Labor and The Second World War

By J. R. Johnson

The Rise of the Socialist Movement

Each imperialism had to contend not only with rival imperialisms abroad, but with an even more deadly enemy the organized workers at home.

Monopoly capitalism increased the concentration of great masses of workers into large units of industry, which facilitated their organization into powerful unions. The concentration of wealth at one end of society and the resulting poverty and unemployment at the other, the restriction of production to serve the profits of the few rather than the needs of the many, the worldwide competition between great monopolies controlling the economic life of whole nations, the burden of armaments in preparation for the war that loomed-these and other connected causes sharpened the inevitable crises of capitalist production and intensified the insecurity and dissatisfaction of the masses.

Militant labor movements, both industrial and political, embracing millions of workers in each country, menaced the imperialists throughout Western Europe. These movements marched under the banner of socialism, the substitution of public for private ownership. The imperialists could pacify a portion of these workers by paying high wages and creating a labor aristocracy, which functioned as a check on the millions of workers below. This bribery, however, required still greater profits, more new sources of raw materials, more new markets, still wider fields for investment. But new ones were not to be had. It was necessary therefore more intensively to exploit the old. But this intensive exploitation of the colonies brought new dangers. The industrialization of India and China by exported capital had created there a working class that now began to revolt against the increasingly inhuman conditions imposed upon them by their imperialist masters. Trapped between the competition of their rivals abroad and the pressure of the socialist movements at home, menaced by the growth of the labor movement in the colonies, the imperialists could see no way out but a redivision of the colonies, industrial centers, and "spheres of influence." They fought it out between 1914 and 1918, at the cost of ten million dead on the battlefield, twentyfive million wounded, and suffering and destruction beyond human calculation. That was their first great war for "democracy."

The Way Out

As early as October, 1914, a profound student of politics, undeceived by all the propaganda, wrote as follows: "The European war, which the governments and the bourgeois parties of all countries have been preparing for decades, has broken out. The growth of armaments, the extreme sharpening of the struggle for markets in the epoch of the latest, the imperialist, stage in the development of capitalism in the foremost countries, and the dynastic interests of the most backward East European monarchies were inevitably bound to bring about, and have brought about, the present war. To seize land and to conquer foreign nations, to ruin a competing nation and to pillage her wealth, to divert the attention of the toiling m ternal political crises of Russia, Germany, England and other countries, to disunite the workers and fool them with nationalism, to exterminate their vanguard in order to weaken the revolutionary movement of the proletariat-such is the only real content, the significance and the meaning of the present war." (Continued on Page 2)

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3c a Copy

WORKERS OF THE

WORLD UNITE!

ROOSEVELT USES 'FLINT' SEIZURE TO PROMOTE U. S. WAR PLANS

PURCE OF COMMUNISTS

HITS STALINISTS, NOT

FOURTH INTERNATIONAL

CHRYSLER CO.

AGREEMENT

ed production.

The stubborn attitude of the

corporation, which contrasts so

sharply with the excessive concil-

iation of union officials, is now

responsible for throwing 50,000

men out of work in the Chrysler

plants and an additional 100,000

(Continued on Page 3)

SEEKS TO BALK

Fascist Rag Attacks 4th International

Societ for

TROTZKY'S GANGSTERS

Boss Press Wails Loud About Incident; War Propaganda Gets Spurt

The Roosevelt administration's war drive was accelerated notably this week, when the American government made demands on the Hitler-Stalin camp, in the City of Flint incident, which it has carefully refrained from making in similar cases where the Anglo-French camp is involved.

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Roosevelt's "neutrality" speech on Thursday, denouncing as "one of the worst fakes in current history" the warnings sounded in and out of oCugress on the danger of American participation in the war, was exposed as the real fake, when at his bidding the State Department peremptorily demanded that the German and Soviet governments surrender the City of Flint.

Seizure and detention of a score of American vessels by British and French war-

New York SWP Set For Whirlwind Finish To Election Campaign

Reiterating that the anti-war platform of the Socialist Workers Party in the present municipal elections most adequately corres-last Wednesday. ponds to real needs and desires of the workers in New York. Max Shachtman and George Lyman Paine, Councilmanic candidates for the Bronx and Manmattan, prepared today for a whirlwind two-week Flint, Senator Clark and other wind-up to their respective election campaigns.

