# For a Workers Vote Against War, Vote for SWP Candidates!



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The Same Beast

#### 3c a Copy

# WAR CLIQUES SPLIT NEW YORK LABOR PARTY

# Morale of Minneapolis **Prisoners Splendid as** Frame-Up Trial Opens

#### A.F.L. Defense Commitee Sponsors Tag-Day To Raise Funds for Indicted Strikers-More Indictment's Seen as Coming

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) MINNEAPOLIS, Oct. 6.—The government was still having its innings as the fifth day of the trial of the first batch of WPA workers got under way in Federal Judge Joyce's courtroom. Eight workers are involved in this first trial, growing out of a clash at a WPA project on the University of Minnesota campus last July 12, when Philip Slaughter, a fascist sympathizer, used a knife ---to slash several pickets. It is typical that the victims, not the knife wielder, are being prosecuted by the federal government.

The trial opened Monday, salesman, a former deputy with the three other defense the impact of the event. sheriff, a realtor, a restaurant lawyers. owner and a hardware dealer-

a labor case. Government

bach, former Minnesota WPA ants are showing great reby Roosevelt); S.J. Stolte, act- own defense statements and rope. ing State WPA administrator lining up witnesses to fefute leged that pickets had threat- to see. ened them during the WPA strike.

Tom Davis, a colorful old fig-October 2, and the first day was ure in Minnesota politics, has hammer and sickle into the spent in selecting a jury. On been secured by the AFL's WP- poverty-stricken fields of Pothe jury, picked by the judge, A Defense Committee to act as land towards Warsaw, and the are seven farmers, a lumber trial attorney in cooperation whole world trembled under

George Murk of the Musily, (Continued on Page 3)

By B. J. WIDICK

Marches

The Red

Army

Once before the legions of the Red Army marched behind the A brilliant young officer was

The defense is expected to given command of the troops a typically tough dozen to hear bring forth a mass of evidence on the "western front" in the te smash the New Deal frame- offensive against the Polish Arwitnesses to up against the Minneapolis un- my. He was Mikhail Tukhadate have been Linus Glotz- ion movement. The 134 defend- chevsky, burning with zeal and ambition to extend the socialadministrator (since promoted sourcefulness in preparing their ist revolution throughout Eu-

Opposite the Red Army stood (also a Roosevelt appointee); the testimony of the govern- Joseph Pilsudski, harsh dictaand a number of finks, includ- ment and the finks. All defena- tor, backed by France and Enging one person, Homer Martin, ants meet weekly with the WPA land, who dreamed of carving who described himself as a Defense Committee to survey out a vast empire, Greater Pomember of the US intelligence the case, and the morale of the land, from the Ukraine, all service during the war. All al- indicted strikers is wonderful East Prussia, Lithuania, White Russia, and Latvia. Repeated-Pilsudski had rejected

peace terms offered by the Soviet government in 1919 and



**Patriots Divide On Support of** Axis or Allies

LET THE PEOPLE

VOTE ON WAR

#### By FELIX MORROW

The two warring camps in the American Labor Party have spent the week hurling charges and countercharges, setting up dual executive committees in New York County, and filing separate nominating petitions.

Amid the tumult, the several hundred thousand trade unionists who constitute the American Labor Party by virtue of the affiliation of their unions, are finding it hard to determine what is the issue which has caused the split. For the rival belligerents are not particularly interested in telling the truth. Each camp is as anxious as the other to avoid frank statement of the real issue.

The ALP bureaucrats—speaking for the officialdom of the needle trades-attempt to exploit the feelings of the progressive (and especially Jewish) trade unionists against the Hitler-Stalin alliance; they say they are fighting the discredited Communist party for its reactionary defense of the Hitler-Stalin axis. They say as little as possible about the basic

sections of their resolutionthe pro-war sections.

The Stalinists, likewise, blur the real basis of the conflict. In the New York County fight they try to hide behind the reactionary state laws which create electoral machin-

erv separate from that of the (Special to the Socialist Appeal) trade union base of the ALP, BOSTON, Mass .-- Boston opwhich gives the Stalinists the ened its Forum season Sunday pretext for designating the October 4th city conference es." The meeting was well atcalled by the ALP leadership was enthusiastically received as "having no legal status un-

## **GOLDMAN OPENS** 703 - Larlo **BOSTON PARTY** Shachtman and Paine Charge Boss FORUM SEASON **Candidates Evade the Main Issue**

DEMOCRATIC"

WAR-TIME

RULE

New York S.W.P. Urges Workers to Register Oct. 8 with Albert Goldman speaking on "Europe in Flam-This Week So That They May Vote for the les." The meeting was well at-tended and Comrade Goldman Only Anti-War Candidates on the Ballot

#### By GEORGE STERN

**Behind the Lines** 

The bolts of Stalin's diploma-|can mean only continued mistic blitzkrieg are still splinter- ery and death, a prolongation ing the fragile frontiers of East- of the agony through which the Pilsudski open hostilities than ern Europe while the war of dying capitalist world is drag- the Revolutionary Council of arms on the western front, as ging the peoples of all nations. War ordered troops from ev-Doesn't this pompous exthe saying now has it. has set-

foreign ministers queued up at of whole peoples, make clear would do well to talk terms the destruction of both these with his friend Hitler. He at the warring cliques?

like Fascism are "matters of lower Baltic and eyes the Baltaste." As for him, Stalin, he is kans and the East, the belligermaking hay, for he knows well ents in the West are waiting for the sun shall not shine much each other to move. Belgium, longer. And his harvest is al. the Netherlands, and Switzerready reaching tidy dimen- land are acutely aware of their sions. Just what it will bring on immediate peril, for on both the imperialist war market is sides it is realized that the war a question that is as yet unset. can be fought across these lands at less cost than an attled

Hitler's peace offer so oblig- tempt to storm the Maginot or ingly seconded by the Master of Siegfried lines. Italy, too, sits the Kremlin consisted of a pro- on the shaking lid of this boilposal that the French and Bri- ing kettle and may soon be tish capitulate to him now in- blown off.

The war in the air also awaits stead of later and give back to Germany in the process the the next moves of the armies, colonies wrested from her in for the experiences in China the last war. The French and and in Spain have shown the British imperialists announce extreme costliness and dubious lerism" or in other words, as aerial actions.

Shaw puts it) of democracy and Germany's capacity to fight a in America.

Bernard Shaw was good enough to point out, to defend Anglo-taken right now, however, will a wordy opposition to war and dispute on the convention floor, tion, Sidney Hillman, president perialist War, by dodging the Labor Day speech. That speech French swag against the Nazi be less important and less de- its preparations, and an appeal if possible. cisive for the war's course than that the Roosevelt administrahijackers For either side in this slaugh- the outcome of the diplomatic tion concentrate its major en-

CONTRAST TELLS STORY 'PEACE' GROUP **OF RUSSIA'S CHANGE** The Red Army was fighting a "defensive war!" No sooner did

NEW YORK, Oct. 7-At a meeting of the Delegate Assemerywhere to the Polish frontier. the saying now has it, has set born to this hypocritical on May 20, Tukhachevsky at bly of Teachers Union, -Local On May 20, Tukhachevsky at-In between interviews with fraud, this toying with the lives clear tacked Smolensk to relieve the 5, held last night, the Stalinist the Kremlin gates, Stalin ad- for the thousandth time that the court of Soviet forces on leadership of the Union pulled vised his former would-be allies the interests of the human race the Polish army was making its own membership unawares, in Paris and London that they can and will be served only by advances rapidly. Budenny's and moved to disaffiliate the cavalry smashed through ene- Union from the American

my lines towards Kiev, it was League for Peace and Democof the world that little details pushes his frontiers into the starm captured on June 12, and the racy. In stunned silence, a bestage was set for the famous wildered membership listened march to Warsaw, although the to the plea for "no politics in situation on the south-western the union," "we must avoid front was by no means assured. controversial questions" and The contrast between the 1920 concentrate solely on "teach-

1920 march to Warsaw and Stal- ers' issues." tells the tragic story of the de- effrontery of the Stalinists was breaks out, they support the during the last decades, Shacht

Addressing the second in a series of election campaign mass its implications. Questions were meetings, Max Shachtman, Councilmanic candidate of the Socialist Workers Party for the Bronx, declared Monday night, October 9, at Public School 67, 179th Street and Mohegan Avenue riousness with which they viewthat, "The most important issue in this election campaign is one ed the problem of war. Literatwhich the capitalist political parties in this city will evade and ure sold well and good contacts ignore; it is the question of the second world war and the im-

minence of American participapointed out, "The isolationists tion in it." "Not one candidate of either are fundamentally the same as those who corral the workers cently returned from Europe is the Democratic or Republican parties who is known beyond for the trenches from the mohis apartment house has as ment war becomes imminent. much as one word to say The isolationists cannot and party. To date he has already their pro-Ally position are the will not lead any real struggle spoken in Reading, Allentown, against the war," Shachtman against war because they are stated

pledged to the maintenance of capitalism and are therefore listed in his schedule are: What Value Isolationism? "The Isolationists, like Willi- pledged to support capitalism's Youngstown am Jennings Bryan during the wars.' Akron

last war, seem at first to op-Tracing the wild changes in Cleveland in's invasion of Poland this fail The cynical and hypocritical pose the war. Then, when war policy of the Communist Party Toledo Detroit  $\mathbf{Flint}$ cline of the Soviet Union under exposed by the Independent war on the ground that, al- man stated, "The Communist the iron heel of Stalin; the de Group, whose spokesmen ably though they are against it, they Party is today the direct oppo-

