Take the War-Making Power Away from Congress

Let the People Decide!, Says Minnesota Labor

DULUTH, Minn.-The largest convention in the 57year history of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor voted unanimously Wednesday for a resolution calling upon Comgress to prepare immediately a Constitutional amendment providing that any proposal for the declaration of war against any nation shall be submitted to a direct referendum vote of the people of the United States. Of the many anti-war resolutions coming before the convention, the resolution for a popular referendum on war was the one that appealed to the 883 delegates as the most practical and realistic. The referendum resolution was introduced by a group of Twin City trade unionists.

VOL. III, No. 71

Full Support to WPA Strikers

All in all, the 57th annual convention of the Minnesota Federation was one of the most progressive in its history. When the conservatives in control of the legislative committee made a report calling upon the convention only to move for amendments to the hated Stassen Labor Law, Gene Larson of the Minneapolis Milk Drivers Union made a minority report demanding the Federation work for outright repeal of the atrocious Stassen labor legislation. Larson's report provoked a veritable storm of approval which swept over the right-wingers, and the convention voted by a large majority to work to wipe the Stassen law off the books.

The Duluth convention also voted full support to the hounded Minneapolis WPA strikers and approved the work of the Minneapolis Central Labor Union's WPA Defense Committee. The convention condemned the new relief bill and state secretary George Lawson as well as many other spokesmen placed the blame for the nationwide relief cut and the abolition of the union wage scale directly upon President Roosevelt.

Ten Billion Dollar Housing Program

Other resolutions passed called for a 10-billion Dollar federal housing and public works program; the 30-hour week in private industry; protested the 25 percent cut in food budgets by the Minneapolis Welfare Board, etc.

The convention took a long backward step, however, when it adopted a constitutional amendment dropping the policy of endorsing political candidates. The debate on this issue raged all Tuesday afternoon and Wednesday morning.

Robert Olson of Duluth and George Lawson of St. Paul were re-elected president and secretary, respectively, of the federation. L'ANT

Behind the Lines

Three-Times-a-Week Socialist Appeal LET THE PEOPLE VOTE ON WAR Official Organ of the Socialist Workers Party, Section of the Fourth International MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 18, 1939 167 3c a Copy **ROOSEVELT MOVES** FOR UNDER COVER OF NEUTRALITY **Congress Will Approve** "War Babies" Actions Placing U.S. States and the second states and the second In War Camp of Allies BORN 1914 **KILLED 1939** After a series of rapid-fire actions to line up the United States in support of Anglo-French imperialism, President Roosevelt is now confident of a safe majority for his war program at the special session of Congress, called for September 21. His immediate objective is the lifting of the arms embargo so that England and France can purchase munitions and airplanes in this country. For this purpose he has already clearly placed the United States in the camp of the Allies by pledging military defense of Canada in case it is attacked. He has sought to create a patriotic hysteria by declaring a "limited state of national emergency," thus making the people believe that there is no real alternative but *America's entrance into the BORIN 1915war. According to a United

Is the Partitioning Of Poland Part of **Hitler-Stalin Pact?**

What secret agreement for the partitioning of Poland was arrived at when the Hitler-Stalin Pact was signed?

AN EDITORIAI

The answer is not yet available to the public, since secret diplomacy is just as much a part of Stalin's foreign poli-

Press dispatch of Sept. 14, "The White House said today that submarine activities and the sinking of the Athenia were factors considered by President Roosevelt in decid-

ing to call for a special session of Congress." War Notice

Secretary of State Hull has notified the belligerent powers that the government "reserves all rights of the United States and its nationals under interna-

. By GEORGE STERN

What a macabre joke it is to | Ukrainians and White Russians hear Stalin's newspaper Pravda but of determining whether suddenly wax pathetic over the their next yoke will be that of plight of the Ukrainian and Hitler or that of Stalin.

Whether this is to be carried White Russian minorities in out by the creation of so-called Poland! "independent" buffer states or

One of the characteristic marks of the degeneration of by outright annexation of terthe Soviet regime under Stalin ritory will soon be known. Howfree rights won by Russia's on by Hitler and Stalin in the many nationalities as a result present circumstances is bound of the October revolution. One to be of a most transient and after another the governments unstable character.

On both sides there is a tacit of the autonomous Soviet repubrecognition of the fragility of lics from one end of the union to the other were converted in the new axis and on both sides the course of the last ten years there is the fear-quite justified into instruments of Stalin's bu- -that the peoples they are reaucratic clique. More recent- pushing around in eastern Eurly native officials of these re- ope will before long join with publics were mowed down by the masses of Germany and Stalin's purge in scores and in Russia in freeing themselves from the rulers who would hundreds.

strangle them. Consequently we are not to

seek in Stalin's sudden, touching concern for the Polish Uk- crushing of Poland to its inter- City have suffered, one of the to post the association's property as surety for bail bonds for the rainians and White Russians nal instability, to the repression most scandalous is that now be- victimized WPA workers. for anything remotely resemb- of the huge minorities that kept ing perpetrated by the Laling the old Bolshevik policy of the country divided and de- Guardia administration. For ers were marched from the jail staunch support for the doc-stroyed that national cohesion subways that are already own- to the federal court building

determination of peoples. The lines of the Pravda editorial, agreed to pay Wall Street a ed for each. All were instructed the 25 men released than the Pravda editorial was not an deep in the shadows of the minimum of \$326,000,000! echo of Lenin but of Goebbels. Kremlin, is the realization that Both the B.M.T. and the I.R.- ber 26 when the strike trial is The aim of the policy it shrouds Russia's plight is even worse T. subway and elevated systems scheduled to begin. All were ju- men were arrested Wednesday is not the liberation of the op- in this respect. It is not merely for which LaGuardia is paying bilant upon their release, and and five more Thursday morn pressed peoples of Poland but the structure of nationalities Wall Street this colossal sum sent a collective letter of ing. It is understood that indicttheir subjection and the protec- that make up the Soviet Union have been city property since thanks to the Labor Temple ments are out for at least six tion of the power and pelf of but the whole regime and the they were first constructed and Association and the WPA De-Stalin's ruling oligarchy. It is army itself that have been rent have already paid Wall Street fense Committee which has but two have children whom (Continued on Page 3)

not a question of freeing the (Continued on Page 3)



Steels Lead War Baby

Twenty-five Minneapolis WPA the soviet regime under Stalin has been the destruction of the on by Hitler and Stalin in the on by Hitler and Stalin in the

Roosevelt Stooges Now Arresting Women-Labor Unions Map Plans for Fighting Indictments at Sept. 25 Trial

MINNEAPOLIS-Shortly after noon on Wednesday, September 13, 25 of the jailed Minneapolis WPA strikers were released on bail posted for them by the WPA Defense Committee of the Minneapolis Central Labor Union. The bail was raised chiefly Of all the swindles from through the generosity of the Minneapolis Labor Temple Associ Pravda attributed the speedy which the people of New York ation which, at a stockholders meeting last Friday night, voted

Shortly after noon, the prison-| release. The work of the WPA Defense Committee has just commence trine and practice of the self- so vital in a war. Behind the ed by the city, LaGuardia has where individual bail was post- ed, however. No sooner were U. S. deputies began picking up to appear back in court Septem-WPA women workers. Five wo more women. All the women worked so vigorously for their (Continued on Page 3)

ics as it is of Hitler's. But the developments of the last few days indicate that there is far more likelihood that such an agreement was made in Moscow than might be concluded by the average reader of the Stalinist press.

"The official Kremlin press has suddenly launched a frontal attack upon the imperialist ruling class of Poland and its oppressive rule over the national minorities in the Polish Empire. Up to a few days ago, even a hint to the effect that the Polish Colonels and landowners were not a model of democracy, was treated by the same Stalinist press as a base Trotskyist slander. Now the Moscow Pravda has rediscovered Polish imperialism and oppression and its columns are full of reports of "Polish attacks on the Soviet frontier" and "uprisings of the Polish-Ukrainian and Polish-White Russian masses" against the Polish overlords.

Accompanying this agitation is a tremendous mobilization of Soviet troops along the Polish frontier. Why?

Is Stalin preparing to protect the frontiers of the Soviet Union from the rapidly eastward marching armies of his recently-found ally, Hitler? Has he come to realize that Hitler has designs upon Soviet Ukraine and, further east, the Urals?

Highly doubtful. That Hitler would like to annex the Ukraine and the Urals has not been a secret for years, and anyone who thinks he gave up his ambition for these territories just because he signed a pact with Stalin, is far more gullible than any human being should be. At the same time, however, Hitler would be a greater fool than his worst enemies give him credit for being if he contemplated making an attack upon the Soviet Union right now. A preliminary to such an attack would be an agreement, a settlement of accounts, with France and England on the western (Continued on Page 3)

tional law and will adopt such measures as may seem most practical and prudent when those rights are violated by any of the belligerents."

In these declarations, as in the sharp protest of Anthony Drexel Biddle, American Ambassador to Poland, against German bombing, it is clear that Roosevelt is determined to drive this country into war against Germany. Yet the President is demanding the lifting of the arms embargo as a step "genuine neutrality." for

War Follows Arms

As Senator Borah, leader of the isolationist forces in Congress stated in his speech last Thursday:

"To those who are advocating repeal, I submit this question: Is it not your main purpose in securing repeal to enable us to furnish arms, munitions and implements of war in one group of nations and to deny them to another group of nations, which groups are now in mortal combat?