"We are confident," both candidates stated today, "that the ful in getting the State Departworkers of this city will rally to the Socialist Workers Party candi- ment to release a list of the dates in a manner that will sur-

prise everyone. From our contact with the workers of the Bronx and Manhattan during this elec-tion campaign, we are prepared Farrell to say that our anti-war program is being received with the greatest interest and sympathy. In the same way that our Party answers the needs of the workers, in the ame way the workers will re-

ships, and the confiscation of the cargoes carried by two or more of them — it is known now that the phosphate cargoes of the American freighters and Saccarappa have been confiscated by the Britishnot only were not protested by the State Department, but the veyr facts about the seizures did not become known until

After days of clamor about the German seizure of the City of congressmen finally were success-American ships seized by the

Anglo-French warships. While the State Department felt no need to inform the American people that many of these ships were and are for weeks in Anglo-French hands, much less Calls for to protest their seizure, it didn't even wait to establish the facts before it demanded of the Soviet Aid To overnment immedi the City of Flint. U. S. Fakes Excuse The ostensible justification for the State Department's demand on the Soviet government is, that in the Anglo-French cases the seizures conformed to interna-NEW YORK, Oct. 26-James tional law, but that the City of T. Farrell, the noted novelist, to- Flint case did not conform to in-Under the Hague Convention of and George Lyman Paine to the tion of the arrest of Frank Wat- 1907, to which the United States City Council will show the lowest son, Canadian militant, who was government is a signatory, Arexpenditures of any candidate in arrested and sentenced to one ticle 21 provides that a prize ship year's imprisonment for deliver- may be brought into a neutral our campaign has been financed ing an anti-war speech in Toron- port "on account of unseaworthiwith the contributions and pen- to. In an interview with the So- ness, stress of weather, or want of fuel or provisions", but that "I agree with the statement "it must leave as soon as the cirthey are 'independent', divulge that democracy is the first casu- cumstances which justified its en-



Behind the Lines

More than two million men are for trying to cast discord into the immobilized along a muddy west- tentative. Moscow-Tokyo. harmern front that will soon be win- ony!

. By GEORGE STERN .

ter-bound. Except for an isolated And most important of all: it air raid and the occasional deadly is from Russia that the next war swish of a torpedo through the move in southeastern Europe is open sea, the war has not yet be- now generally expected. In Berlin gun. The French sacrificed thou- they are looking for it and Bersands of men to advance into lin has the inside track right now. German soil at the outset, mere- Shrewd observers recognize that ly to give the appearance of do- despite the new pact of the AIing something to help the beleag- lies with Turkey, Rumania is ured Poles. At the first sign of likely to get the same kind o disclosed number of lives and if Stalin wants Bessarabia he the status quo ante, Sept. 3 has can probably have it without undue difficulty. been re-established.

"Peace offensives" have had From Hitler, certainly, the their hour and between London, Kremlin dictator is certainly get-Paris and Berlin the air is filled ting every encouragement to with reciprocal imprecations and move. Hitler is proceeding, apthreats that somehow continue parently, on the theory that it their persistent failure to mater- will be comparatively easy to reialize. Is it because on both sides capture ground lost to Stalin if of this so-far-sham battle eyes Stalin can be brought to overare fixed on Moscow? Is it not, reach himself.

certainly, because no one is sure, From the Allies he can at the Trotsky against assassins were increased this week, after a suseven now, who is friend and who same time count upon a certain picious character attempted, with a fake story, to make his way degree of forbearance because he in to see Trotsky. The suspect, Manuel Fernandeg Barrechena, was is foe?

Moscow is most assuredly the knows they are not going to take arrested by the Mexican police, rechena be received by Trotsky, principal actor in this strange any steps which would more or who announce they are continu-saying that Barrechena was to throw every obstacle in the way spectacle and strangest of all, no- less irrevocably line up Russia as ing the investigation. body seems to be sure just what an ally at Germany's side in ac-

role it is playing! Scan one day's tual hostilities. Not until they news: Russia makes new de- give up all hope of bringing news: Russia makes new de- give up an nope of bringing in Coyoacan, describing himself there was something afoot, for mands on Finland which send the about a German-Russian clash to Trotsky's secretary as a Spanmands on Finiand which send the latter's negotiators back to Hel-singfors. Russia turns the City of Flint over to Germany. Russia tells Britain it will not recognize

the blockade. Russia sends a big It is over this diplomatic notrade delegation to Berlin and an-man's land that Stalin is flying with a million tons of grain. Rus- and handsome. But he can't just him when he could see Trotsky. with police to the Hotel Modsia even gets a ginger little ap- keep swinging, especially with He gave his address as the Hotel erno. While the police hid, Van proving pat from Chamberlain foe-friends and friend-foes saw-

about its invasion of Poland. Rus- ing away at the ropes on both and goods on the line-and de- And the one thing Stalin most said he was the Spanish general, automobile for Trotsky. At this

ounces "agents of Washington" seriously lacks is a safety net.