Workers and students attending der the election law." In rethe meeting showed a very live- fusing to accept the ALP resly interest in the war and all olution, Michael J. Quill atasked by members of the audi- tacks Chamberlain, but says ence which indicated the se- not a word about the Hitler-Stalin alliance, and, in typical Stalinist fashion when conwere made. fusion is deemed necessary,

> **National Tour** identifies himself with Roose-

Albert Goldman who only revelt's policy as against the Antonini-Rose policy (needless now on a national speaking tour for the Socialist Workers to say, Antonini and Rose, in more "legitimate" followers

Newark, Boston, Lynn, and of Roosevelt). At the October Rochester. Other cities so far 4 city conference the 'Stalinist Oct. 12 spokesman, Irving Potash, Oct. 13 made his main point a plea Oct. 15 that, since the ALP had nev-Oct. 16 Oct. 17 Oct. 18 Watch the Appeal for further

fusion worse confounded, the Stalinists name (without his consent) Adolph Held as county treasurer-Held, president of the war-mongering

The seventeen Stalinists on the United Mine Workers of Stalinist supporters in the the CIO board favored the America who occupy key posifight raise a cry against the "new line" by including the slo- tion in the CIO consisted main-'Hitler methods" of the ALP gan Keep America Out of Im- ly of what he had said in his leadership. One of them-'neutrality'' issue, and by mak- created quite a stir because it Ross Kenyon, ALP nominee for General Sessions judge, makes a brilliant contribution: he approves Roosevelt's cash-

Third Term Disputed The break between Roosevelt and-carry proposals, "But I cannot see that the platform miners' nation-wide strike last of the American Labor Party



generation of the Red Army pointed out that the drive for wish to put a quick end to it site of what that party was announcements of time, place In that sense," Shachtman (Continued on Page 3) (Continued on Page 2) and city (Continued on Page 4) PROGRAM

problem of war without offer-|previous convention, along with By B. J. Widick Revealing the heavy pressure ing any concrete program of the usual planning of organizthey will fight on to "crush Hit- military value of exclusively of the rank and file, John L. fighting against war. Further, ing campaigns. Lewis opened the second annu- he skirted the issue of support- In the executive board ses-

Whatever action is under- al convention of the CIO with ing Roosevelt to avoid a sharp sions before the CIO conven-Year's Changes

For the CIO is in an entirely the reiteration of last year's Roosevelt. Fearing a purge be-Roosevelt's plea for national

of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, fought for ing reservations on support of was regarded as an answer to

ter-fest peace is predicated on game involving Turkey, Ru- ergies on the burning problems different position than it was program. cause of the strong feeling in unity. markets and profits and not on mania, and the Balkans, for of unemployment, insecurity, at its first convention a year Clo ranks against the Stalin-Through a public statement the "bunk and balderdash" (as this outcome will determine and the growing cost of living ago. Unqualified endorsement issued prior to the CIO conven-Hitler pact as well as their of Roosevelt, promise of sup- tion Hillman gave his unquali-'rule or ruin'' policy, the Stal- and Lewis following Roosevelt's snaw puts it) of democracy and Germany's capacity to fight a in America.

whether dictated by Chamber- the Western Allies are counting opinion on the CIO executive racy," and unity with the AFL pro-war policies and his domesboard, Lewis dealt with the were the main themes of the tic program

ing their program.

Stalinist Role

The Lewis program, backed

(Continued on Page 2)

(Continued on Page 4)

Forward Association! by his powerful henchmen from

er expressed itself before on international affairs, it should not do so now! To make conSOCIALIST APPEAL

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 13, 1939

## CIO Meet Vacillates on Program IEACHERS UNION DISAFFILIATES A Lesson from the Last War FROM C.P. 'PEACE' ORGANIZATION The Rich Got Richer--LEWIS TALKS OF WAR PROBLEM- WORKERS' FORUM The Poor Were Killed Stalinist Clique Reverses Itself to Leave **BUT OFFERS NOTHING CONCRETE** Hands Free for Prosecution of New Line

ANTI-TROTSKYIST COMES HOME TO ROOST Dear Editor:

Geo. E. Duemler, prominent The majority of the active (Continued from Page 1) question they ask Lewis is spring, and Roosevelt's demand what are you going to do about figure in the Missouri Socialist rank-and-file of the SP went for unity with the AFL on any it? Will the CIO organize the Party for several years past with the Left Wing, and formed basis forced Lewis to reserve WPA and relief workers to fight and S.P. candidate for govern- the Socialist Workers Party or, has within the last few here. Since then, the SP has his decision on the 1940 presi- for their rights? dential elections. Instead of a Lewis by his mild attack on months allied himself with Os-been completely inactive. It has

third term endorsement for the National Labor Relations car Ameringer's "American held only one public meeting Roosevelt, Lewis favors an in- Board and his concentration of Foundation for Abundance," here in two years, and that was definite stand for a "progres fire on Vice-President Garner, and is now an active propagan- more than a year and a half instead of naming Roosevelt dist for the A.F.A., which advo- ago; and no effort has been sive" candidate. Yet the CIO state convention as responsible for WPA cuts, cates political action mainly made to sell or distribute SP

of California which just conclu- etc., reveals that he still in- through the Democratic and literature. Duemler apparently ded its sessions went on record tends to drift along, hoping for Republican parties. for the third term despite top the best.

likely to evoke a sharp dispute and file pressure for a militant, the Republican candidacy for succeeded in stimulating a at the national convention. The Stalinists have apparent- gram is manifested at this con- whether Duemler still main- and staunch supporters of the supporters of the sult of the Hitler-Stalin Pact Union a healthy, progressive The Stalinists have apparent gram is manifested at this con-whether Duemier Still man stal stalinistic supported to specify the stalinistic stalinisti

Lewis that he will seek to sup- advance in the coming period S. P. press any discussion of their in addition to holding on to its In October, 1937, it was subscribe to the American role by means of an appeal for present forces. Otherwise, a Duemler who did the job of ex- Guardian. "unity." However, at least one further disintegration of this in- pelling the Trotskyists from the The SWP, during this period, state convention of the CIO has dustrial union movement, S.P.-chiefly because the other has held dozens of public meet-

gone on record denouncing the which remains on a historical leading S.P.ers, although they ings; and within the past two will be, finds it necessary to stalin-Hitler pact, etc., and plane as progressive in rela- did not like the Trotskyists, months alone has sold over a throw completely overboard its dodging the issue will be very tion to the AFL, is the menace were suspicious of their Clari- thousand pieces of SWP liter- old baggage and leave its hands of the coming period. difficult.

**Compromises Seen** The Lewis report avoided a AFL leadership. This reflects

the last convention. The AFL convention indicat-

ed that its membership was CIO has discreetly kept silent and joining the Socialist Work- charged with heresy. A short most unknown. on its present enrollment. The ers Party-the party of mass time later the Party began, in Realizing that the C.P. was played havoc with the member- published in full: ship of the industrial unions, although some gains in packing houses and elsewhere can

be noted. Seeking to put up a good front which the economic crisis imfor the CIO, Lewis and the top posed untold misery, and povleadership of the organization erty upon the working class. have been working day and Unemployement and mass evicnight to effect compromises on tions of workers from their all questions so that the con- homes swept the city of New vention will appear 'democrat- York. The C.P. at that time was ic, united and progressive." active in mobilizing the workers

the "unity" slogan is becoming It was natural that I as a workmore of a cover for the nefarbecame an active member of ious Stalinist machinations. In the process, CIO progress-

ivism is fading as it fails to meet new issues squarely and militantly. Compromises will hardly stand any real discussion

**Faces Dilemma** Nor can the dilemma facing comrades with whom I worked the CIO be met merely as in were serious and devoted revo-

sharp crisis for a year. What, for organization and if the Unthen, caused the new line? line", apart from the fact that To achieve this, however, it is py prospect for American caphundreds of Union members absolutely imperative that the italism. have been signing petitions cir- Stalinist stranglehold on the Group calling for disaffiliation membership, through the ef-

I mittee and could develop no en

against the Left Wing.

thusiasm for its expulsion drive

and file pressure for a militant, the republicant calculacy for successful a successful the base of the league and within the ranks of meeting represents a big mile-independent and cléar-cut pro- Congress. It is not known number of former members the Union membership as a re- stone in the struggle to give the

of activity - getting them to Communist Party.