"Is not this laying the foundation for intervention-in fact, is it not intervention-in the present European war? Is it not your purpose to take sides through the authority which will be available when the embargo law is repealed?"

What Price Isolationism? While Borah and his colleagues are against lifting the arms embargo—and in this they voice the opinions of the workers and farmers-they are (Continued on Page 2)



SEE SWINDLE

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Bucking the War Censors

While the main theater of events is still in Europe, the Way Deal is quietly tightening up its military and naval establish ments in the Pacific, which is destined to become the main sphere of American wartime interests. The main body of the fleet is and has been in the Pacific for some time. Quietly and without any fanfare, the air arm is being extended across the broad stretch of ocean that leads to the markets of China. A tiny dispatch in the papers reveals that 14 navy patrol bombers flew from San Diego to Honolulu to replace an equal number of war planes sent to Manila, in the Philippines, "for neutrality ing trades strike against the patrol duty.'

Just what "neutrality patrol duty" is there for Americans on WPA is still officially in in waters 6,000 miles away?

The other day a Nazi submarine stopped and searched an Greater New York has not yet American vessel in European waters. The newspapers made hay shown signs of calling off its with the incident, smearing it in the now wearily familiar big still widespread stoppage, the block headlines. But when the British actually seized a cargo of ineffectual manner in which it alleged contraband from an American freighter, the incident has conducted the strike has alwas treated as an unfortunate matter of course. What business ready begun to shake the mordid an American freighter have anyway in trying to take a load ale of growing numbers of of phosphate to Germany? This is the issue upon which Wash- strikers. ington and London almost came to blows in the first years of the last war. But Roosevelt is pursuing an policy of non-neutral. Beach Airport, chief project is ity at the war's outset far more openly than Wilson ever dared scattered and sporadic. to profess until just before American entry.

Every once in a while some strutting little brass-buttons to peter out can be ascribed to lets the cat stick his head out of the bag. Gen. Hugh Johnson is of course the champion at that but one Maj. John C. Burns, an officer of the War Department attached to the department preparing for industrial mobilization, doesn't do so badly either. Speaking of the mobilization plans, he told an Associated Press reporter that they "would require a minimum of regimentationor Fascism if you want to call it that.'

ROOSEVELT MOVES FOR WAR UNDER NEUTRALITY COVER

(Continued from Page 1) in the war flows. That is why destroying the war-breeding for a conference. After outlinthey support Roosevelt's armament program, of course in the name of "national defense." That is why, for example, Borah in his latest speech has not word of criticism against Roosevelt's pledge to go to war in the event of an attack on

Canada So that if Roosevelt succeeds in his plans to drag the U.S. into the war, the isolationist Congressmen and Senators will support all measures to prosecute the war "for a rapid vic-



Morale of Men

By TONY CHAPMAN

ning its third month, the build-

abrogation of prevailing wages

force in this city.

skilled workers.

this inside story:

The heavy extent to which

NEW YORK, Sept. 13-Begin-

By B. J. WIDICK An ominious hint of days to come in America was furnished in the past few weeks by the food profiteering racket which swept the country.

In many cities sugar could not be purchased or else it was available in such small quantities that they were negligible.

in getting a pound, the price troy crops or to fail to produce them

was increased plenty. Same Everywhere

Although the Building and Construction Trades Council of One big industrial center was In another city we visited, the panies to take advantage of the restaurants only a few days ago served you two lumps of sugar. None was available at the tables

It seemed fantastic to have housewives tell us that they ly arose. And Mr. Frank Murcouldn't buy flour at some of phy, attorney general of the U.- and knifed. Union picketing at North the big stores!

This same thing happened everywhere in America. All food Minneapolis workers to issue a **Depended on Roosevelt** That the strike is beginning prices rose. And they still are going up, despite the fine talk the union leadership's main strategy of relying on President Roosevelt to act in behalf of the

Warehouses Full Yet there isn't any shortage of sugar, or flour or other food.

the union placed its trust and faith in the good offices of Presthat date, the President has not Textile Workers, the Akron C.- called out of his shop at 297 ident Roosevelt is indicated by **President's Empty Promise** support of the prevailing wage, a federal investigation of food Prior to his cruise in Canad Attorney General Murphy has prices.

been busy prosecuting the Mineapolis WPA strikers. Having had one month to appraise the personal word of the the American people were re-President himself, the feeling duced between 10 to 20 per cent n union circles, as expressed to because of the rise in prices. this writer, is that "Roosevelt The WPA workers took anothwas not sincere when he gave er cut because the groceries us his personal assurance.

ing the union proposal for a "National Unity" Line quick ruling under section 15B

of the Woodrum Relief Act favmean that the union leaders going before. oring the restoration of the pre- will press the fight for the prevailing wage on projects begun vailing wage at the special ses- preparations mean the continbefore July 1, the committee re- sion of Congress. President ued subjugation of the union ceived the personal assurance Roosevelt's demand that Con- movement. No strikes for high- saulted and knifed are preparof the President that Attorney gress occupy itself with nothing er wages, if the bosses have ing legal action against certain General Murphy would act but his pro-war proposals is be- their way. And at the same of the Stalinist gangsters who within the next few days." Depending on the president's cials in the name of "national the amount the workers can the police. promise, the unions ceased to unity." Here is an early exam- buy. ple of the way in which they

Fully one month has passed will sacrifice labor's needs and war has begun. The food profit- protect the union and fight off without a word from either demands to the demands of the eering was a sort of "dress re- further raids against its mem-

"I'm sorry but we're out of The warehouses are full. The sugar," was the grocer's reply to a housewife's demand for a government is still paying far- by a clique of ruthless Stalinists pound. And if she did succeed mers millions of dollars to des- in control of a rival CIO union,

The rise in prices was a deliberate, cheap, chiseling move 'out of sugar'' for two days. sponsored mainly by large comwave of worry that followed the

declaration of war in Europe. Scandals surrounding the rise timidation against members of in food prices were so smelly the AFL local. that wide-spread protests quick-

S.A., took a few minutes time out from trying to frame the blast against food profiteering. brother of Joe Kitain, organizer Of course, he's too busy try- of the AFL local, the former is ing to break the spirit of the known to have offered a reward of threats against the profi- Minneapolis workers to go after for his brother's hide, accord- time. the war profiteers.

The labor movement respond- J. Striano, a member of AFL ed immediately to the new pres- Local 350. sure against its already poor living standards. The United ust 30, at about 4 P.M., he was

been available for comment. I.O. council, and numerous oth- Powell Street in Brooklyn by Far from issuing a ruling in er labor bodies are demanding Sol Kitain, who said:

> Living Standards Lowered weeks the living standards of hundred dollars.

bills are getting higher for the

But that realization does not purchase . . . and it was tough The squeeze play is on. War

ing acceded to by the AFL offi- time, the rising prices cut down have been taken into custody by The first act in the tragedy of

hearsal.'



NEW YORK-Determined to protect his union from gangster raids and physical destruction Joe Kitain, organizer of Bed-

ding and Mattress Local 350 of Hitler-Stalin Pact was announcthe AFL, lives under a constant ed, and have been getting Sept. 9, 1939 threat of violence. steadily worse. During the past three weeks, All this I fully described to the Stalinist leaders of the rival the editor of the "How Do You

CIO union have conducted a vi-Feel?" column, but so far I cious campaign of physical incondition is getting desperate. Perhaps you can help me. Workers have been seized

after work and severely beaten

Charges Assault Plot Despite the fact that Sol Ki- REPORTS IN APPEAL tain, the C.P. Commissar, is a Editor: ing to a sworn statement by Sol

understand why the Appeal up o the present date has not car-

Striano testifies that on Aug- ried any material (with the exception of an editorial reprinted from the Northwest Organizer on the arrests of about 50 WPA workers by the Federal govern-

"Tonight I want you to bring ment on the phony charge of my brother to union headquarters. We want to knock the . . . ting relief. In the brief space of two out of him. I'll give you two Striano replied, "I don't use that kind of money.'

Members Fear Reprisals

Members of the CIO union who are appalled at the gangssame amount of food they must ter tactics of Alex Sirota and Sol Kitain, are unable to express themselves for fear of reprisals by the Stalinist clique. Meanwhile, members of the AFL Local who have been as-

Despite the physical assaults, Local 350 has closed ranks to bership.

WORKERS' FORUM **IS THERE A DOCTOR**

IN THE HOUSE? Editor:

velt administration to throw fear into the hearts of the workers here. The magnificent re-

I am a regular reader of the sponse by the entire labor Daily Worker. For the past few movement here has already reweeks I seem to have gone into sulted in the bail being cut from a decline. I have already writ- nearly a quarter million dollars ten several letters to the Work- to less than \$100,000.

er's "How Do You Feel?" de-The fact that William Green partment, which is supposed to has issued a sharp statement give out medical advice to read- condemning the arrests and exers. In these notes, I have fully orbitant bail of these innocent described my symptoms: black and penniless workers shows spots before the eyes, especial- that at least he recognizes the y after reading the Daily Work- threat that this is to the labor er, accompanied by pronounced movement. The complete ab-

Worried Worker

MINNEAPOLIS WPA

PRISONERS ASK FULLER

We are two of the arrested

dizziness and roaring in the sence of any story by the Apears. I am also subject to vio- peal, therefore, is all the more lent attacks of nausea. These surprising. symptoms began on the day the Fraternally yours,

Two WPA Strikers

Hennepin County Jail

(On July 25 the Appeal devoted its main headlines and have not had any reply. My half the front page to calling upon the labor movement to defend the Minneapolis WPA workers against the impending frame-up, which was already indicated by Attorney General Murphy's preparations. The main headlines of our July 28. August 4 and 8 issues were devoted to the Minneapolis strike. WPA strikers and have been The arrests were dealt with in readers of the Appeal for a long an editorial in the August 25 issue, both an editorial and a long We find it very difficult to news story in the August 29 insue, a front page story in the September 9 issue and a front page story and editorial in the September 13 issue.