EON TROTZKY -

Above is a facsimile of Fr. Coughlin's fascist to squeal.

As for the rest of the trash, it hardly degutter rag. Social Justice. The big scare about the Fourth International taking oven New York serves even contemptuous comment. We are has a basis in fact for the future if not for the loath to accept credit for the purge of Stalinists present-when the workers of New York take from the American Labor Party. Alex Rose and command over their own lives and destiny in a David Dubinsky, whom Coughlin's vile scribblers make the target for an anti-semitic attack, will socialist society.

We are proud to be the butt of attack of this be the first to deny the charge of "Trotskyism." fascist fiend who is enemy No. 1 of American They are the trade union agents of Anglo-French workers. Revolutionary workers, under Socialist imperialism. But Coughlin cannot discredit the Workers Party leadership, have given Coughlin's trade unions either by anti-semitism or by refratnests of Christian Mobiliers cause enough for erence to their pro-war position.

The Fourth International is an anti-war party worryin the past six months. We promise to dup--it will save the trade unions from the war licate our performances in double doses in the future. The stuck pig, Coughlin, has only begun mongers-and from Coughlin.

Mexican Police Arrest Man Who ured Poles. At the first sign of German counter - pressure they fell back, at the price of an un-

Danger of Attempt at Assassination Makes Additional Precautionary Measures for The Defense of Trotsky Necessary

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) MEXICO CITY—Precautionary measures to protect Leon

arrange for the gift of an auto-of an agreement with the UAW-

On Oct. 20 Barrechena pre-sented himself at Trotsky's home there was something afoot, for usion demonstrate the basic Trotsky, but gave no particular aja confirmed the fact that the contract workers fired for reason. The secretary asked him call had not come from him.

Trotsky's secretary, Van, went for his address, in order to inform rechena told him that someone

phoned the Trotsky household, named Mata was providing the The next day someone tele-

Jose Miaja, and urged that Bar-

spond to us on election day.

commented:

Pennies Financed Campaign Watson Both candidates today filed their campaign financial statements with the Board of Elections. James Burnham. Treasurer of the Campaign Committee,

"The financial cost of the cam- day added his voice to those who ternational law. paign to elect Max Shachtman have spoken out in condemnathe field. From beginning to end, nies of othe workers themselves. cialist Appeal, Farrell said: Let the other candidates, who say the sources financing them. These alty of war. The information on try are at an end." 'independents' would have to ad- the Watson case which has been mit that in no sense are they in- supplied me by the American Ladependent of the subsidies of the bor Aid is a clear-cut illustration large capitalist interests." of this. On this basis I support

Speak to Youth Answering the questionnaire that this is an important defense submitted by the Young Citizens case and join me in adopting this Committee For a Progressive City Council, Shachtman and position."

Paine gave their program for the vast army of youth:

"The youth of America, like the youth of the countries at war today, have nothing to gain from Farrell's reiteration of the old made any investigation to speak the present war. It is a war be-tween two imperialist camps to re-divide the earth. No matter the first casualty of war. Thus, ment for the release of the ship, tatorship will triumph, small na- in rallying to the defense of Wat- and similar representations to tatorship will triumpn, small na-tions will still be enslaved and 'peace' will be restored in the the elementary duty of every anti-war worker, the A T A mode the triangle of the state of of th

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) DETROIT, Oct. 27—The Chrys-A.L.A. made it plain that it was spirit of the robbers' Treaty of also fighting the entire issue of /ersailles." ler Corporation continues to

war-time suppression: today in of this city to support the anti-On Oct. 20 Barrechena pre- mobile to Trotsky. Trotsky's sec- CIO. Its chiselling tactics are de- war campaign of the Socialist tomorrow in the United States, Workers Party's candidates, union demands for the union Shachtman and Paine urged that, "Unless the youth of the nation is reconciled to becoming cannonfodder in an imperialist war, it

(Continued on Page 3)

NOTICE

There will be an important membership meeting of all New .York SWP and YPSL members this Sunday, Oct. 29, at Webster Hall, 119 E. 11th St. Time: 2:30 p.m.