**Discard Old Line** The C.P., not knowing itself what the next step in the foreign policy of the Soviet Union

D.B. free to maneuver and to prepare for any new eventuality. The American League, it is rumored, is to be dissolved, because the "genuine" People's Fronters, feeling themselves 'betrayed'' by Stalin, are fighting to keep the organization

Clarity Needed

and sever its ties with the Kremlin. The Stalinist leadership of the Union, above all from being introduced into the Union ranks. Aside from the thoroughly re-

GEORGE LYMAN PAINE

YOUNG MEN More than ever, it is neces-WANT JOBS-ISIDOR STARK mean for them and how to keep NOT GUNS

> When President Roosevelt four weeks ago issued an order calling for an additional 150,000 recruits for the arm ed forces of the United States, recruiting stations stayed open night and day awaiting an influx of men to fill two newly created motorized artillery regiments. But the eligible youth of Cleveland prefer jobs to service with Uncle Sam's armed forces. The available figures are an indication. Applicants for relief as against applicants for service with the Army, Navy and Marines is compared as follows: Army-0 . . . WPA---12,000 Navy-0 . . . CCC-600 Marines-0 . . . NYA-2000

By EVELYN DANE emasculated, and profits driving skyward. (Special to the Socialist Appeal)

WASHINGTON, D.C. - War-Fortunately for the plans of retrenchment in education did the Independents pointed out, is time boom profits, correspondthese bureaucrats no legislation not originate last night. On the absolutely indispensable if the ing to the 150% returns obtain- has been enacted in the twenty contrary, the teaching profes- Union is to recruit the thou- ed by American industry dur- years since the last imperialist sion has been confronted with a sands of teachers who are ripe ing the last imperialist bloodblood-bath to threaten the profbath, and a quick emergence its of the duPonts and Morgans. ion is successfully to lead the from its ten-year depression All curative legislation in-The background of the "new fight against the budget cutters. are now an immediate and hap-spired by the post-war revelations of 100-150% profits on war

materials was killed in commit-Government officials, scan- tee by the profiteering lobbies. culated by the Independent Union be broken. The Union ning financial reports, already The last two-weeks' boom in Republican parties. Members of the A.F.A. have nothing policy, and turned to a turned to a from the American League, forts of the Independent Group, trial activity with the future of Girdler and his colleagues for for the third term despite top the best. CIO pressure. This issue is Only to the extent that rank talked about Duemler seeking the AFA, which has recently crisis within the American of the problem. Last night's dustries more auspicious than of U.S. participation in the war naturally lies in the profound is beginning to become aware more than a score of basic in- equalling the first four months League and within the ranks of meeting represents a big mile- at any time since 1927. when steel prices sky-rocketed With American factories from 274 to 370.

Other industrialists recalling flooded with orders from European belligerents and with ev- the 139% profits made by Otis en greater profitable produc- Steel even before we entered tion possible the moment the the war, the 112% profits made arms embargo is lifted, the by Allegheny, and the 90% prof-New Deal bureaucrats finally its made by Lukens Steel, have see a concrete solution to the started putting pressure on plagueing problem of unem- Washington. ployment.

The golden record set up by one airplane engine firm, Scrap Labor Laws which, starting with a \$1,000 in-

The necessity of attempting vestment, reaped an \$11,437,250 c appear as a liberal govern- income at the end of the war, ment by making reluctant pro- is still a beckoning rememgressive concessions to labor brance for many American and at the same time propitiat- capitalists.

ing the ruling class will no long-Profits of 100% in shoes, er exist, government officials clothes, fuel, food, minerals, state openly, as soon as the chemicals and fabrics were the country is regimented for war. rule, not the exception. And the All important labor legisla- reason why these staggering tion will be scrapped and la- profits were possible, New Deal bor's voice in democratic de- economists point out, is because cision will be annulled "for the wages were not increased to sake of the nation," while the keep pace with the rising cost industrialists and financiers, of living.

deprived of exorbitant profits War-time profits on muniduring the last eight years, will tions were exceedingly high but be appeased by the same profit- the peace-time armament profmaking spree that they had its since 1920 have been even. from 1915-1918. higher in many instances, gov-

New Deal officials are real-ernment figures show. Three ists and cynics. They know and years ago, Carnegie Steel caladmit frankly that lifting the lously admitted that its bid on arms embargo must mean the armor plate for the Navy, gave extension of war credits to the it a profit of 58%. In the same belligerents who buy American bidding Midvale asked a price munitions. This means, they ac- that would have given it 91%. knowledge, junking of the John- In 1933 Carnegie Steel made son Act which prevents Euro- 42% profit on a Navy contract pean debtors to the U.S. from for turret armor, but unsatisobtaining further American fied with this, the corporation upped its prices \$40 and \$50 a

Once American investments ton during the next two years. and loans in France and Eng-Sperry Gyroscope which supland again approach, as they plied the air forces with flight did in 1917, the point where indicators made an average their default would cause do- profit of 54% of cost. Profits mestic panic, American armed went as high as 51% on a single forces must again step in to order for the Army air corps. protect those interests, State In aviation, Wright Aeronau-Department officials admit pri- tical Company showed profits vately. And America at war of 29% in 1927 and 44% in 1928 would be the complete solution on sales to the Navy, and 93% -industries operating at top profits on sales to the Army in production; labor stifled and 1926.

serious discussion of the prob-lem of labor unity, although he took his usual cracks at the Stalin-Hitler Pact Final Straw, the less favorable position of the CIO on this question since Another C.P.er Joins the S.W.P.

One after another they are cuss the correctness of the class, and given a transfer to a wants to prevent that fight well over 4,000,000 while the quitting the Communist Party Party line on penalty of being Bronx Section where I was al-

tyite National Executive Com- ature.

blundering leadership of Lewis, proletarian action against war. a backhanded manner to sup-betraying the working class actionary motivation for the and above all, the devastating Latest among those who have port Roosevelt for re-election. with its new class collaboration proposal, as the Independents effects of the Stalinist rule-or- joined the S.W.P. is Irving My "dangerous ideas" grew policy and its stifling Tam- pointed out, politics, where it ruin clique within the CIO has Stark whose statement is here deeper at this support of a ca- many-like bureaucracy, I drop- concerns the teachers, cannot pitalist candidate. . . .

> I joined the Communist Party in 1933, a period during



ment in the Party in Yorkville and participate actively in the that party. and two branches, the 14th A. work of the American Section When the Yorkville Section D. and the 16th A.D., went so of the revolutionary 4th Inter- sary for the Union to educate ot the C.P. was organized in far as to pass resolutions con-national-the Socialist Workers the teachers on what war will 1934 I was elected to the Secdemning the decision and de- Party. tion Committee, the Section manded a review of the case. Buro and became the first Sec-

Needless to say, the cynical bution Educational Director. The





NOTICE

An important meeting of

all party and YPSL mem-

bers will be held Sunday,

October 15, 2 P.M. at Beeth-

oven Hall, 210 East 5th St.

Admission by red card only.

OUR CANDIDATE

(Continued from Page 1) | America out of war. This, as,

involves a sharp break with security, the Democratic Front, the Roosevelt administration. and the wooing of individuals week will decide.

The unemployed know that unemployment is terrible. The

#### CANADA A.F.L. CONFIRMS C.I.O. **SUSPENSION**

LONDON. Ontario-Carrying out the expressed wishes of Wil-liam Green, president of the AFL, the 55th convention of the Trades and Labor Congress vot-ed by 230 to 97 to approve the executive council's suspension of the CIO unions from the out the expressed wishes of Wilof the CIO unions from the "You are developing danger Congress.

were present at the Congress, the delegates had earlier voted to expel all CIO affiliates from

row margin of 163 to 133 votes. vote on the question of approv ing the executive council's rec ommendation.



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cio seriousiy launch a light brought about great changes: criminal decision. Because i brought about great changes: dared to get up and speak the Peoples' Front, collective dared to get up and speak the Democratic Front against it and rallied enough support to my position to defeat the resolution, I was pun-A call for a labor party? This who, our enemies yesterday, lished by being fired from the became our friends and allies function I then held-instructor today. It all had a most confus-

ing effect upon us. But the Party was growing and we had

faith in the movement. **Dangerous** Ideas The Civil War in Spain marked the beginning of doubts in my mind as to the program of the Party. In an earnest at-

tempt to clarify myself I approached my Section organizer

Although no CIO delegates ous ideas." In other words, do not dare question or even dis-

#### The Labor Bookshop has recently received a boxful of rare books and pamphlets written by Lenin, Trotsky and other labor writers. Those who write or visit us immediately will receive

first choice. Write now and tell us of your needs. THE LABOR BOOKSHOP, 116 University Pl., N.Y.C., will fill all orders promptly

# the central labor bodies throughout Canada by the nar-Pressure from the top lead-ership forced a more decisive THE NEGRO DEPARTMENT AFFAIR

The Negro Department has the Bahama Islands, and with been fortunate in once more others from Haiti. The dancing

Club, 2237 Seventh Avenue.