But even so we regret not having carried fuller coverage of the arrests, for Attorney General Murphy's indictment preventing workers from getof 103 WPA strikers in Minneapolis is undoubtedly a threat The arrests represent a deto the entire labor movement, iberate attempt by the Roosefor if the government gets away with this, it will establish a nostrike precedent against all

NOTICE TO ALL workers in government depart-**NEW YORK YIPSELS** The International Youth Day ments or public works or work Hike scheduled for Sunday, contracted for by the govern-Sept. 17th, has been called off ment of any kind. in order to have the League

We are asking our Minneapeparticipate in the collection of lis correspondents to provide signatures for the election. adequate material to arouse the Vipsels should report to Man- labor movement to the neceshattan & Bronx headquarters sity of rallying to the defense of all day Sunday to be assigned the Minneapolis prisoners-Editors).

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MANHATTAN

work.

Ave .---- S.E. & S.W. 42nd St. & 7th Cherry & Katherine Sts., Monroe & Madison Sts.—K-K Stationery Store. Near Knickerbocker Village — Vil-lard's General Store, Essex & De-lancey Sts.—S.E. Houston & Clinton. Meisel Bookshop—Grand & Attorney Sts. Clinton & E. B'way. 5th St. & Ave. B—N.W. 9th St. & Ave. D— Murphy or the President. Since war machine. Ave.-S.W. 64th St. & 65th St. & tory.' B'way. — Candy Store. 66th St. & B'way. 72nd St. & B'way, 93rd St. & Columbus Ave. 96th St. & Cent'l. Pk. **Independence of the Ukraine and Sectarian Muddleheads** West. 110th St. & Columbus Ave .--N.E. 181st St. & St. Nicholas Ave. 157th St. & B'way-N.W. 145th St. & St. Nicholas Ave. (Wigerson's). Candy Store, 2nd Ave. & 2nd St .--Madison Ave. & 90th St .-- N.W. ; N.W. 2nd Ave. & 4th St. 17 First Candy Store, cor. 103 St. & B'way. – By Leon Trotsky -Ave. 2nd Ave. & 9th St. (Stuyvesant BRONX Casino). Ave. B & 10th St. - N.E. 2nd Ave. & 12th St. (near Cafe Roy-Longwood Ave. & Southern Boule ois and even working-class ous reaction. To find the bridge equally and wholly applies to with other sections of the Soviet ine brotherhood of the peoples al). Waverly Pl. & B'way. - N.W Continued from last issue) S.W. 171st St. & Fulton Ave S.W. 170th St. & Jerome Ave.-S.E. My statement to the effect masses of Western Ukraine are from reaction to revolution- the revolutionary national up- Union and her western neigh- in the future, the advanced Biederman's-184 Second Ave. Univ. S.W. 170th St. & Jerome Ave.—S.E. 167th St. & Jerome Ave. Jerome & Burnside Ave. 161st St. & Prospect Ave. Freeman St. & Southern Elwid. 174th St. & Boston Road. Kings-bridge Rd. & Jerome Ave. East Me-sholu Subway Station. 3897 Soligwick Ave. Mcellan & Grand Concourse-S.E. that workers and peasants of falling victims to reactionary that is the task. This is the im- rising which represents nothing bors. Let us take an ideal var- workers of Great Russia must Pl. & 12th St.-N.E. 14th St. & Univ. Pl.--S.E. 14th St. & B'way.--S.E. western Ukraine (Poland) do demagogy. Similar processes port, by the way, of our entire else but a single segment of the lant most favorable for our cri- even now understand the caustic. The revolution occurs si- es for Ukrainian separatism, as 4th Ave.—N.E. 14th St. & 4th Ave.— 14th St. & 4th Ave .- S.W. 14th St. & not want to join the Soviet Un- are undoubtedly also taking program of transitional de-political revolution. Independence and the Plan It is noteworthy that the most serious argument against inde-pendence does not even enter the mind of our critic. The econ-omy of Soviet Ukraine enters integrally into this plan. The separation of the Ukraine threatens to break down the plan and to lower the produc-tive forces. But this argument, too, is not decisive. An econom-too, is not decisive. An econom-the blan and to blan the produc-tive forces. But this argument, too, is not decisive. An econom-the blan and to blan the produc-tive forces. But this argument, too, is not decisive. An econom-the blan and to blan the produc-tive forces. But this argument, too, is not decisive. An econom-the blan and to blan the produc-tive forces. But this argument, too, is not decisive. An econom-the blan and to blan the blan the produc-tive forces. But this argument, too, is not decisive. An econom-the blan and to blan the blan the produc-tive forces. But this argument, too, is not decisive. An econom-too, is not decisive. An econom-too, is not decisive. An econom-tice the blan and to blan the blan the produc-tive forces. But this argument, too, is not decisive. An econom-too, is not decisive. An econom-too blan and to blan the blan of blan and to blan and to blan the produc-tract the plan and to blan the blan of blan and to blan the produc-tive forces. But this argument, the blan and to blan the blan of blan and to blan the blan and to blan the blan and to blan multaneously in all parts of the well as the latent power and a 1st Stand S.E. 14th St. & 4th Aveion, as it is now constituted, and place in the Soviet Ukraine, on- mands (The Death Agony of Independence and the Plan that this fact is an additional ly it is more difficult to lay Capitalism and the Tasks of the argument in favor of an inde- them bare. The slogan of inde- Fourth International). Small serious argument against inde- octopus is strangled and swept and they must without any res-BROOKLYN pendent Ukraine is parried by pendent Ukraine advanced in wonder that the sectarians of pendence does not even enter aside. The Constituent Congress ervations declare to the Ukrain-Straus cor. Pitkin Ave. Tompkins cor. Myrtie Ave. Havemeyer cor. S: 4th St. Sutter cor. Van Senderen. Rockaway cor. Pitkin Ave. 475 Sutter Ave. Bay Parkway & 86th St. Ave. O' & 66th St. Brighton Boach Ave. & 5th St. 50th St. & New Utredht Ave. 1510 Kings Highway. MacDon-ald & Ditmars Ave. 9th Ave. & 40th. our sage with the assertion that time by the proletarian van- all shadings fail to understand the mind of our critic. The econ- of the Soviets is on the order of ian people that they are ready even if they desired, they could guard will lead to the unavoid- its meaning. They operate by omy of Soviet Ukraine enters the day. The Ukraine expresses to support with all their might not join the Soviet Union be- able stratification of the petty means of abstractions-an ab- integrally into this plan. The a desire to determine anew her the slogan of independent Sovicause they could do so only bourgeoisie and render it easier straction of imperialism and an separation of the Ukraine relations with the USSR. Even et Ukraine in a joint struggle "after the proletarian revolu- for its lower tiers to ally them- abstraction of the socialist rev- threatens to break down the our critic, let us hope, will be against the autocratic bureauction in Western Ukraine" (ob- selves with the proletariat. On- olution. The question of the plan and to lower the produc- ready to extend her this right. racy and against imperialism. viously, Poland). In other ly thus is it possible to prepare transition from real imperial- tive forces. But this argument, But in order freely to determine QUEENS ism to real revolution; the ques- too, is not decisive. An econom- her relations with other Soviet ian nationalists consider corwords: Today the separation of the proletarian revolution. 3023 Grand Ave. 31-10 Broadway. tion of how to mobilize the ic plan is not the holy of holies. republics, in order to possess rect the slogan of independent the Ukraine is impossible, and How Clear the Road "If the workers carry through masses in the given historical If national sections within the the right of saying yes or no, the Ukraine. But they object to the after the revolution triumphs, it would be reactionary. An old a successful revolution in West- situation for the conquest of Federation, despite the unified Ukraine must return to herself correlation of this slogan with future struggles. The Ukrainian point of rational and revolutionand familiar refrain! Luxem- ern Ukraine. ... " persists our power remains for these sterile plan, are pulling in opposite di- the complete freedom of action, the proletarian revolution. They proletariat wishes to free itself ary politics) boundaries which burg. Bukharin, Piatakov and author, "should our strategy wiseacres a book sealed with rection, it means that the plan at least for the duration of this want an independent democrat- from the clutches of the bur- cut nations into segments, as if does not satisfy them. A plan is Constituent period. There is no ic Ukraine and not a Soviet eaucracy. The slogan of demo- this were something immutamany others used this very then be to demand that the Sov- seven seals. the handiwork of men. It can be other name for this than state Ukraine. It is unnecessary to cratic Ukraine is historically ble. The world revolution. Superficial Reasoning same argument against the pro- iet Ukraine separate and join Piling one dire accusation in- reconstructed in accordance independence. Now let us fur- enter here into a detailed anal- belated. The only thing it is which is for him not living regram of national self-determin- its western section? Just the opation: Under capitalism it is posite." This assertion plumbs discriminately on top of anoth- with new boundaries. In so far ther suppose that the revolution ysis of this question, because it good for is perhaps to console ality but the incantation of a utopian; under socialism, reac- to the bottom the depth of "our er, our critic declares that the as the plan is advantageous for simultaneously embraces also touches not Ukraine alone but bourgeois intellectuals. It will witch-doctor, must unequivocaltionary. The argument is false strategy." Again we hear the slogan of independent Ukraine the Ukraine she will herself de- Poland, Roumania and Hun- rather the general evaluation of not unite the masses. And with- ly accept these boundaries as to the core because it ignores same melody: "If the workers serves the interests of the im- sire and know how to reach the gary. All sections of the Ukrain- our epoch, which we have ana- out the masses, the emancipa- its point of departure. He is not the epoch of the social revolu- carry through. . . ." The sec- perialists (!) and the Stalinists necessary economic agreement ian people become free and en- lyzed many times. We shall out- tion and unification of the at all concerned with the cention and its tasks. To be sure, tarian is satisfied with logical (!!) because it "completely ne-" with the Soviet Union, just as ter into negotiations to join the line only the most important Ukraine is impossible. trifugal nationalist tendencies under the domination of imper- deduction from a victorious gates the position of the defense she will be able to conclude the Soviet Ukraine. At the same aspects. Democracy is degenerwhich may flow either into the revolution supposedly already of the Soviet Union." It is im- necessary military alliance. time they all express the desire ating and perishing even in its The Charge of Centrism ialism a genuine stable and relichannels of reaction or the Our severe critic flings at us channel of revolution. They vieable independence of the small achieved. But for a revolution- possible to understand just why Moreover, it is impermissable to have their say on the ques- metropolitan centers. Only the and intermediate nations is im- ist the nub of the question lies the "interests of the Stalinists" to forget that the plunder and tion of the inter-relations be- wealthiest colonial empires or the term "Centrism" at every late his lazy administrative possible. It is equally true that precisely in how to clear a road are dragged in. But let us con- arbitrary rule of the bureauc- tween unified Ukraine and the bourgeois countries especially opportunity. According to him blue-print constructed on the under fully developed socialism, to the revolution, how to render fine ourselves to the question of racy constitute an important in- Soviet Union, with Soviet Pol- privileged are still able to the entire article was written model of: "first" and "then." that is to say, with the progres- an approach to revolution eas- the defense of the USSR. This tegral part of the current eco- and, etc. It is self-evident that maintain nowadays a regime of so as to expose the glaring ex- He shies away from the stragsive withering away of the lier for the masses, how to draw defense could be menaced by nomic plan, and exact a heavy to decide all these questions it democracy, and even there it is ample of our "Centrism." But gle for national independence state, the question of national the revolution closer, how to as- an independent Ukraine only if toll from the Ukraine. The plan will be necessary to convene the obviously on the down-grade. he does not make even a single against bureaucratic strangulaboundaries will fall away. But sure its triumph. "If the work- the latter were hostile not only must be drastically revised first Constituent Congress of Unified There is not the slightest basis attempt to demonstrate where- tion and takes refuge in specubetween these two moments- ers carry through. . . ." a vic- to the bureaucracy but also to and foremost from this stand- Ukraine. But a "Constituent" for hoping that the compara- in precisely consists the "Cen- lations on the superiorities of the present day and complete torious revolution, everything the USSR. However, given such point. The outlived ruling caste Congress signifies nothing else tively impoverished and back- trism" of the slogan of indepen- socialist unity. In other words, socialism-intervene those dec- will of course be fine. But just a premise (obviously false) how is systematically destroying the but the Congress of an inde- ward Ukraine will be able to dent Soviet Ukraine. Assuredly, his politics-if scholastic comades in the course of which we now there is no victorious revo- can a socialist demand that a country's economy, the army pendent state which prepares establish and maintain a re- that is no easy task. Centrism mentaries on other peoples' polare preparing to realize our prolution, instead there is victori- hostile Ukraine be retained and its culture; it is annihilat- anew to determine its own do- gime of democracy. Indeed the is the name applied to that pol- itics may be called politicswithin the framework of the ing the flower of the population mestic regime as well as its very independence of the Uk- icy which is opportunist in sub- bear the worst traits of cengram. The slogan of independent Soviet Ukraine is of para-USSR? Or does the question in- and preparing the ground for a international position. raine would not be long-lived in stance and which seeks to ap- trism. JUDAS GOAT mount importance for mobilizvolve only the period of the na- catastrophe. The heritage of the The Road to Unity an imperialist environment. pear as revolutionary in form. The sectarian is an opportun-There is every reason to as- The example of Czecho-Slovak- Opportunism consists in a pas- ist who stands in fear of himing the masses and for educattional revolution? Yet our cri- revolution can be saved only by "I think that now is the tic apparently recognizes the an overturn. The bolder and sume that in the event of the ia is eloquent enough. As long sive adaptation to the ruling self. In sectarianism, opportuning them in the transitional pertime for all good Americans inevitability of a political revo- more resolute is the policy of triumph of the world revolution as the laws of imperialism pre- class and its regime, to that ism (centrism) remains unfoldiod. to back Franklin Roosevelt lution against the Bonapartist the proletarian vanguard on the the tendencies towards unity vail, the fate of small and in- which already exists, including, ed in its initial stages, like a What the Sectarian Ignores in his efforts for peace at bureaucracy. Meanwhile this national question among others, will immediately acquire enor- termediate nations will remain of course, the state boundaries. delicate bud. Presently the bud home and abroad. And I The sectarian simply ignores revolution, like every revolu- all the more successful will be mous force, and that all Soviet unstable and unreliable. Imper- Centrism shares completely this unfolds, one-third, one-half, and the fact that the national strugthink we should . . . say for tion, will undoubtedly present a the revolutionary overturn, all republics will find the suitable ialism can be overthrown only fundamental trait of opportun- sometimes more. Than we have gle, one of the most labyrinwhat he has done and for certain danger from the stand- the lower its overhead ex- forms of ties and collaboration. by the proletarian revolution. ism but in adapting itself to the the peculiar combination of secthine and complex but at the what he proposes to do: This goal will be achieved only The main section of the Ukrain- dissatisfied workers, centrism tarianism and centrism (Versame time extremely important point of defense. What to do? penses. 'Thank you very much, Mr. Had our critic really thought The Critic's Ideal Variant provided the old and compul- ian nation is represented by veils it by means of radical eecken); of sectarianism and Roosevelt.' " forms of the class struggle out the problem, he would have The slogan of independent sory ties, and in consequence present-day Soviet Ukraine. A commentaries. If we proceed low-grade opportunism (Sneevcannot be suspended by bare -Heywood Broun, presireplied that such a danger is an Ukraine does not signify that old boundaries are completely powerful and purely Ukrainian from this scientific definition, liet). But on occasion the bud references to the future world dent of the American Newsinescapable historical risk the Ukraine will remain forever destroyed; only provided each proletariat has been created it will appear that the position shrivels away, without unfoldrevolution. With their eyes turnpaper Guild, in his daily colwhich cannot be evaded, for un- isolated, but only this, that she of the contracting parties is there by the development of in- of our hapless critic is in part ing (Oehler). If I am not mised away from the USSR, and "It Seems to Me." umn, der the rule of the Bonapartist will again determine herself completely independent. To dustry. It is they who are des- and in whole centrist. He takes taken, Oehler is the editor of failing to receive support and Y. World-Telegram, (**N**. bureaucracy the USSR is doom- and of her own free will the speed and facilitate this pro- tined to be the leaders of the as a starting point the specific "The Marxist." leadership from the internation-Sept. 4, 1939) ed. The very same reasoning question of her inter-relations cess, to make possible a genu- Ukrainian people in all their (accidental - from the stand-July 30, 1939 al proletariat, the petty-bourge-