Soviet Followed Law

Formally, at least, the Soviet government adhered to these provisions. The Germans brought the appeal for funds to defend the ship into Murmansk on a Watson. I hope others will realize claim that is covered by the term 'unseaworthiness", and it was in the port only a few days. Maybe the Germans were lying, and the

Soviet government was helping In doubling its efforts on be- them-they are scarcely above a half of Watson, the American little deceit! But the U.S. gov-Labor Aid which has organized a ernment could not possibly know Watson Defense Fund, pointed to this to be a fact. Before it had

Press Openly Partisan The American press took it up, and day in day out wailed loud Calling upon the young people Canada, which is already at war; in camp. But when, under presand long against the Hitler-Stalsure, the State Department finally released its list of American ships seized by the Anglo-French

in the press.

to the American people that the whole apparatus of the American government is geared to dragging us into war on the side of the Anglo-French camp. If such a flimsy pretext as the City of Flint incident is utilized to such an extent, we can imagine what will happen when some real incidents occur, as they will inevitably occur in the course of a war.

This incident is a warning sign

when it goes to war. Funds, said the committee, are urgently needed. The expenses camp, it caused scarcely a ripple involved in conducting the defense of Watson are extremely high. Every nickel, dime and dol-

Join the Socialist

Workers Party

Funds Vital



The new branch

Ill. hopes to be able to continue

Likewise the comrades in Hous-

continue quietly to dispose effect-

An order has been placed for



RECORD OF BRANCH APPEAL SALES On the whole the branches con- to dispose of 15 copies regularly,

tinued to dispose of their regular though advising us that not havand in several instances have ates certain difficulties. been able to circulate and to sell extra quantities on special occa- ton, Texas and other localities

sions, such as mass meetings, house-to-house drives, street ively of both the paper and the meetings, etc. Several cities do quite well with

and some not.

Branch

last week is as follows:

New York City ... 6

Lynn, Mass. 4

St. Paul 3

San Francisco

Chicago

Oakland

Cleveland 2 Los Angeles

Omaha

Toledo 1

Seattle 1

Connecticut 1

Newark 1

Phila. 1

Peekskill 1

Denver

Sacramento

dian nationalists.

"Hot and Cold"

has suggested a Constituent As-

sembly, where every community

will be fully represented, to frame

a constitution for India. The mis-

don News Chronicle:

subscriptions, but by and large 5 copies regularly by J. L. in this field remains as yet a major Syracuse, N. Y. In New Haven N. Lyons has weak spot, due to a variety of circumstances, some controllable taken over the work of literature agent and writes they are confi-Since our last record, 27 new dent shortly of increasing the subscriptions have been entered bundle orders, as well as obtain-

and 11 renewals. New York City ing new subscriptions for both with six new subscriptions and publications. three renewals and Lynn, Mass. As reported before, the Oak-

nagazine.

with four new subscriptions turnland comrades have been very ed in the best week's job in this successful in selling the paper at field. meetings. Recently Comrade E.

The record of the cities since M., Literature Agent, together with another comrade sold 50

	Re-	copies at a single "Ham and
W	newal	Eggs" meeting.
	3	Lennie Saunders has become
		the new literature agent in Phil-
	1	adelphia and is taking steps for
	1	increased sales.
	2	The Newark, N. J. organization
		continues to dispose regularly of
		its large quantity.
	2	In Allentown, Pa. Comrade R.
		Q. disposes of several copies reg-
		ularly at the unemployed gath-
		erings.
		One of our comrades speaking
		at a high school in Reading, Pa.
		acquainted many persons there
		for the first time with our litera-
	· 1	ture.
	1	In Pittsburg Comrade O. I. has
		been doing well in obtaining new

11 readers. A few branches made cuts in PROMPT PAYMENTS

their regular bundle orders, but ON BUNDLES VITAL a few increases and new orders Again it must be emphasized quickly made up these losses. that prompt bundle payments

Local Cleveland decided to cut and liquidation of large outstandts order for the time being to 40 ing bills is imperative, in order copies, since outdoor meetings to avoid an extremely critical sitthe means for selling the paper branches are now taking up with

widely in the past. the Management ways and means In Portland, Ore. our comrade for paying up their back bills. strong sentiment among the people in its favor. In the very continues to do very well in sell- But special emphasis must be week the vote was taken, a Gallup poll showed 75% of the ing a bundle of the Socialist Ap- pleaed on the task of getting afpal and The New International ter the subscriptions which have

Not Stop-Gap Compromises

Whatever the Desire of Gandhi, the Masses Have No Faith in Parliamentary Debate

BULLETIN ·· chief done is very real. The The Madras Congress Ministry, Working (executive) Committee with a 152 to 23 vote of approval has passed a mild resolution. It

(Continued from Page 1)

A New Anti-War Pamphlet _____

The writer ended his analysis with a program of action: "Transform the present imperialist war into civil war-is the only correct proletarian slogan. . . . However difficult such a transformation may appear at any given time Socialists will never relinquish systematic, persistent, undeviating, preparatory work in this direction, since war has become a fact.