He started at seventeen, stu-PRICE for 2 vol-\$3.00 dying with Hemsley Winfield

dancing in those days, taking terms. part in general shows. But he soon woke up to the fact that it an woman dancer who is taking of vague promises to "secure got something there! was time for Negroes to find a part in the program he will also new field and he began to study dance a Creole Beguine. the modern dance. Do not miss these perform-He worked with an African ances at the Mimo on Saturday

group, with some dancers from night.

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) | for all men of draftable age ST. LOUIS, October 6—The ... a voice in the present cris-'League of Draftable Men'' is'' (without telling how to do

of the section new-members last night held its first public it), to embark on "a cooperameeting here. In spite of ex- tive analysis of the news" for tensive publicity in the papers the purpose of "defending the **Exclusive** 

and a highly favorable location U.S. against decisions based on for the meeting (a high-school error," and to promote a very auditorium), only about 80 peo- uncertain kind of "neutrality." ple attended-15 of them S.W.P. After all, the old fashioned flagmembers. waving, brass-band methods The stage was decorated with are best when it comes to re-

a large and peculiar symbol, cruiting for Uncle Sam! which was reproduced on but-Army Come-On tons worn by members of the Although the principal

League. But this symbol, ac-spokesman for the League, a cording to the chairman, meant young high - school teacher, absolutely nothing, and was stated that the organization solely intended to attract atten- was neither "pacifist" nor

tion. It soon became apparent "militarist," his frequent refthat the program of the League erences to "draft-dodgers" and served the same function ex- "subversive activities," coupclusively. The program has on- led with hints of collaboration ly four points: (1) organization with the American Legion, left 'to secure for all men of draft- little room for doubt that the able age an intelligent and ef- new group will serve as a comefective voice in the present cris- on for the army. But it is apis"; (2) the analysis of propa- parently doomed to insignifiganda; (3) "year-round, peace- cance, unless it is taken in hand time military training on a vol- by some expert in 100% Ameruntary basis"; and (4) neutral- icanism. Its present memberity "so long as it remains to the ship consists of about 50 young men. mostly students. There is best interests of the nation."

**Offers Nothing** the possibility, however, that

The chief virtue of this pro- attempts may be made to orsecuirng the services of Archie in the Bahamas, in Haiti and gram, according to its propon-ganize the group in other cities, Savage to dance at its affair on all the West Indian Islands is ents, is that it represents the on the basis of contacts which

Join the Socialist

Workers Party

Saturday night at the Mimo based on the African dances absolute minimum on which all the speakers boasted of. brought by the Negroes from 12,000,000 of America's draft- No questions or discussion Archie Savage has already Africa many generations ago. able men can agree. The main from the floor were permitted. captivated our audiences at Savage recognized that the Am- theme of most of the speakers The chairman offered to an-Irving Plaza and his dancing erican taste today could not ac- was that these 12,000,000 ought swer any questions informally, has created such a sensation cept a literal reproduction of to organize; but it was always after the meeting had adjournthat many have been anxious these African dances. They are carefully explained that the ed. The S.W.P. pamphlet Let for the most part based on one League offers nothing more the People Vote on War had a to find out more about him. particular step which allows definite in the way of a pro- good sale before and after the

the dancer the possibility of gram than the above four meeting. The tone of the whole affair indefinite repetition over a points. and his group. Winfield quickly period of many hours, some- And the failure of the meet- is indicated by the following made him a dance director, so times days. He therefore has ing underlined the poor strate- gem of political wisdom with that Savage started his educa- aimed at a combination which gy of trying to win over Amer- which the mimeographed pro-

tion from the top down, so to will translate the spirit of these ican youth with the dreary gram of the League concludes: speak. He did jazz and tap African dances into modern prospect of "year-round, peace-'We know that modern democtime military training on a vol- racy is not immune to the vicis-Together with the West Indi- untary basis"; and on the basis situdes of war." Man, you've

> Let the People Vote on War!

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"Hundreds of thousands of Negro soldiers face the danger of having to shed their blood for the greater glory, the greater profits, of the bloated money kings of London and Paris in this imperialist war, the purpose of which is to tighten the yoke of oppression more closely around the necks of all toilers."

This is the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth. Where does it come from? The readers of this column and of the Socialist Appeal might think it comes from our new pamphlet "WHY NEGROES SHOULD OPPOSE THE WAR" (by J. R. is now in Cincinnati. He has al- bitter end. And with the Min-Johnson, 32 pages, 5 cents). But that extract is not from our ready met with Green and the neapolis frame-up becoming a party literature at all. It comes from an interview given by executive council, and it is cer James Ford, the Stalinist Commissar of Harlem, to the Daily tain that the Minneapolis de- labor movement, the million-Worker, October 9, 1939. The same issue carries another interview given by Dr. Max Yergan, executive secretary of the In- floor of the Cincinnati conven- may yet tear the hands of the ternational Committee on African Affairs. During the Spanish tion. It is understood the AFL War Deal from the throats of war this committee worked in close collaboration with the Stal- council is preparing a resolu- the militant local union moveinist organization, the League for Spanish Democracy. On behalf tion on the Minneapolis case to ment. of Harlem Negroes, the committee presented an ambulance to be presented to convention delthe Spanish people.

egates Dr. Yergan also says that the war in Europe is an imperialist war. Like James Ford, he regarded "the Soviet-German nonaggression pact and the subsequent action of the Soviet Union men and girls have volunteered as the one great contribution to work peace and demotracy to sell Labor Defense Tags throughout Minnepolis tonight ary, a YMCA official, widely known in America, in Europe, and tomorrow, to raise funds and tomorrow, to raise funds in Africa by his observation of the international situation and for the defense. The Ter Dentia as the one great contribution to world peace and democracy to to sell Labor Defense Tags in Africa, by his observation of the international situation and for the defense. The Tag Day is the grace of God, advocates a 100 per cent Stalinist position. The sponsored by the AFL defense war is an imperialist war; the Negroes will be sacrificed for committee, and hundreds of profits; Negroes, help keep America out of war.

#### Sounds Good—But Is It?

It looks good, like the red of an apple rotten at the heart. It sounds good, like the words a prostitute whispers in the ear of a traveler, while robbers creep behind to stab him in the back.

For proof, let us take one great tragedy for Africans and the friends of Africa-the case of Spanish Morocco. The Moors are not Negroes, but they are an oppressed colonial people. If they had won their freedom, a mighty blow would have been struck at imperialism. The victory of the Moors could have acted as a clarion call to revolutionaries in Europe and to all oppressed and groaning Africa.

Now you gain your freedom when your enemy is weak and your enemy is weakest when he is fighting for his life. When the Spanish revolution broke out, it was the chance of the Moors. The correct policy for the Moors was to say to the Spanish workers and peasants: "You want to break the necks of the ruling class. We want our independence, but this we can get only by breaking the neck of the same ruling class. We support you, you support us. You declare that you support the independence of Spanish Morocco. We shall fight against Franco

and be your loyal comrades and allies.' That was the policy for the Moors. But it was still more the duty of all who were friends of African independence to proclaim that policy and agitate for it among the Spanish workers and peasants. "The independence of Spanish Morocco." "Moors, take up arms and fight for your own country." These are the slogans that should have been on the lips of every true revo- erican and Oriental Bureau, Internacionalista. . . Our Mexi- of the Stalinists from the ALP inating petitions for Shachtman lutionary, of every genuine fighter for African independence in the days when every class, every group in Spain, was fighting International, has recently sectarian group of C- and the to end," Shachtman charged, Councilmanic candidate for for its own interests, on one side or the other.

