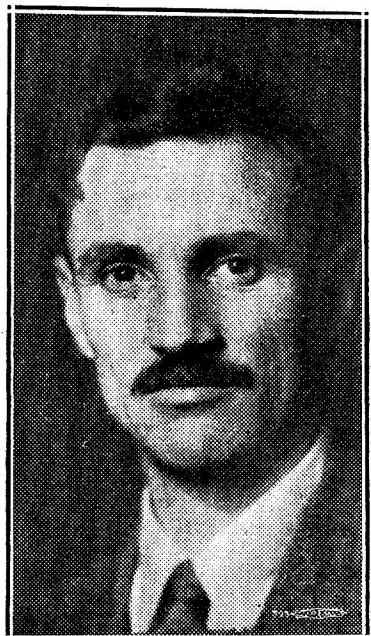
"The treacherous silence on the part of the leaders of the American Labor Party toward the war now raging in Europe," they declared, "and the open preparations of Roosevelt to plunge America into the blood bath and to straightjacket the labor movement with a military dictatorship, can be regarded as nothing less than betrayal of the basic interests of the working class."

War Hysteria Growing

"The importance of the campaign of the Socialist Workers Party in this election grows more important hourly as the war hysteria whipped up by Roosevelt and LaGuardia continues to gain in proportions.

"Every worker must support the SWP campaign now. It is a most important way of expressing opposition to Roosevelt's and LaGuardia's preparations to slaughter Americans on the battlefields of Europe."

**Manhattan Candidate**



GEORGE LYMAN PAINE

**Walter Lippman, Voice of Wall Street, Reveals Boss War Aims**

By SHERMAN STANLEY

The ruling capitalist clique of America has launched a determined drive to repeal the Embargo Act within the shortest possible time. The entire prostitute press and its paid hirelings are frantically at work attempting to din into the ears of the American people the astounding lie that repeal of the Embargo Act—will keep us out of war!

The sale and shipment of war supplies to one set of the belligerents—and the entire world knows that only England and France can make use of the "Cash and Carry" plan for the simple reason that Germany is effectively blocked off from America—is paraded before us as "an act of the purest neutrality." What a miserable fraud this is! Franklin D. Roosevelt's career has always been marked by the depths of its deceit and hypocrisy, but even he outdoes himself when he attempts to pose as a "neutral" while acting in complete consort with the Allied imperialist powers.

**STATES THE CASE FOR REPEAL**

Walter Lippman, familiar columnist for the New York Herald-Tribune, and fair-haired darling of the Wall Street speculators, has stated the case for repeal of the Embargo Act in his Saturday, September 23rd column. It is well worth looking into the words of this imperialist spokesman.

Lippman states that the issue, in its simplest form, is whether repeal or retention of the embargo will lead the United States into war.

But Lippman is only prepared to tackle one angle of this problem. He carefully avoids any discussion as to what will be the results if the Act is repealed and F.D.R.'s plan is put into effect. Throughout his lengthy article and its involved argument, there is not the slightest admission (nor denial!) that the "Cash and Carry" policy is a major step towards plunging us into the war.

**AMERICAN BUSINESS BOOM AHEAD**

(3) "Cash and Carry" means at least a partial business boom in America. Everything indicates that the Allies will make huge purchases of war stocks and raw materials. This means that American business men, sniffing the warm smell of substantial profits after many lean depression years, will plunge heavily into expansion, building

and speculation on the Market. They will roll up huge surplus profits which they will seek to invest in the Allied countries or their dominions (Canada). The entire banking system of America, now stuffed with idle money and credits, will become geared to this boom and expansion—all of which is dependent in turn, upon the successes of the Allied powers.

(4) How long would it be before any "Cash and Carry" system is replaced by a purely "Credit" system? Already, the Senate Committee in charge of drafting F.D.R.'s bill is talking of changing the "cash" provision to a "90-day credit" provision. The American rulers will find a thousand and one loopholes in their own act as their needs require it. As profits mount, and orders pour in, the "Cash and Carry" policy will change to the same "Credit" policy as existed during the last war.

America will become the supply base, the life-breath, of the British and French. Whether the business is transacted in "cash" or "credit" makes slight difference. The effect is the same. American capitalism becomes an integral part of the "democratic" war machine. And this is called "neutrality"!

We can already hear the arguments of the 60 Ruling Capitalist Families. "We cannot let the Allies lose because then there would be a terrific industrial and financial crisis in America." "You workers must support our entry into the war or else you'll lose your jobs." And among themselves they will be saying, "What will happen to our profits? We must act swiftly or else our structure of profit will crumble."

This is the meaning of "Cash and Carry." Cash in on the war orders, carry the American people into the war!