stands on Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday. If you want the APPEAL placed on push the strike. any newsstand notify the **Business Manager of** the APPEAL by mail.

system of capitalism. (See Editorial---Page 4) ATTENTION! NEW

YORK READERS The APPEAL now appears on New York City news-

That is why the masses in

their struggle against Roose-

MONDAY, SEPTÉMBER 18, 1939

SOCIALIST APPEAL

"LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CAN-NOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS BRANDED"-KARL MARX. Have Hitler and Stalin Agreed to Partition Poland?

THE **NEGRO QUESTION** New York Councilmanic By J. R. JOHNSON_

The Negro and the War

The Socialist Workers Party says to the Negroes: "After your experiences in America during the last hundred years, after your experiences during the last war and after it, you would be making the greatest mistake of your lives if you were to give any support to the coming war."

If Negroes supported the war, Franklin Roosevelt, Jack Garner, Cotton Ed Smith, Senator Bilbo and all that bunch in the Democratic Party would be able to sit back and say, "We give them the nastiest jobs, we pay them the lowest wages, millions of them are unemployed. Even in Washington here, the Federal capitol, we kick them out of restaurants and theatres. We lynch them whenever we think that they should be reminded of where they belong. We treated them like dogs in the last war. We lynched them after they came back. And now, when we want them to do some more dirty work for us, we just snap our fingers and whistle, and look at them! They come running to do anything we want them to do! We have only to make a few promises and they are ready to be fooled again. Truly these Negroes are the most ignorant, backward and slave-like people in the world, and deserving of no more consideration than the scraps we throw to them."

But no, large masses of Negroes have no wish to support this war. Their memories of the last war and the great deception and fraud which were practiced on them are too vivid in their minds.