What did James Ford and his Communist Party say in those to be published. No. 6 of the begun the publication of a fort-expulsion drive is borrowed the Board of Elections. More days? What did Max Yergan say? You will search columns of Boletin contains the Bureau's nightly paper, Lucha Obrera, in from the book of Stalinism it- than 6,000 signatures of registhe Stalinist press and not find one clear call, "Moors, use Manifesto on the War and its addition to their excellent the self." your arms for your independence." They sent men to fight, Application to the Latin Am- cretical monthly, Clave. they sent ambulances, Yergan agitated for Spanish democracy. erican and colonial countries. Brazil But "the independence of Spanish Morocco"? Not a word. And No. 7 will contain articles on way? Because they did not want to overthrow Spanish imper- recent developments, a state- the launching of the Partido So- the official ALP Councilmanic ialism; they wanted to maintain Spanish "democracy." With ment of resignation from the cialista Revolucionario, section candidate for the Bronx, Spanish Morocco as a colony of this "democracy" just as East Communist Party of Cuba by of the Fourth International. The Shachtman stated, "Previously, Africa is a colony of British "democracy" and the Belgian Con- one of its leading members, founding congress of the P.S.R. in exchange for the work done go is a colony of Belgian "democracy." Independence for comrade Jose A. Guerra, and was held this summer and by the Stalinists in building the Morocco? Under no circumstances, said Stalin: "I want an al- some documents from Brazil. brought together into one or- district clubs of the ALP, Rose liance with Britain and France against Germany. A socialist Anyone interested in Latin Am- ganization the "old Trotskyspain? An independent Morocco? If I or my Communist Party fought for such a policy, I would never get my alliance with fought for such a policy, I would never get my alliance with fought for such a policy, I would say I was a Red." Chamberlain and Daladier. They would say I was a Red." The Trotskyists in Spain fought against Franco, but they in for them. . . . urged that the only way to beat Franco was for the workers PERU and peasants to struggle for socialism and for the Moors to fight From Peru comes an interesting story about the Stalinist The congress consolidated the hand and Quill on the other for their independence, in other words capitalism had to be broken at home and abroad. For saying this they were called olution of greetings to comrade traitors by the Stalinists, persecuted and murdered as agents the August 15 issue of the Buof Franco. The Moors, getting promises from Franco and not the leader of the Communist olutions on the international even a promise from the Spanish Loyalists, fought with Franco. At home and abroad the Spanish revolution was beaten. The Stalinist Line Changes Today, however, Stalin no longer wants any alliance with sident Benavides to live in ex- ship and its Yankee imperialist Today, however, Stalin no longer wants any alliance with sident Benavides to live in ex-Britain and France. He is tiled up with Hitler. Hitler has no even support to Benavides' is rankee inpertainse ice of two different bands of barts of the Bronx bards of barts of the Bronx bards of barts of the Bronx barts and for civil liberties oppressors," Shachtman de-Britain and France. He is tiled up with Hitler. Hitler has no even support to Benavides' is rankee inpertainse ice of two different bands of barts of barts of the Bronx barts and for civil liberties oppressors," Shachtman de-Branch, announced a mass lationist opponents were preparing for him in Congress. As Time colonies. But Britain and France have. Stalin wants to embar- giving support to Benavides'

(Continued from Page 1) defendants (the "conspiracy" ians Union, able chairman of case de luxe). With yet more the AFL's WPA Defense Com- indictments in the wind, it is mittee, was chosen a delegate obvious that the Minneapolis to the convention of the Amer- WPA defense case will drag out ican Federation of Labor by the for many months-if Murphy recent meeting of the Minneap- and Roosevelt dare to carry olis Central Labor Union. Murk through the frame-up to the national issue in the American

Tag Day Plans Fixed Shachtman and Paine Charge Boss Over four hundred union wo-

dollars are expected to be raiswhen it was founded twenty one except Stalin." ed by this means.

FBI agents are now continu- years ago. Once a working time in St. Paul, gathering evi- today an appendage of the So- Party on the war and on the counting noses but of counting dence to present to the federal viet foreign office.' grand jury when it reconvenes That the Communist Party is declared, "After a few years of workers whose antagonism to

vestigation into the WPA strike. da agency for the Kremlin was more than good municipal gov- found, so revolutionary that the The St. Paul union movement amplified by Shachtman when ernment, not to mention its pri- imperialist war-makers will is bracing its feet for the an- he illustrated how the Commu- vate horse trades with the Demticipated attack, and the WPA nist Party follows closely in the ocratic and Republican parties, Defense Committee set up by wake of Soviet diplomacy.

the Trades & Labor Assembly The ALP and War Discussing the close collabois already raising property and ration of Stalin with Hitler, funds to be used as bail.

Shachtman stated, "It is inter-Trials May Last Months The present trial is expected esting to note in connection to last for several weeks. There with the peace terms submitted democratic procedure, adopted pation in the war is worth more will be at least nine more trials, by Hitler that No one would involving from two to ninety give active backing to the im- clares for a democratic war party. Vote as you strike. Vote

atin American Notes

No. 6 of Boletin de Informa-Uruguay and from our Mexican the ALP contained Communist Local New York of the SWP, cion, bulletin of the Pan-Am- comrades of the Partido Obrero Party members. The expulsion announced today that the nomsub-secretariat of the Fourth can comrades, being rid of the is bureaucratic from beginning and George Lyman Paine, been issued and No. 7 is about tempestuous Rivera, have also "because the manner of that Manhattan, had been filed with

> Quill's Stand Commenting on the threaten-From Brazil comes news of ed rejection of Michael Quill as

world.

ion-women and girls wore this tag on Saturday, October 7, when they went out collecting funds for the defense of the Minneapolis W.-P.A. prisoners, those now on trial, and those yet to be tried, for their activities in the W.P.-A. strike. We haven't yet received a report on how much was collected, but we hope the fund was big enough to enable the Defense Committee to smash the Rooseveltstrike-breaking machine in Minneapolis.

candidates. "Voting for the can-

stop a moment and ponder on

their rotten schemes for annihi

lating the working class in an-

as you fight. Vote for the anti-

**Petitions** Filed

Edward Frank, organizer of

secured for the nomination of

Shachtman on the Councilman-

ic ballot, Frank announced,

while over 3,000 signatures

were secured for the nomina-

speaker war candidates of the Socialist

Referring to the resolution didates of the Socialist Work-

denly discovered the rest of the other world slaughter for super-

remarkable suddeness and Workers Party as a demonstra-

without recourse to ordinary tion against American partici-

a resolution which brazenly de- than a 1000 votes for any other

went on, "with a remarkable Workers Party," Shachtman

"The ALP leadership, with a candidates of the Socialist

The WAR DEAL

#### By DWIGHT MACDONALD -

"There is something phoney about this war," remarked Senator Borah the other day. He was referring to the fact that France and England declared war six weeks ago and have not yet begun to fight. But he might also have noted something phoney about the war issue as it has been presented in Congress recently. The much-advertised and long-awaited debate on neutrality legislation, in which Borah himself is a leading participant, has turned out to be pretty much of a flop. Here, too, the battle has not yet been seriously joined. The Administration forces have said nothing of their real aims and interests, which center about bringing as much help as possible to the Allies. And their "opponents," the isolationists, have strangely acquiesced in this conspiracy of silence. It is clear that neither side has much stomach for a real fight.

#### Friendly Enemies

The truth seems to be that there is still a certain amount of division among the big bourgeoisie as to just how much of a 'forward policy'' in respect to the war is right now advisable. The great bulk of Wall Street opinion is without much question already behind the President's policy-although with the caution and reservations one might expect considering the big property interests at stake. But there still remain certain powerful sections of big business inclining more, for the present, to an isolationist line. In this category, E. T. Weir of National Steel, Henry Ford, and the DuPonts are outstanding. This explains why such Republican stalwarts as Senator Vandenberg of Michigan are leading the fight against raising the arms embargo. In Vandenberg's own state, for instance, the split is clearly defined, with (Continued from Page 1) perialist peace of Hitler — no tionary anti-war party and its General Motors for raising the embargo and Ford against it.

The politeness and gentility with which the neutrality fight has been conducted is explained by the fact that the politicians ing their stool pigeonry, this class revolutionary party, it is adopted by the American Labor ers Party is not a matter of in Washington understand well enough that this difference of opinion is by no means indicative of any disagreement as to the Stalin-Hitler pact, Shachtman fists; of counting the fists of necessity of America's final entry into the war, but is merely a friendly disagreement as to ways and means and, above all, October 23 to continue its in nothing more than a propagan- public pleading for nothing the war is so great, so pro- timing. Both sides in Congress insist that nothing is further from the minds of their honorable opponents than dragging this fair nation into the war. There are certain accusations, after all, that come too close to home to be bandied about in public.

#### 1917 and 1939

As I pointed out last week, the relationship between the govprofits. A hundred votes for the ernment and big business has become much more intimate in the two decades of development that American monopoly capitalism has gone through since the last war. This makes it easier in one way and harder in another to expose to the masses the imperialist nature of the War Deal.

It is easier to expose the Roosevelt Administration's war drive than it was to expose that of the Wilson Administration because this time big business has channelled its war aims through the governmental apparatus, so that the War Deal acts in a much more aggressive and whole-heartedly belligerent way than did the Wilson regime. Thus the War Deal is forced to go ahead in a more determined way, and is also forced to take on more of a Wall Street coloration than was necessary for Wilson in the years preceding our entry into the last war. (Roosevelt set up his War Resources Board headed by Stettinius of U.S. Steel before our entry, while Wilson called on Baruch to set up the War Industries Board only after the declaration of war in 1917.)

By the same token, however, the task of exposure is harder because this time Wall Street is not making the mistake of coming out in the open and acting as the business agents and ardent propagandists of the Allied powers. The pro-war propaganda of tered Bronx voters have been the Roosevelt Administration seems to be quite detached from any financial interests, to be the free-will act of an independent government body-while in the last war such propaganda was crudely and openly conducted by finance capital itself.