(In our next article we shall take up Walter Lippman's arguments against retention of the present Embargo Act.)

**Their Government** By James Burnham

In a major naval engagement, the strategic plans of the general staff of the United States Navy provide that the airplanes on the aircraft carriers shall be "expended." This little word, under the circumstances, is not without interest.

What is meant is the following: The planes will leave the carriers in order to fulfill their various functions in the battle. While the planes are busy, the carriers, which are not equipped for serious combat, will retire far from the scene just as rapidly as possible. Those planes which are not shot down will, when their gas is exhausted, have no place to go to but the cold grave of the open sea.

The reason for the tactic is simple enough: planes and pilots are far cheaper and quicker to build than the \$50,000,000 aircraft carriers.

**Little Lessons in Neutrality**

Britain and France declared war against Germany on Sunday, September 3rd. The President was thereupon required, by the law of the land, to proclaim immediately an embargo against shipments of munitions to these two countries. He did not do so, however. The proclamation of the embargo was delayed until the next day.

Perhaps this was because the President, as a religious man, considered Sunday a day of rest. Perhaps, also, he had more material concerns in mind.

On Monday morning, three ships loaded to capacity with airplanes, cleared from Pacific ports for England and France. An interruption of the President's Sunday would have held those ships at the dock.

Not one of the airplane factories in the United States working on British and French orders has stopped or even slowed down production since the embargo went into effect. On the contrary, all of them have speeded up their lines.

No orders previously given by Britain and France have been cancelled. On the contrary, a number of new orders have been placed and accepted during the past two weeks.

Evidently the airplane companies are not alarmed by Senator Borah.

Since last Spring, the War and Navy Departments have been flooding veterans of the last war and reserve officers with requests to return to active service. The response has not been up to hopes. It takes dictatorial conscription to get men into the democratic war.

Early last summer, the War Department reorganized its operations on the basis of the following perspective: war in Europe in September; U.S. troops fighting abroad by Spring of 1940.

**The Big Arms of the Big Brother**

It was not prominently noticed that shortly after his declaration that the United States would defend Canada against its declared enemy, Roosevelt added that the United States would also defend all of the possessions of Great Britain, France and Holland in the Americas. These include the three Guianas in South America and more than a hundred islands scattered chiefly in the Caribbean and extending to the gulf of the St. Lawrence.

Somewhat the isolationists don't seem to have noticed that these declarations are, in effect, acts of war, authorized in the best totalitarian manner by executive decree. No doubt the isolationists are so busy forgetting the Ludlow Bill that they didn't even hear about these declarations.

By them, the United States Navy and Army are committed, in advance and without any declaration of war by constitutional process—much less any expression of opinion from the people—to open up hostilities against Germany if Germany, in pursuit of her war aims, undertakes any actions against Canada or any of the British and French possessions in the Americas.

The armed forces of the United States are thus already intervening, and are altering the military balance.

**New Boundaries for Old**

In the old days, the territorial boundaries of a nation were accepted as extending three miles beyond its sea coast. The nation exercised sovereignty within this three mile limit.

During the last war, this three mile limit was extended to twelve miles, and "international law" tended to recognize the validity of the twelve mile limit.

Without any fanfare, and naturally without any legislation, Roosevelt two weeks ago added immense territories to the United States. When asked where the limits of jurisdiction extended, he answered quite simply: wherever United States' (read—Sixty Families') interests lay. Acting on this doctrine, he instructed the Navy and the Coast Guard to get to work protecting this vast new territory.

It is authoritatively reported that Philip Fleming will soon replace Elmer Andrews as Wage-Hour Administrator. Fleming, like WPA Administrator Harrington, is an army Colonel attached to the War Department.

All governmental agencies having to do with workers are, you see, being put into the firm hands of the army.

In the chief agency of all, the War Resources Board, the army representation is headed by Marshal, the Chief of Staff. But there the true and full relationship is made clear: for General Marshall is subordinate to Chairman Stettinius, of U. S. Steel and Morgan & Co.

"The official struggle of the government with high prices is only a deception of the masses. But the farmers, artisans, merchants, in their capacity as consumers, can step into the politics of price-fixing shoulder to shoulder with the workers. To the capitalist's lamentations about costs of production, of transport and trade, the consumers answer: 'Show us your books; we demand control over the fixing of prices.' The organs of this control should be the committees on prices, made up of delegates from the factories, trade unions, cooperatives, farmers organizations, the 'little man' of the city, housewives, etc." (Program of the Fourth International.)

Says Burton K. Wheeler, (D. Mont.) "It was the Versailles treaty that made Hitler possible. . . that sowed the seeds of the present Germany." Exactly, and it was capitalism that produced the Versailles treaty.