So bitter was their disappointment after the last war, that millions of Negroes supported Marcus Garvey. They were ready to follow even the fantastic, impossible scheme of going back to Africa rather than to continue to live in the American democracy for which so many thousands of them had suffered and died.

What Is the Negro to Do?

What then is the Negro to do?

Before we act we must understand the forces acting with us and the forces against us. Many Negroes in America feel that they would be ready to shed their blood and take any steps to break the chains which bind them. Yet they feel also that their numbers are too few. They think that they would be overwhelmed by the number of the whites, their power, their authority, and their control of the means of destruction.

That, however, is a short-sighted view. Today we are dealing with an international war, and the problem is an international one.

Let us look at the last war. That also was an international war. It was fought in Europe, in Asia, and in Africa. The British armed the black man in Africa. The French armed nearly half a million Negro soldiers to fight for them. These fought not only in Africa, but in Europe. There was a regiment of West Indian Negroes. Now today, the millions of Negroes all over the world are more politically conscious, more bitter against oppression and humiliation than they were in 1914. They have not only had the experience of the last war. They have suffered from the ffects of the crisis. They have seen the rape of Ethiopia, and they know that in Africa, for instance, whether they are ruled by Italian Fascists or British "democracy," their situation is the same. Their lands are stolen, their wages are often ten cents a day. They are driven away to live in segregated areas, where at night they are kept jailed as if they had committed a crime by being born with a black skin. They are thinking the same things that the Negroes in America are thinking; only more fiercely because they have more cause. Many of them, particularly in the French and Italian colonies, have arms in their hands which they have learned how to use. Now that the war has begun, many more of them will be armed and trained in order to go and fight for their masters. But despite all the shouting about democracy by James Ford, the great millions in Africa only need leadership to use their guns, not for British or French democracy, but for their own independence, for a free Africa, liberated from all sorts of imperialist domination, liberated not only from Fascist Italy and Germany, but also from those democratic bandits, Britain, France, and Belgium. They outnumber by many millions the whites who keep them in subjection today. And these whites, in the course of a war, will have to arm more and more of these despised and oppressed blacks. The Africans are only waiting for the opportunity and for that powerful organization which will give them a policy and leadership. In a war fought on an international scale, the Negroes in America will have the Negroes in Africa as their allies. American Negro soldiers who may be forced by conscription to go to France to fight, will be certain to meet hundreds of thousands of African soldiers there.



(Continued from Page 1) During this same period under the terms of the "Dual Conar in excess of \$450,000,000! In 1894, through their repre- tracts," the city, which owns entatives in City Hall, a group the lines, sustained a loss of of Wall Street sharks engineer- \$325,500,000 which was made up ed a notorious deal called the through taxes wrung from the 'Dual Contracts,'' through pockets of the workers of New which they set up two holding York City.

companies, the Interborough Enormous Take From 1894 until the first Rapid Transit Company and the Brooklyn Manhattan Tran- world-wide slaughter ended in sit Company for the purpose of 1918, the take of the Wall Street operating the two city-owned sharks through their lease on subway and elevated lines for a the city-owned lines was enor- Court, to whom Wall Street ap period of 75 years.

mous. But with the post-war **Guaranteed Profit** period when operating costs

Upon the signing of the "Dual rose and it became necessary Contracts" the city sank \$326,- to begin replacement of anti-000,000 into the lines for their quated equipment, profits dropdevelopment and extension; the ped until they fell below what to sell the city-owned property Wall Street sharks put up only Wall Street could obtain from to the city for their original in-\$287,000,000. The "Dual Con- investment in other fields. tracts" guaranteed the Wall Immediately Wall Street Street sharks a minimum profit launched a drive to raise the mately \$436,000,000. of \$10,000,000 a year; that is, a five-cent fare. But the "Dual guaranteed minimum profit for Contracts'' carried a clause

the period from 1894 to 1939 of which reads: "the rate of fare \$450,000,000-the actual profits shall be five cents but no being far greater. more." Even the Supreme

All this seems very commonplace and obvious. Millions of Negroes and other colonials, in Africa, in the West Indies, and India think of these things in a vague way. They understand them the moment they are placed clearly before them. Why is it, then, that so few people are saying all this in public speeches and writing it? Why is it that a pamphlet of this kind is published only by the Socialist Workers Party? The reason is very important and is fundamental to an understanding of the political situation not only as it is today, but as it will be tomorrow.

Poor as the majority of Negroes are, and despised and humiliated as all of them are, in every community, particularly in America, there is a small number of Negroes who have better jobs than the others, who have managed to climb onto a little ledge, a little higher than the rest of their fellow-Negroes. These are, in America, for instance, a few doctors, a few people who do well in business, and a few racketeers - Numbers kings, and so on. They are thrown out of the restaurants, excluded from the theatres, Jim-Crowed and discriminated against as all Negroes are. They will complain, and pass resolutions, and sometimes will carry a case to the courts. But because they get something between thirty and fifty dollars a week, they are prepared to do anything that the American ruling class really wants them to do. They are Negroes, and they are forced to live with the large masses of Negroes. But in reality, they are much closer to the American ruling class than they are to the great millions of their own people. It is the same thing in every other community, even in the South. The large majority of Negroes live in dirt, in poverty, are subjected to all sorts of humiliation, and a few are allowed special privileges, a few dollars more per week, etc. Whenever something serious turns up, these may make a protest and demand a little more for themselves, but they are always prepared to do what the American ruling class wants the American Negroes to do. It is so in America, it is so in Africa, it is so in the West Indies, and you have a similar situation in India, Burma, Ceylon.

What Your Dollar Can Do

A dollar puts a Socialist Appeal salesman on an important street corner for one day.

Five dollars permits free distribution of two hundred Socialist Appeals.

Ten dollars puts a full-time field organizer to work for one week in the anti-war campaign.

Anti-War Campaign Committee Socialist Workers Party 116 University Place, N.Y.C.

Dear Friends:

I enclose. as a contribution to the anti-war work of the Socialist Workers Party.

Name

Address



(Special to the Socialist Appeal) LaGuardia agreed, apparent PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 14ly with the intention of raising A mob of Jewish war veterans the five-cent fare in order to some of them armed with black make up the deficit that would some of them armed with black anti-war meeting of the SWF But the scandal of this bareheld at 31st and Norris Sts. faced swindle was so great that In the scuffle that took place LaGuardia was forced to "ap-Sid Kave, a party member, was pease" public opinion. He apinjured and arrested. Later the ointed an "investigating" commagistrate held Kaye for a furmittee, which reported back ther hearing on September 18th

only had a permit for the meet

ing, but who were also greatuly

outnumbered by the hoodlums

the veterans and held only

mined to stamp out all "Un

american activities.'

The magistrate discharged al

that the city could "legally" under \$1000 bail. buy its own property for \$110,-The vigilantes had a carefully 000,000 less than the first proarranged plan to break up the posal. meeting. They had announced LaGuardia agreed. He signed the week previous that they he preliminary papers, speciwere not going to allow any fically OMITTING ALL REF-"ism" to hold any meeting ag-

"Appease" Public

ensue.

ERENCE TO GURANTEEING ainst war. THE FIVE-CENT FARE! Despite the fact that a detect In fact he actually increased ive from the radical squad, who the subway fare to the World's has been following all street Pare to 10-cents as a trial balmeetings of the SWP, was pres oon to test public reaction. ent, and saw that the attack On top of this, LaGuardia and provocation was started by mitted all reference to workthe legionnaires, he did nothing ng conditions, to minimum to protect the SWP, which not

to collective bargaining agreements. So long as Wall Street s satisfied let the subway workers and those who use the subways for transportation pay Kaye, stating that he was deterhrough the nose! SWP Platform

hours for the subway workers,

As part of its platform for The Philadelphia local is go he coming Councilmanic elec- ing to have a mass distribution ions, the Socialist Workers of a leaflet in the neighborhood Party demands and its candi- exposing the vigilantism of the lates, Max Shachtman in the legionnaires, and asking the Bronx and George Lyman workers to come out and pro Paine in Manhattan are pledged tect the future anti-war meet ings that the Party is going to to fight for:

(1) Expropriation of the sub- hold in the neighborhood. way lines through outright can- Several workers did join in cellation of the "Dual Con- the attempt to beat off the vetcellation of the "Dual Contracts" without paying the Wall erans but they were also out-Street sharks another cent of numbered. Efforts are being made to contact these militants the people's money. (2) The immediate establish-Another meeting will be held ment of a Transit Commission at the same corner in the very to operate in one unified system near future. the entire network of subways

Events Indicate That Stalin Intends to **Take Polish Ukraine**

(Continued from Page 1)

front, and that is not indicated at the present moment. It is a prospect, something for the near or distant future.

Stalin Seeks a Pretext

Far more likely is that, by agreement with Hitler or not, Stalin is planning to bring under his rule the Ukrainian and White Russian territories and populations now under Polish domination. The inspired reports in the Moscow press about "frontier incidents" and "minority uprisings" are unmistakably calculated to create a pretext for Stalin taking his share of the division of present-day Poland.

The "democratic" and social-democratic press is of course terribly indignant at the prospect of carving up "poor little Poland." They never managed to work up the same indignation when the arch-reactionary Polish militarists brutally seized the very same territories that are in question and established their brutal dominion over the national populations inhabiting them. Nor were they so outraged when Poland, last year, helped Hitler in the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia.

Out of the Frying Pan Into the Fire

The working class, in any case, has no cause to shed tears over the prospect of the rotten ruling class of Poland losing control of their Ukrainian and White Russian subjects.