#### Casting out the Devil

tion of Paine. The complexity of relations between big business and gov-Both candidates today exernment in this war crisis is demonstrated by the recent liquidapressed their gratitude to the tion of the War Resources Board. When the WRB was set up last thousands of workers who signand Antonini gave the Stalinists ed the nominating petitions and summer, headed by Stettinius of the Steel Corporation and comerature in Spanish by writing dissident old militants from the Michael Quill happened to get of the Party for putting the nominating drive over the top. The provide the destination of the Sao Paulo Re- Store o Register Now Voters are urged to register ly announced that the WRB would meet once more, draw up a this week, October 9 to 14, with report, and then commit hari-kari. He also went out of his way esting story about the Stallinst organization and adopted a res-"communists". According to outfing to commercial hand," Shachtman explained, to be able to unter the outfing to commercial hand, "Shachtman explained, to be able to unter the outfing to commercial hand." Trotsky, as well as several res-olutions on the international and national situation and the Quill supports Stalin's joint November 5. Sheet the war and the Sheet the war and the several res-war aims of Wall Street while Sheet the war and the several res-war aims of Wall Street while Sheet the war and the several res-war aims of Wall Street while Sheet the war and the several res-to the war and the several res-war aims of Wall Street while Sheet the war and the several res-sheet the several res-war aims of Wall Street while Sheet the war and the several res-to the several res-to the socialist in the War Department. Loud were the outcri Sheet the war and the several rest solutions of the socialist solution several rest solution s Loud were the outcries of victory among the liberals and the the leader of the Communist Party of Peru, Eudocio Ravi-per, who is forced by the re-tasks of the P.S.R. in the strug-tasks of the P.S.R. i Party of Peru, Eudocio Ravi-nez, who is forced by the re-actionary dictatorship of Pre-ship and its Vankee imperialist. At the strug-ship and its Vankee imperialist. At the strug-char is black wed-ship and its vankee imperialist. At the strug-char is black wed-ship and its vankee imperialist. At the strug-char is black wed-ship and its vankee imperialist. At the strug-char is black wed-ship and its vankee imperialist. At the strug-char is black wed-ship and its vankee imperialist. At the strug-char is black wed-ship and its vankee imperialist. At the strug-char is black wed-ship and its vankee imperialist. At the strug-char is black wed-ship and its vankee imperialist. At the strug-ship and its vankee imperialist. The strug-ship and it two sets of agents in the serv-ice of two different bands of Burt Organization of the Decent and maturely. He therefore quietly withdrew from this too advanced



SOCIALIST APPEAL

rass the British and French governments in their conduct of candidate in the coming presithe war. He wants to prevent America from assisting Hitler's dential elections! Ravinez calls enemy, Britain. So Ford and Yergan, Browder and Patterson, take the field. The war is an imperialist war. Down with the democratic Benavidism"(!) It's too bad Stalin is changing war. These conscienceless scoundrels want to use the Negroes to help Hitler's peace: they shout for peace. But peace means the line so soon; the Stalinists Hitler's peace, with Stalin keeping his piece of Poland. That is groveling at the feet of the various dictatorial agents of why they say this is an imperialist war, which is true, and then "democratic" imperialism was add Russia did the right thing, which is false.

The Fourth International, denounces these servile corrupters fas tdeveloping into an interof the Negro people. We do not support the capitalist war; we esting study for psychopathologists. Benavides, who keeps do not support the capitalist peace. We say: "Negroes, war or over 5,000 political prisoners peace, fight against all the imperialists, today by a mass demonstration, tomorrow by strike, and when enough have rifles in his jails, who outlaws the Communist party and forces fight with rifles too." its leaders into exile, is re-

But what does Yergan say today? In the interview in the Daily Worker he says that it is necessary for "the democratic warded with their loyal suplabor forces of Europe and America to press for the reopening port! He joins the list with of the whole colonial question in the interest of a secure world Dictator Vargas in Brazil, Dicpeace." There you see the naked reaction of Yergan. What tator Batista in Cuba, ex- (but does he mean by "reopening the whole colonial question." Who still aspiring)—Dictator Generclosed it? Does he want a conference to talk over things? With whom? With Chamberlain, Daladier, Hitler, and Stalin? Is course Hitler himself. . . The this the peace that the Stalinists are shouting for? Will one the report in Vanguardia that single colonial be freed by this peace? Peace, by all means. We "the [C.P.] organizations in denounce their murderous war. But do the workers want Cham-Arequipa and Cuzco [cities of berlain and Daladier to "reopen" the colonial question? Peru] have revolted against the

It is Hitler who wants to "reopen" it, in other words, bargain line of collaboration with tyranfor Africa. For the revolutionary Negroes, that question is alny put forward by Senor Ravways open. No peace with imperialism, whether fascist or "democratic." Tomorrow, according to how Stalin moves, Ford and inez in his recent pamphlet". Yergan will shout again, "War for democracy." Traitors yesterday and traitors tomorrow, they are traitors today, however revolutionary they my sound. The Negroes must not be blinded pamphlet, "La Revolucion Mundial y la Traicion Stalinby them, but should mercilessly expose this unscrupulous deista", and the news that that ception of an oppressed people. "great American democracy"

has just issued an order barring from the mails a pamphlet Socialist Appeal published previously, "Por el 116 University Place Socialismo Revolucionario y New York City. por la 4d Internacional". We I would like to get better acquainted with your paper, have also received a printed the Socialist Appeal. Please send me sample copies for manifesto distributed by the the next few weeks. Grupo Obrero Revolucionario, 4th Internationalist, dealing Name with the war and the Stalin-Hitler pact. Address ..... City ..... Similar leaflets have arrived from the Bolshevik-Leninists of

## ANNOUNCEMENTS

BOOKS BOUGHT in lots or in single volumes. Estimates given on request. Write or visit Labor Bookshop, 116 University Place, N.Y.C.

An attractive poster has been prepared to advertise the column in the Socialist Appeal by J. R. Johnson on 'The Negro Question''. The use of these posters on newsstands and at meetings will help to increase the sale of the paper to the Negro workers. The posters are on sale for five cents by the National Negro Dept., 116 University Place, New York City.

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present differences between gional Committee of the C.P. Rose and Antonini on the one "is that the former support the to be able to vote for the anti-; D.M.

the American Labor Party sud-

the

Company discovered, after all

these years, that the ranks of

suddeness, Rose, Antonini and concluded.

against Germany."

''Similarly,''

**Counting Fists** 

Bronx the workers have the op- many clashes in the past with time.' portunity to vote for a revolu- the Coughlinites.

campaign rally this Saturday (Oct. 9) put it: "About all they had left to hit him with then was night at Fordham Road and the reasonable supposition that Big Steel's Stettinius will be "In Manhattan and the Valentine Avenue, scene of back on the pre-war scene in Washington at some more politic

"Reasonable" is a classic understatement.

			C D
FUN and GAIETY	Irotsky Ana	lysis of U.S.	<b>5. K. in War</b>
at a	II <b>-</b> .		2
NIGHT in HARLEM	Highlights No	ovember New	International
Sat., Oct. 14, 9 p.m.			
at the	"THE U.S.S.R. IN WAR," by Leon Trotsky, will be featured	ed by Trotsky in this brilliant analysis are the following:	13. The Soviet Union and its Relation to the World Pro-
Mimo Club	in the forthcoming November issue of The New International,	1. The German-Soviet Pact and the Character of the	letarian Revolution. The above outline of the con-
2237 Seventh Avenue	which will be out in a few days.	U.S.S.R.	tents of Leon Trotsky's pene-
Tickets: 50c	In his most penetrating manner Trotsky discusses in detail the	State	trating article indicates the depth and scope of Trotsky's
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IMPORTANT BOOKS		olution is Not Accomplish- ed?	iginally slated to be largely a Negro number. Important ar-
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# **Once Before Red Army Marched**

STALIN ADDS A NEW

CHAPTER TO HIS CRIMES

Eric Wollenberg, in his book,

"The Red Army", summarized

"The march on Warsaw was

unable to bring about a revolu-

tion in Central Europe because

of the fact that centuries of op-

pression at the hands of the

Great Russians had left the Po-

lish proletariat not yet suffi-

ciently mature for revolution

coincided with the military

blunders associated with the

name of Stalin, Voroshilov and

Viewed in historical perspec

tive, one can well understand

how infinitely more difficult

has become the task of the Po

lish and world proletariat to

make the revolution when the

same Stalin orders the Red Ar-

my to march again into Po-

land, not to spread the doctrine

of world revolution, but to as-

sure domination for the coun-

Yegorvo.

the Polish campaign as follows.

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

#### FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY FOR:

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- Workers' Defense Guards against vigilante 11. and Fascist attacks.
- 12. Full social, political and economic equality for the Negro people.

# **ALP Cliques Promote** War Propaganda

(Continued from Page 1)

or of any political party is the place for a bitter attack on Germany and Russia, both nations with which the United States is still at peace." Another ALP candidate, for municipal court judge, Allan Goodwin, deplores "a controversial foreign issue which has no place in the party's resolutions."

In a word, both of the contending camps in the ALP are conducting themselves in thoroughly unprincipled fashion, blurring the issues, hiding the facts. Neither one wants to conduct the fight on the ground on which it really stands.