At the same time, however, the kind of "liberation". which is now the prospect of the former Polish minorities, is very much like being taken out of the frying pan and hurled into the fire. Life under Hitlerite rule or "protection" would be worse, if anything, than life under Polish rule for the Ukrainians or White Russians-to say nothing of the Jews who are suffering so horribly from the war.

Then is the choice to be the rule of the brutal and cynical Moscow bureaucracy? That seems, at the present writing, to be Stalin's sinister plan. The Bonaparte of the Kremlin appears to be planning to place his bureaucratic, militaristic yoke over the necks of the Ukrainian and White Russian peoples now in Poland. How much that would improve the lot of the latter, they already know. They know the situation and the sentiments of their fellow-nationals on the soil of the Soviet Union, who, in the Soviet republics of the Ukraine and White Russia, are so arrogantly terrorized by the Kremlin clique as to be reminded of the persecutions they suffered in the days of Czar Nicholas the Bloody. They know that their fellow-nationals in the Soviet Union aspire to liberation from that clique, for independence and separation which alone is the road to the revolutionary freedom and unity of the Ukrainian and White Russian masses now dispersed over three or four of Europe's eastern countries.

For a Free, Independent Soviet Ukraine

Months ago, in an article in these pages, Leon Trotsky foresaw how acute the Ukrainian question was sure to be-

An Alliance of the Millions

¢

Contact can be made and plans made for the struggle on an international scale. But there are other allies as well--millions. For two hundred and fifty years, the British have been squeezing the lives out of the millions of people in India. There are well over three hundred and fifty million people in India today, and the large majority of them are just awaiting their chance to get arms in their hands, drive the British imperialists into the sea, and make their country their own again. The same in Burma, in Ceylon, and in Indo-China. So that from the Atlantic Ocean to the Pacific, you have over five hundred million people, oppressed colonials, who are thinking in terms of freedom from the domination of imperialism. Imagine the enormous power which these colonials can exert for their own emancipation in the tremendous crisis which will soon be loosed upon all peoples in the world.

Uncle Tom Negroes

Now these traitors are the people who have the best chances, who have the opportunity to get sometimes quite a good education. They run newspapers and magazines. They get subscriptions from rich white men. They are enabled to borrow from white banks. These lick-spittles, Uncle Tom Negroes, constantly speak in the name of the Negro people or in the name of Africans, when in reality, they are only saying what the imperialists want them to say. If they didn't, they would be thrown out of their jobs, and lose their little privileges and benefits. And so for the sake of the crumbs and bones that they get from the big table, they are quite prepared to sacrifice the interests of the majority of Negroes. They are the most dangerous people. It is they who deceive the Negroes every time. They, despite their black skin, are no more than agents of the white imperialists. They are not saying much now, but when the time comes, they are going to shout for "democracy" as loudly as the American ruling class. Some of them are going to get jobs in the government service. A few of them are going to be given positions a little higher than the ones they have at present? Some of them will be allowed to train as officers. This one here will be made a major, the other one there will be made a colonel. These appointments and others will fill the pages of the imperialist press and the Negro press. Meetings will be held at which these Negro traitors will speak and agitate and do their best to bluff the Negro people to take part in a war and be deceived and maltreated just as they were in the last war for democracy. The bait that they will dangle will be promises of a better world. They will say that after the war, things will be different. We know better than that. So that the first preliminary step for action is to be ready to condemn and drive out of the Negro ranks those traitors who sell their birthright for a mess of pottage. Whether they are in America, in Africa, or in India, they are traitors. Whoever tries to drag Negroes into a war for "democracy" is a traitor and a Judas. They will come preaching about unity. But the workers and farmers want no unity with them. What we must struggle for is the unity of the masses.

(Continued in Next Issue)

and elevated lines on a non-Release Twenty-five profit basis, entirely as a selfsustaining service to the people Minneapolis WPA (3) Representation for the Prisoners on Bail of New York.

subway workers on the Transit Commission through election

(Continued from Page 1) rom their own ranks. they must support; all are long-(4) The allocation of public time residents of Minneapolis works money as a sinking fund Despite these circumstances for the maintenance, improve- bail for each woman was set at ment, and extension of the pres-\$2,000; a few got off with \$1,500. ent subway system. Of course neither the prisoners Such a program if put into nor the WPA Defense Commiteffect would in addition make possible an immediate raise in the women were jailed. the wages of subway workers. Fifteen other women had been arrested earlier but were re-

leased on their own recogniz-**Behind the Lines** ance.

Obviously the court's resump- week. (Continued from Page 1) tion of its policy of demanding with the gaping bloody wounds excessive bail is being dictated to the world situation today. It this country. Harold Draper reof Stalin's purge. In its desper- by the national administration ate effort to preserve itself, and the reaction in Minnesota, Stalin's ruling clique has suc-and is an attempt to break the ceeded only in enormously morale of the labor movement economic and social aspects which finally culminated in the and confront it with a seemingweakening the Soviet Union. That is why the adventures ly hopeless task.

Plan Defense

olas, Charles Grider, Oscar organized labor forced the

Shoenfeld, Walter Russell, court to reduce it to the still

Ralph Core, Glenn Smith, outrageous sum of \$58,000.

nto which the war is forcing it But Murphy and Roosevelt Hitler-Stalin Pact, the role of nust be a source of the most and Stassen don't yet underagonizing anxiety to the Krem- stand the temper of the organin gang. Hitler's drive into ized labor movement in this seceastern Europe will at least tion. The WPA Defense Comhave the effect-even if only mittee will of course take up and revolutionary movement of historical articles by George emporarily-of reinforcing his the task of raising bail for those are analyzed.

ability to prosecute the war newly arrested, and is already against his great rivals in the laying the plans for the legal West. Any move by Stalin into defense of the strikers. this bloody cockpit will only add The WPA Defense Committee

to his weakness, his difficulties, was heartened by a resolution Floyd Hurley, Frank Johnson, sues of The New International. and his fears. Stalin knows any passed by the Minnesota State Edward Alberts, George Totino, nvolvement will hasten his own Federation of Labor convention doom and yet he cannot avoid Wednesday, calling upon all unbecoming involved. His only ions in the state to come to the hope is to be able to hang on aid of the Defense Committee until his enemies, including and its fund. **Twenty-five Released**

Hitler, begin to grow as weak The 25 men released yesteras he already knows himself to day on bond were Max Geld-

Join the Socialist Workers Party

come. The choices of the Ukrainian - and the White Russian-peoples are not confined to domination by the Polish militarists, by Hitler's fascists or by Stalin's G.P.U.

There is another choice! A free, independent, united Soviet Ukraine-fortress of defense from the attacks of the enemy in Berlin, Warsaw or the Kremlin.

Stalin's seizure of the Polish Ukraine would be an attempt to crush the movement for a united Soviet Ukraine under his iron heel, with the aid, in all likelihood, of Hitler

Here as everywhere else, the interests of the Stalinist oligarchy are in diametrical opposition to the interests of the workers and oppressed peoples of all countries.

OCTOBER NEW INTERNATIONAL nor the WPA Defense Commit-tee had the bail available and TO BE EXCEPTIONALLY GOOD

The management of The New | by Leon Trotsky, entitled, "On International announces an un- the French Political Situation." usually splendid October num-The issue of a War Referenber, which will be out in a dum by the people is again before Congress and is being wide-

The leading article is devoted ly discussed by the masses in is, "A Panoramic Survey of the views this question in an article Second World War," and con-entitled, "Friends of the War cerns itself with the political, Referendum.

Sherman Stanley contributes outbreak of war in Europe. The ism in India.' an article, "British Imperial-

Dwight Macdonald's usual American imperialism, prossparkling column, "Reading pects for early American participation in the war, and the From Left to Right," will apattitude and policy of the labor pear, and the first of a series Novack on Negro Slavery in America.

Trotsky on France A second feature, held over Other interesting features

from the previous number, is complete what will unquestionably be among the banner is-

The management wishes to Richard Connell, Myron Phil- announce that increased orders lips, Ernest Stark, Arthur Sei-| must be placed in advance. In

bert, Mark Patterson, Ralph view of the critical situation of Johnston, Alfred Christianson, The New International at this Carl Pemble, Simon Baruch time, agents and readers of the and David Gordon. magazine are requested to give Bond of \$58,000 was posted to their assistance, by paying on

win their release. The original bundle accounts at once and man, Ed Palmquist, Leslie bail had been set at over a by sending in their subscrip-Wachter, Arnold Mullen, quarter of a million dollars, tions to: George Palmquist, Victor Nich- but the storm of protest from

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- 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.
- An independent Labor Party. 10.
- Workers' Defense Guards against vigilante and Fascist attacks.
- 12. Full social, political and economic equality for the Negro people.

The Third Camp

Two camps are engaged in a wordy battle over the decisive question that the specal session of Congress has been called to face. On one side, which seems to have gained the great majority of the Senators, stand those who are going to repeal the arms embargo legislation now on the books. On the other side, are the so-called "isolationists," headed by Senators Borah, Nye and their associates.

In his broadcasted speech opening up the campaign of his group, Senator Borah stated the question in this form : "Has the time come when the United States must take a part in this European coflict?"

That way of putting the issue is correct. Yet, so fast is the United States being driven into the Second World War by the Roosevelt Administration and its allies, that even this formulation of the question is already outdated.