Why? Because neither one dares admit the truth. The truth is that each side is a war-mongering partisan of one of the contending imperialist camps. Each side attempts to pose as a lover of peace, but each side is actually for the victory of one of the contending imperialist camps. The ALP leaders are partisans of Anglo-French imperialism and of Roosevelt's proposals to begin aligning America with that camp. The Stalinists are partisans of the Hitler-Stalin bloc. The antagonisms of the two warring camps in Europe are reflected in this fight in the ALP; each side serves one of the camps. In the face of the widespread anti-war sentiment, however, neither dares admit its real aim. Hence the deliberately spread confusion.

gression of Hitlerism." This is war-mongering in the most literal sense of the term. From it logically follows the endorsement of Roosevelt's proposals for lifting the embargo to aid Anglo-French imperialism. From it logically follows any and all other steps to aid Anglo-French imperialism, including American entry into the war. The resolution hypocritically refrains from going the whole hog only because the anti-war sentiments of the masses are too well-known to the ALP bureaucrats. They follow, instead, the Roosevelt tactic of taking, step by step, actions which will, in

the end, lead America into the war. We need mention here only in passing how deliberately false is the rose-colored picture of the 'democracies" painted in the ALP resolution. That Britain and France are the greatest slaveholding empires in the world, subjecting the masses of Africa and Asia to an even lower living standard than bestial fascism has been able to impose at home upon the German and Italian workers; that only in the "mother countries" is there even a semblance of democracy; that Anglo-French imperialism facilitated the victory of Hitler and preferred it to a socialist revolution in Germany, etc.-of all this there is not a hint in the idyllic picture of the "democracies" painted by the cynical bureaucrats of the ALP.

#### «Left Wing» Cover

At the October 4 city conference at which the fight was precipitated, a "left wing" cover for the ALP bureaucrats was provided by the Norman Thomas Socialists and Lovestoneites present. Two or three of them took the floor to make a point or two in differentiating themselves from the more flagrantly war-mongering aspects of the official resolution, but not one of them exposed the dishonest strategy of the ALP bureaucrats-and they voted for the resolution. "Subscribing to and reaffirming" the war-mongering resolution has been put as an ultimatum to all ALP candidates. Two members of the Socialist Party, Harry W. Laidler and Frank Crosswaith, are ALP candidates. The press reports that Crosswaith "expressed unqualified approval for the resolution." Neither the Socialist Party nor the Independent Labor League (Lovestoneites) has yet expressed itself officially; we await their official statements and will comment on them. Their strategy is, however, made clear by their shameful conduct at the city conference: whatever their perfunctory reservations, they are going along with the ALP bureaucrats, as they voted with them on October 4. Can one conceivably justify this course on the

ground of opposition to Stalinism? To attempt to do so is utterly dishonest. By this course the Stalinists are aided, not crushed. It enables the Stalinists to pose as fighters against "war incitement." Quill is able to appeal to the Irish-American workers, Ford to the Negro workers, who know what their brothers endure under British imperialism. The Stalinists are everywhere losing ground because, with a sure instinct however inarticulate, the masses consider the Hitler-Stalin alliance a betrayal of the world working class. Precisely at this point the ALP provides the Stalinists with a rallying-point. Saying as little as possible about their support of the Hitler axis and as much as possible about the ALP leaders' support of the Anglo-French axis, the Stalinists are able to hold part of their shattered ranks together on this issue. The ALP leaders have done for the Stalinists what they could not do for themselves : provided them with a good issue. Once again we are taught an important lesson: the struggle against Stalinism cannot be conducted by the equally-corrupt reformist labor bureaucracy, and their Social-Democratic, Socialist or Lovestoneite servitors.

Into Poland -- But It Was Different Under the Command of Tukhachevsky the Red Army of Lenin's Day Marched to Spread the World Revolution — Unlike Today When Stalin Marches to the Aid of Reaction (Continued from Page 1) Grodno on the 19th. Brest-Lit- |was a defense attempted. Of

SOCIALIST APPEAL

through the cancerous growth ovsk was taken on August 1st; course Trotsky was made the of Stalinism; the bewilderment Pilsudski gave a graphic de scapegoat. He had participated of the world proletariat today. scription of the advance of the in drawing up the campaign

"Could Europe back up this Red Army in his memoirs. with Tukhachevsky, and the Socialist movement, which the "One day they were only about whole conception was "erronemarch on Warsaw constituted, 20 kilometres away from War- ous", declared the creator of with a revolution in the West?" saw and its environs, i.e., only the Moscow frame-ups! This was the question posed by a normal day's march. This un-Tukhachevsky, planning the ceasing, wormlike advance of a strategy of the Red Army for huge enemy hoard, which went its coming victories. Trotsky on for weeks, with spasmodic alone of the Central Committee interruptions here and there, of the Bolshevik Party had gave us the impression of somegrave doubts. His knowledge of thing irresistible rolling up like Poland and its long tortuous some terrible thunderclouds nistory of domination from the that brooked no opposition." Perhaps the Red Army would outside convinced him that the political consciousness of the make the "revolution from Polish masses was not yet de- without?" Perhaps the German veloped to a sufficiently high Spartacists and the Russian Bolsheviks would join hands in degree to participate in a "reva Soviet Poland, and the banolution from without!" ner of world revolution spread

#### SAW MASSES RALLYING **TO THE REVOLUTION**

tionists throughout the world The ardor of Tukhachevsky, however, saw no bounds. thrilled at news of every ad-Events say 'Yes'," he replied vance of the Red Army. Restto his own question. "The Ger-less workers impatiently awaitman workers manifested open ed the signal for the greater opposition to the Entente. They class struggles ahead. The Red sent back railway-wagons filled Army of Lenin and Trotsky was with arms and food which on the march! France had sent to Poland's ALLIES RUSH TO

aid; they refused to unload the **PILSUDSKI'S DEFENSE** Alarmed at the Red Army ter-revolutionary Stalinist bu-British and French ships sent to Danzig with arms and muni-advances, the Allies rushed reaucracy. Stalin must add to tions; they caused accidents on French artillery in decisive his long list of crimes, includ-

railways, etc." quantities with French officers ing his first treachery in Po "From East Prussia came to the aid of Warsaw. Mean- land, the present invasion of hundreds and thousands of vol- while, Pilsudski had planned a Poland. unteers, who formed a German counter-stroke to stem the tide rifle brigade under the banner He deliberately withdrew vital

of the Red Army. In England, divisions from the southwestern the working classes were also front and concentrated his main in the grip of a very active rev- forces against Tukhachevsky. BALKS AT THIRD olutionary movement." This was partly foreseen by the The spectre of world revolu- Red commander and was

tion haunted Europe! Field guarded against by a plan for Marshal von Blomberg ex- the Red Armies in the southpressed the views of the Ger-west to strike on Lublin and L convention refused to endorse man General Staff when he prevent the Polish offensive. wrote a preface to the German Tukhachevsky finally had ob-term or give a blanket endorseedition of Pilsudski's memoirs, tained an agreement from the ment of his policies. It turned 'The Russo-Polish war is not Revolutionary Council of War down a minority resolution pre merely a matter of interest of to subordinate the armies in sented by the Connecticut State soldiers. Its result has a uni- the southwest to his command. Federation of Labor on this is versal historical significance. His orders were intended to sue.

like wild fire over the plains

and cities of Europe. Revolu-

Its importance for Germany bring a concentration of the The resolutions committee in can hardly be overestimated, Red troops against Pilsudski's non-concurring with the Con-Yegorov, necticut delegates' proposals for in this war something more massed might. than Polish national liberty, prompted by Stalin, refused to pointed out that "the resolution and the continued existence of obey orders and Budenny's cav- does not distinguish between the Polish Republic was at alry with Voroshilov's approv- Congressional and administratstake. In its final aspect it was al kept going towards Lwow, ive action, neither does it disquestion whether the Bolshe-instead of northward. Exactly tinguish between actions of the vik Revolution should penetrate what Pilsudski had hoped administration and of the bufurther into Europe and thus would happen. Day after day reaus, boards and commismpose its rule on Germany as of critical fighting in the west- sions."

well as other countries. In the ern front brought no action Among other legislation Germany of 1920 many of the from Stalin or his cohorts. preliminary conditions essen- BLUNDERS ARE tial for such a revolution exist- COSTLY AND FATAL Burning with ambition for a

## AF.L. CONVENTION TERM FOR F.D.R.

CINCINNATI, Ohio-The AF-President Roosevelt for a third

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sponsored by the New Deal which the AFL opposed was the law to destroy prevailing wages which Congress passed, and the

count. nilitary victory to offset first reorganization bill.

Their By James Burnham Government

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 13, 1939

Not the least remarkable phase of the just concluded Panama conference and the Declaration which issued out of it is the minor attention which the whole matter has received in the general press. I have not found a single newspaper which gave its main headline to the Declaration. Indeed, very few even put the news from Panama on the front page. Why such modesty?

The explanation is simple enough: The publicists for United States imperialism—which means all of the bourgeois and most of the labor press-have got to keep the attention of the people focussed on the crimes of foreign bullies, and off the doings of the bully at home. Otherwise the people might begin to understand the real aims of the war into which Roosevelt is so democratically herding us.