In violation not only of the clearly indicated sentiments and interests of the American masses but even of the laws governing his office, President Roosevelt has already committed the country to participation in the war. His statement that the United States will defend Canada, which has already declared war against Germany, is precisely such a commitment. The purpose of calling together the special session of Congress-to repeal the arms embargo -is a fairly open and fairly brazen attempt by Roosevelt and Co. to ally the United States with the slave-owning "democracies," that is, to advance America's present participation from the economic to the directly military. For Roosevelt and his war-making crew, the only question that remains to be solved is not "Should we enter the war?" but How and When to enter.

At bottom, the fight between these two camps is superficial, where it is not outright sham.

The fight against war and the war-mongers and which both of the other two camps hope will remain silent and docile. The third camp is the camp of labor! The third camp is the camp of the toilers! It is the camp of the people who fight and die in the war.

The very fact that the majority of the American people, as shown by several tests, favors a referendum before Congress may declare war, you into European trenches is shows that the instincts, the fears, the sentiments all ready-right now. of the masses are healthy and sound.

They don't trust their legislators on the war state capitol. ready to be rushquestion! They do not want to leave the decision ed to the printer and run off in of that life-or-death question in the hands of the millions of copies on a mocapitalist politicians in Congress. They want to have the chance of deciding it themselves-for if existence right now, in skeleton the question of declaring another "war for de- form. At the top is the Joint mocracy" is submitted to the people it would vote vice Committee. "Selective seroverwhelmingly against it. And rightly so! Roosevelt and Co. know this. They also know the draft or conscription-words

what everyone else should realize:

The United States cannot be plunged into war board consisting of military and unless the people are gagged. The United States naval officers. Its agent in each cannot be kept in the war unless that gag is Under each state adjutant gentightened to the point where the difference be- eral are four to sixteen Army tween Hitler's regime and that of the United men who have gone through tory of the Full Greatness of States becomes microscopic.

AND HOW! Said Earl Browder, speaking at Madison Square Garden Monday night: "These are very trying days."

A Lynching Bee (An Invitation to C. Y. Harrison)

We predicted some time ago, when the not unknown gentleman-parasite Charles Yale Harwar." rison got a job with the New Deal and began to discover, in the columns of the New Leader, the one of the questions they disidentity of Trotskyism and Stalinism, that we cuss: "Where are men on for-had experienced some of the declare to be noncombattant." would not have have long to wait before he ap- est reserves to register?" peared as a Home Guard recruiting sergeant for "democratic" cannon-fodder.

Sure enough, his latest column in the New board. The men who will sit on Leader, social democratic organ of the War Department, comes out for the war with a bang, According to the mobilization and for the speediest American entry into it. Not plan, they are to be "outstandfor Mr. Harrison, to be sure, for he has the most intransigent intention of fighting out every THEY EXPECT US battle thousands of miles from the front, where his soggy but well-beloved hide cannot be reach-

gas or bayonet. But he is heartily in favor of YOU doing your bit for Democracy.

You don't agree with him?

Then you're an agent of Hitler, and in all all essential respects their attitude toward the war is identical," he writes of the "Communist, Trotskyist, Nazi newspapers."

You have a doubt or two about the lofty

Machinery for Dragooning U.S. can be conducted only by the *third camp* — the camp which has not been given any publicity, People into the War Is All Ready Knowing That The People Do Not Want War, That They

Will Not Volunteer to Lay Down Their Lives for Boss Profits, The War Deal Government Has Readied Its Draft Machinery

America had ever made in all

That was the people's way of

voting on war in 1917. For the

opposition to a national vote of

If you can still laugh, read

this: "It is in no sense a con-

scription of the unwilling; it is

rather selection from a nation

President Wilson said this in

How about exemptions from

is draft proclamation.

THEY WILL DRAGOON

which has volunteered in

mass.

ALL OF US

the draft?

By H. D. HERRICK they think we'll WANT to fight | "It was the poorest showing The machinery for drafting the war they will declare? Not on your life, for all their her history and marked the betalk of a "just cause" or a "peo-ginning of the downfall of the

ple's war." That's why Roose- volunteer method of raising The forms for draft registravelt and his war-birds foam at armies in major wars in this tion cards are on file in every the mouth at the very idea of country." letting the people have the right to decide on going to war. They

KNOW what to expect: the swivel-chair militarists in American masses will put on a Washington, the draft naturally The draft administration is in uniform just as willingly as they goes hand in hand with their would a prison suit. The preparation of the draft the people on entrance into the Army and Navy Selective Seris the government's way of con- war.

fessing that IT WILL NOT BE vice" is the official name for OUR WAR. Up to 1917 all of America's which are never used officially. wars with other nations were This committee is a six-man fought by volunteers only. They

tried that in 1917 too. Here was the result, as sorrowfully told in a book called "America's Part in the World War: A Hisspecial training for draft ad-

, patrioteering flag-waver pub ministration lished in 1919 with an introduc-These men hold regional conferences every year, in New tion by Generalissimo Persh-Orleans, San Francisco, Chica- ing:

The draft bill is all written and is waiting in Roosevelt's "Enlistments were opened alge and Washington. These conmost immediately. Every pos- file to be introduced in Congress ferences last two weeks. Here is the N. Y. Times report of one sible means to attract a recruit on M-Day. The only exemption of them (October 12, 1938); to the service was used. Wo- it authorizes-besides the Vice-"Army officers rehearsed on men pleaded with noon-hour President, Congressmen and paper today the national set-up crowds at recruiting meetings, the highest federal and state of a civilian-operated selective and the entire country was plas- officials-is for members of service act, and estimated that tered with posters urging men pacifist religious sects "IF the it would cost between \$6,000,000 to enlist. Volunteer recruiting conscientious holding of such and \$10,000,000 to mobilize 300,- was not a success in the United belief by such person shall be 000 men in the first month of a States. It was as flat a failure established under such regula-They expect to draft as it had been in England. We tions as the President may prelater profited by England's ex- scribe; but no such person shall four million men in 12 months. Just as an example, here is ample and drafted men into the be relieved from service in such

army, but it was not until we capacity as the President may same symptoms which had No one else can be exempted, marked England's entry into even mayors, inferior federal the war and a few subsequent and state officials, ministers of

religion, etc., not to speak of And who were the "patriots" ordinary workingmen. At best,

who volunteered? The authors if the draft board decides that continue: they are needed at home at "Far from satisfactory were least at the moment, their milthe recruits obtained by volun- itary service can only be DEteer enlistment. Many gave fic- FERRED. This is a separate titious names or addresses classification, and can be rewhen they enlisted. Others fail- voked by decision of the same ed to report to the stations to draft board. The board need Why this feverish preparation which they had been assigned." not assign any reason for any ins soggy but well-beloved hide cannot be reach- for prodding us to the trenches General Peyton C. March, decision to anyone but the Pres-ed by such grossly material items as shrapnel, at the point of a bayonet? Don't war Chief of Staff, lamented: ident.



By CARL HICHIN Theoretically, Woodsworth | ers, is the largest mass organi-TORONTO, Ont.-Throughout said, Canada was an independ- zation controlled by the "Comdemocratic aims of the war-mongers? Mr. Har-rison is ready to take care of that, too. Our brave bully how written.



You have probably never heard of Herman Brassert. His name never appears in headlines, nor is it ever listed in the reports of international conferences. Nevertheless, Herman Brassert is one of the most important men in the world, and millions upon millions of human beings are now beginning to feel the effect of his activities.

Herman Brassert is one of the greatest living engineers. His specialty is the design and technical organization of steel mills, and at this he has no equal.

The great economic crisis of the late '20's began in Great Britain several years before it hit the rest of the world. The British industrialists believed that they were handicapped by the outmoded technological character, in comparison with Germany and the United States, of much of the equipment of their heavy industries. They decided to remedy this by a program of what was then called "rationalization'

Brassert was called in as a chief consultant for the re-making of the steel plants. From then on he made frequent trips to England.

Steel Gets a New Direction

After a short while, however, it became clear to Britain that the "rationalization" of the steel plants had actually to be made the preparation of the steel industry for war, and that the whole process had to be speeded up. Occasional visits by Brassert were not enough. The British government induced him to transfer residence to England, where five years ago, he settled his family on a beautiful estate which he bought in the English countryside.

The idea that Britain began re-armament only after Hitler had taken over Austria and was threatening Czechoslovakia is a myth. The fundamental preparations were far advanced long before Vienna fell.

Brassert did his work well. The British steel industry is re-located, reorganized and re-equipped. It is specifically and admirably adapted for turning out the maximum quantity of the most destructive implements so far devised by human ingenuity.

A New Assignment

While Brassert was working in England, Hitler conquered and consolidated power in Germany. The German industrialists were also faced with the problem of the reorganization of heavy industry, and from the beginning they were clear about the purpose of reorganization: for war. Through the Nazi Four Year Plan, they proposed to bring all existing plants and mills to the highest technical efficiency, and to add new works of a surpassing order. In particular, they wished to build the greatest steel plant in the world: the Hermann Goering Works.

There was one man whom they wanted for the job in steel: Herman Brassert. And they got him. In addition to his English estate, he rented a splendid apartment in Berlin; and every week he shuttled back and forth by airplane between the two nations.

The Hermann Goering Works arose in record time, the full flower of engineering art.

What a consolation it should be to the soldiers facing each other from the Maginot and Limes Lines! No favoritism in this war! They can each know that the tanks which crush them, the planes that hurl destruction on them, the shells which tear their guts apart, are on both sides alike the very finest icts of the very highest skill. And

the two sets of industrialists object to Brassert's

double duties? If you ask this question, you have

still a lot to learn. Business is business; and patri-

otism is also business. During this same period it was Britain which supplied the greater part of the

coal and ore which built and extended and fed

Krupp and Stinnes and the Hermann Goering

Works. And, after all, should not a British soldier

be far happier to be torn to pieces by steel forged

It was this same Brassert, by the way, who was

chief consultant in building the great steel plant

ordered by Kemal Ataturk-the completion of

which task has given Turkey a new weight among

So far, all was well with Brassert. But, when war

was declared you would think that he would have

How to Get on in the World

the neutrals.

you won't be overlooked. In each town or section of a ing citizens."

TO BE UNWILLING

city, there will be a local draft months thereafter." them have already been tentatively selected and are listed.

No.

How completely the "isolationist" bloc in Congress has cracked up, will be seen when the special sesion actually convenes. But it is already clear that under the enormous pressure of a warprofit-hungry and united capitalist class, and the old hypocritical war-cry of a "united nation in face of the enemy," the bloc is nothing like it used to be. What is left of it is weakening, rethey themselves surrender the struggle.

Which was to be foreseen, and is to be understood. Like the Congressional sponsors of the original Ludlow Bill for a popular referendum on war who became terror-stricken at the huge mass sentiment that was set in motion for it and who are now about as vocal as a corpse with the mumps, the "isolationists" fear to arouse the mighty giant of labor by a militant anti - war campaign. Even the dullest of them understands that a real fight against the imperialist war-mongers means a real fight against imperialist government.

That is why we never put an ounce of reliance upon the pacific protestations of I - hate - war-Roosevelt in the past, and we place no reliance on "isolationist" Borah today.

shall go to war. Their struggle for "neutrality" demned to futility.

brave bully-boy writes: "I would suggest that Mr. Trotsky or Mr.

Browder attempt to get up in the streets of Paris not deepening sufficiently rap-sides of the House, but Woods-pact. and tell French trade-uinon members that the idly to prevent King finally lin- worth continued: struggle against the Hitler-Stalin pact is im- ing up actively with Chamber1 the spot-and with justification."

cracy, in our opinion: lynch its opponents!

Now we don't know much about the streets of Canada's participation in actual countries. Paris, but we are willing to supply Mr. Harrison military operations will be but with a list of our coming New York street meet- a flea-bite compared with 1914ings against imperialist brigands' war. We ever tion, nor any large expedition so cordially invite Mr. Harrison to bring his ary force. But, more important first lynch mob to our meetings so that he can the present wide unorganized start his job right. We might also suggest that ble of becoming a well organhe bring along Abe Cahan and Algernon Lee as ized basic opposition. his bodyguards.

"I shall be called a warmonger," concludes Mr. days ago to the Ottawa House Harrison, in his most pathetic beer-bass. "The the impression was conveyed service. He played to the most ANTI - SEMITISM epithet does not frighten me in the least. I am that Canada was definitely at reactionary farm views, that GROWING RAPIDLY my war."

Warmonger? The name is too pretentious, we think. Rat would be more appropriate.

Just plain rat.

"Against a bounding rise of prices which with the approach of war will assume an ever more unbridled character, one can fight only under the slogan of a sliding scale of wages. This means that collective agreements should assure an automatic rise of wages in relation to the increase of prices in consumer goods." (Program of the Fourth International.)

Jail Is Better

In a recent editorial, we printed a table com-The isolationist bloc has kept completely silent paring the average weekly diet of Germans un- M. J. Coldwell (highly Stalinon the Ludlow Amendment and, even where der Hitler's war-time restrictions with that of ized) would give the group's some advocate it in words, they have refused to families on relief in New York City, where rethe right to decide for themselves whether we against 25 ounces for war-blockaded Germany. da's present position - C.H.) meat a week. We leave the moral to you.

widen sufficiently to make Premier King pursue a most cir- trol whatever?

cuitous route. But, as yet, it is

lain, and at this moment it that Canada can make to Brit-ganized opposition. The attorperialist brigandage. They would be lynched on would appear that Canada will ain is to maintain friendly relabe officially committed to war tions with the United States"... A perfect way to launch the war for demo- when the speech from the The common people of Canada loyalty abroad'' is pleading for Throne carries in a few days. But even then, the extent of ing the common people of other movement. He has not yet re-

MASSES OPPOSE WAR SERVICE

1918. There will be no conscripopposition may yet prove capaforce.

When the speech from the Coldwell reflected the west-Throne was read some few ern farmer's opposition to war received coolly.

over to the parliament, and workers. been careful to sketch the limits of Canada's participation even though the upper House (the Senate) has unanimously voted for declaration of war against

Germany. SOCIAL DEMOCRATS

to any participation in a Euro- ising side: the Toronto Trades SPLIT IN PARTICIPATION pean war. . . . We refuse to sac-and Labor Council (highly Stal-During the week the Social Democratic CCF parliamentary rifice our most vital interests inized) has had to change its to the petty interests and exig- position slightly, due undoubt tion of Canadian participation encies of international high fi- edly to rank and file sentiment.

in the war. The minority was nance and the manufacturers of At first its heads declared full armaments . . . hog for British imperialism. At against participation. It includ-Within a few hours a curb the last meeting the Council ed the CCF national leader J vas placed on even the very se-ledged back and withheld all S. Woodsworth. In the House lective recruiting that had been statements on policy "until the later, Woodsworth explained he taking place. Recruiting in On- position of the government is no longer spoke for the CCF tario is now reported halted, al- made known.'

group. One of his colleagues, though Air Force members Amongst all these trends. Ca have been and are being sent nadian Fourth Internationalists to Europe. continue to be active to the utviews later, he said. But of deeper immediate po- most now practicable. Condi-Continuing, Woodsworth then call upon the people to fight with them for it. lief standards are highest in the country. The said in part, "If we are not at litical significance is the follow- tions prevent a recital of those They fear to rouse the masses into action against two diets were about the same. The reliefers get war, is it proper that we should ing: A couple of days ago a activities. But it can be said war on the crucial issue: shall the people be given between 30 and 32 ounces of meat per week, as ation? (That is actually Cana- middle leadership of the ULF- sive opposition increases. As it TA asked a prominent 4th In- does so the opportunity to But, according to Time of September 11, pris- If we are capable still of keep- ternationalist to unofficially ex- change it into a more dynamic has been purely verbalistic and is thereby con-demued to futility demued to futility Ukrainian workers and farm- being ignored keep out of it."

all of them are turned out with the trademark of him were all "CP" members. Jeers interrupted from all at least until the Hitler-Stalin the one supreme artist. But, you ask, did not the two governments and

So far the Ottawa government "The greatest contribution has hesitated to strike at the orently alarmed at the "lack of could gain nothing by slaughter- a crushing of the political labor ceived the federal authority. Even the boss dailies are driven

out of exclusively Empire products? to printing stories of house first offered the job (which he finally refused) of wives' opposition to rapidly inbuilding Magnetogorsk. And it was he who was

Later the new leader, Cold. creased food prices - butter is well, said Canada's assistance up 25 per cent; other table comto Britain should be purely eco- modifies about the same fignomic and should not include ure; sgar difficult to get. conscription nor the sending Thousands are intent on dodg-

abroad of an expeditionary ing war service by marriage Efforts at patriotic demonstrations, etc., are for the most part

found himself in something of a jam, and would have been bound to end in either a British or a war. It was but a feeler. Within war may mean increased wheat There is one very dangerous German concentration camp. But such thoughts, treating, and putting up a rearguard fight before an old soldier, ladies and gentlemen, and this is a few hours Prime Minister prices. Both he and Woods- development however-a rapid too, forget that business is business. King hastened to deny this first | worth, objectively tried to turn growth in anti-Semitism. In one Brassert was born in Germany, but long ago he impression. More recently he into safe channels the opposi- local armory there is posted a became a citizen of the good, old U.S.A. And you has thrown the whole question tion of western farmers and sign to the effect that out of may be sure that his years of European residence 2.000 recruits only 2 were Jews. did not lead him to give up his U.S. citizenship. Earlier a petition, signed by An effort is being made to util-The "main office" of his firm continued to be lothousands of French Canadians ize such alleged facts to whip cated patriotically in Chicago. had been tabled in the House. up a particularly vicious cru-In part it read: sade against the Jews. This

We, the undersigned electors needs the immediate attention of Quebec Province, declare of labor. ourselves categorically opposed But again on the more prom-

So, four days after the war began, Brassert and his family stepped off the Queen Mary to the unbombed and unbombable docks of New York City. There is work still to be done! The steel industry of this country is already, from a technical standpoint, primed for the war. But there are last minute changes and revisions and improvements to be tended to, so that we may all be confident that the death which is "Made in America" will be more sure and certain and terrible than any alien death.

H. N. Brailsford, British Laborite, writes in the New Republic, September 13, that the Stalin-Hitler pact "was feviolation of public morality for which nothing in the record of the Soviet Union has prepared us." Where's he been all these years?

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Dr. Eaton M. Mackay of Los Angeles says the man who puts away a big meal, loosens his belt and sighs with satisfaction, wasn't feeding his stomach at all but a section of his brain the size of a fingernail. He said that the appetite is controlled by a brain segment weighing about oneeighth of an ounce. Relief clients will note with interest the theory that they're not hungry-they just think they are.