Editorial hands are raised in horror when Germany and the Soviet Union conquer by arms or subjugate by diplomacy a few fifth and tenth rate countries. But the editors are most discreetly silent while United States imperialism utilizes thefirst weeks of the war to cinch up control over two entire continents.

#### What Washington Wants

The first of the minimum war aims of United States imperialism is domination of the Americas. Such domination involves control over trade, capital investments and raw materials in the American nations to an extent that will reduce the share of other powers to a negligible fraction, and will assure that this residue does not interfere with the subordination of American economy as a whole to the needs of the metropolis.

Such economic domination demands, in turn, control over the foreign policy of all the American nations. But control over foreign policy necessitates, also, a decisive measure of control over internal policy. At the very least, the United States must be sure that the various governments are 'friendly'' to itself, oriented toward Washington. This means that the United States must prevent these governments from being, as many have been in the past, tools of one of the rival powers (notably Great Britain); and prevent even more stringently the rise of popular, anti-imperialist revolutionary movements. Either dependence on another power or revolutionary mass struggle strikes at U.S. domination.

This aim has been among the guides of U.S. policy during the past quarter of a century, and comes to the forefront in the war. The Panama conference brings it a mighty leap toward realization.

#### Who are the Rivals?

In spite of the Monroe Doctrine, the United States was a minor factor in Latin America before the last war. England had been by far the principal influence, with Germany moving up during the decade preceeding 1914. The war and the reconstruction years which followed gave the U.S. its first big chance; and money, goods, warships and marines, were pumped south. England rapidly regained an important position while Germany was frozen out. In the last few years, however, Germany went ahead again, and overtook England in volume of trade-though both together have had less than the United States' 36%. In amount of capital investment, England and the United States are probably now about even, with no other nation approaching. Indeed, from all points of view, the powers other than England and Germany hardly

### The Real Facts

However, no smoke screen can conceal the real facts. No amount of shouting against the deservedly-hated Stalinists can conceal the real meaning of the ALP resolution of October 4. Its criticism of the Hitler-Stalin pact is a democratic-imperialist criticism and has nothing in common with a working class critique of the reactionary role of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

As long as Stalin adhered to the democraticimperialist camp, the ALP leaders slept cheek by jowl with the Stalinists in the ALP and the unions; none of Stalin's crimes of his "democratic" period-the Moscow trials, the purges and massacres, the betrayal of the Spanish revolution, the smashing of the great movement of the French proletariat, and in America the undermining of the militancy of the labor movement in the service of Roosevelt, etc., etc.--all these crimes the ALP leaders either supported, condoned or passed over lightly. They lived at peace and in collaboration with the Stalinists es in the New York needle trades cannot find through all these terrible events.

Only now do they break with the Stalinists. And why? Have the ALP leaders perhaps regreat events of these years? Not at all. They service by Rose and Antonini - the anti-war remain grooved in that reactionary course. Their forces in the unions must express themselves insole grievance against the Stalinists is that Stalin has deserted the camp of Anglo-French imperialism for the camp of German imperialism. crats nor the pseudo-radical phraseology now

No smoke screen can conceal from the workers of America the fundamental motivation of fact: neither of the warring cliques speaks for the ALP resolution. It identifies itself with "the peace. In every union affiliated to the ALP the cause of the Western democracies that are fight- workers should begin discussing, not merely the ing for the preservation of those democratic pro-war positions now contending for control, values and liberties which we in this country but the THIRD position: the anti-war position treasure so dearly," and goes so far as to say which represents the present and future interests that "the great majority of the American people of the working class. The *third camp*—the camp have looked forward to the day when the re- of the genuine fighters against war, against all maining democracies on the European continent imperialisms-is the only camp worth supportwould find the strength to resist the brazen ag- ing and fighting for.

#### There Is a Third Camp

The war-mongering position of the ALP leaders is NOT a lesser evil than the war-mongering position of the Stalinists. Just as we refuse to make any basic distinctions between the camp of Chamberlain and that of Hitler, so we refuse to make any distinction between the war camp of Antonini-Rose and that of Quill-Stalin. Neither represents the interests of the working class. Both lead to war and the decimation and destruction of the working class.

The genuine anti-war sentiments of the massits expression through either the ALP bureaucrats or through the Stalinists. If those antiwar sentiments are not to be perverted---to Hitpented of their reactionary position on all the ler's service by the Stalinists, to Chamberlain's dependently of either of the two cliques. Neither the "left wing" apologies for the ALP bureauemployed by the Stalinists should hide this basic

ADVANCES TO THE VERY GATES OF WARSAW

chevsky. Vilna fell on July 14.

ville, Max Shachtman ad-

dressed an overflowing audi-

ence of two hundred and fifty

workers who flocked eagerly to

hear the anti-war message of

the Socialist Workers Party.

The war about which we have

spoken so long has finally be-

Shachtman. "All of the hideous

antagonisms of capitalist soci-

ety are exposed to the naked

eye. The workers now realize

that bourgeois democracy gave

us, from the last war, fascism.

unemployment, hunger and fi-

nally another orgy of blood.

How will this war end? If the

democracies' win again they will bestow upon the world the

conditions under which we have

lived for the past twenty-one

comrade

declared

gun."

of fascism!

Tukhachevsky's successes, the commanders on the southwest Tukhachevsky began his of

fensive with 80,000 soldiers and ern front instead marched towards Lwow. For five days a reserve of 68,000 for whom the cavalry of Budenny hurled there was inadequate equipitself against the strongly enment. The Red Armies on the trenched Polish infantry at southwestern front were direct-Lwow while Pilsudski was maked by Yegorov, with Stalin as ing headway in his offensive the representative of the Revagainst Tukhachevsky. When it olutionary Council of War was too late and his forces were Tukhachevsky's plea for a weakened. Budenny and Voro united command had been shilov turned towards Lublin. turned down by the Council be-Tukhachevsky was forced to cause of the antagonism exist order a retreat, under the blows ing between the two commands. of Pilsudski's concentrated Voroshilov, incidentally, was forces and the treachery of the commissar of Budenny's caval-Stalin-Yegorov-Voroshilov bloc. ry, which was part of the southand the Red Army fell back to western forces. a point which marked the boun-The Red Army hurled fordary between Poland and Soward with invincible force unviet Russia until a few weeks der the leadership of Tukha-

ago.

For years Stalin and his cohorts did not even make an attempt to defend themselves B'KLYN ANTI-WAR from the open charges that Fukhachevsky hurled at them. RALLY SUCCESSFUL Only when Russian history was being rewritten to suit the Last Friday night in Brownsneeds of the Stalin bureaucrucy

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years. If the fascists win the world will sink to a system of Don't forget to register from barbaric oppression. We, the revolutionists of the Fourth International will shout, and the October 9-14 to vote for Max workers of all nations with us, No-thank you!' Only the struggle of the world proletar-iat against all oppression can Shachtman and George Lyman free us from the mass murder of war and from the brutality Paine for N. Y. Councilmen.

As soon as the war began, Germany's trade was virtually eliminated. In spite of her Navy, England's must be seriously curtailed, both because of the difficulties of convoy and because of the scarcity of export goods which will be available from British industry.

The United States proposes that this withdrawal of her chief rivals shall be permanent. The Declaration of Panama was Roosevelt's way of making this proposal known.

#### Some Problems Ahead

The Declaration was "adopted unanimously" by the conference. There was as much chance of an open negative vote as of Estonia's rejecting Molotoff's proposals. Sumner Welles was there to dictate, and the others to sign. But the sorrows that were hidden under the unanimous vote stretched all the way to Berlin and, above all, to London.

Argentina and Bolivia, for example, have for long been closely tied to London. They tried to object, but Welles granted them only a face-saving clause or two. And London must meditate bitterly about its plans for a Brazilian regime less wholly at Wall Street's orders.

And then there is this: Britain and France have many possessions in the Americas. These are most valuable in war, not merely as sources of supplies but especially as bases for warships. The language of the Declaration can be interpreted to mean that these possessions cannot be used as such bases.

Of course, proclaiming the Declaration does not put it into operation. It is not yet accepted by the belligerent powers; and if it is accepted in words this will not guarantee their acceptance in deeds. Acceptance will be ensured only by force; and the force in question can only be United States ships and planes. These however, are concentrated in the Pacific: for the second of the minimum war aims of U.S. imperialism is free entry into the Far East.

From this, by the way, it would seem to follow that "the principle of a two-ocean navy" will be adopted by the next regular session of Congress.

It is true that the Declaration is aimed primarily at Germany; and it is true that Roosevelt will enter the war against Germany. But at times England must be less than delighted as she watches her mighty ally.

Yes, and Canada too is in the Americas. Would it be so startling if Canada "declared her independence" from the Empire during the course of the war and its aftermath? On U.S. War Department maps of the war resources of the great powers, those of Canada are listed in the column of the United States.

United States Army Amateur Radio Reserve, believes amateur radio "can be as valuable for the Mrs. Ted Bourke, only woman member of the purposes of war as it is in establishing friendships in time of peace." Just another instance of the truism that everything the bourgeoisie touches it poisons.