"Long live the international fraternity of the workers against the chauvinism and patriotism of the bourgeoisie of all countries!'

This was Lenin, the great follower of Marx and Engels, the founders of scientific socialism.

Imperialist War and Proletarian Revolution

But the war of 1914-1918 settled nothing. It could settle nothing. It could re-divide but it could not increase. Only the discovery of a continent with a few hundred million natives could save imperialism from a crisis that was now permament.

And, as in the colonial sphere, so in Europe.

The Treaty of Versailles reshuffled boundaries, but national states remained. Even under capitalism the productive forces had attained a high degree of internationalism. The war had shown that what was now needed was the reorganization of world economy by an international cooperative plan instead of on a national competitive basis. What else could prevent the periodical explosions of rival national economies into devastating imperialist war? But private ownership of the means of production was the basis of the national state. The abolition of private ownership was a political task, and could be accomplished only by the socialist revolution of the working-class. It was for these reasons that Lenin characterized the period in which we live as the period of imperialist wars and proletarian revolutions.

In one great country, Russia, the workers and peasants, under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, well educated and prepared by Lenin, overthrew the capitalist system. They transformed the basic industries from private into collectivised property, and boldly set out upon the road to socialism. The workers in Germany, Austria, and Czechoslovakia swept away their monarchical governments and established democratic republics-but they failed to abolish the capitalist system of property. The new Russian economy was thereby left isolated. In the rest of the world, the national state, private property and the oppressed colonial countries, in other words all the pre-war dynamite, remained. The imperialists were thus faced with the same problem as before: the accumulation of profit, the need for investment, and a world that obstinately remained the same size as it had been in 1914. Their post-war plight was now more desperate than ever, for the example of the Russian Revolution stimulated the militancy of the workers in Europe and unleashed revolutionary movements in India, China, Palestine, Egypt and other colonial countries.

The Imperialists Try Fascism

A method of temporarily solving one phase of the difficulty was discovered by the Italian capitalists. They subsidized Mussolini, who attacked the workers' movements with armed bands. The leaders of the labor aristocracy, flourishing as members of parliament and trade union bureaucrats, would not lead the workers to the only way outthe revolutionary struggle for socialism. The workers were defeated and terrorized. Deprived of their trade unions and thei democratic rights, they were powerless to resist wage cuts, and increased hours. Thus for a time fascism stifled the pressure of the working class on the capitalist system. But for a time only. The powers maintained an unstable equilibrium until 1929, when the world crisis once more showed the bankruptcy of the capitalist system. Britain, France, Belgium and Holland could maintain "democracy" at home only by squeezing their colonies still more. The colonials replied with fierce uprisings, which though unsuccessful, weakened still more the unstable system. Germany and Austria had no colonials to squeeze. The German capitalists followed Mussolini's example and subsidized Hitler and his fascist bands. The German workers failed to resist, their movement was destroyed, here also, as in Italy, with the connivance of the "democratic" government. With the workers crushed, Hitler was free to begin the rearmament of Germany. In 1931 Japanese capitalists were seeking to solve their crisis by the absorption of China. In 1935 Mussolini launched his attack on Ethiopia. Another great war for "democracy" was on the order of the day.

colonies and profits were in mortal danger. Chamberlain put aside his umbrella, picked up his rifle, and marched forward as the leader in the second great war for "democracy."

American Capitalism and the First World War

While the European imperialisms scrambled in Asia and Africa, American capitalism prospered. The elasticity of a youn gand vigorous capitalism, the extent and wealth of the United States, gave American capitalists the illusion that this was God's own country, immune from Europe's troubles. But they, too, felt the need for colonies, and took some away fro mSpain, before the Twentieth Century began. And they began their struggle to dominate Latin America, shouldering aside here Britain and Germany, and encountered Japan and other rivals in the Far East.

During the 1914-1918 war, American capitalists made billions selling supplies and munitions, chiefly to the "democracies," who controlled the seas. When the "democracies" could no longer pay cash, American capitalists invested vast fortunes in credits to them. But by 1917 the "democracie swere in danger of being defeated, imperilling American investments. Furthermore, the whole of American economy was no wgeared to the production of war material for the "democracies." A German victory would mean immense losses abroad and a desperate crisis at home. The America neapitalists gave their orders to Woodrow Wilson, and he, elected but five months before as the man who "kept us out of war," led America into the trenches, to make the world safe for "democracy" and the investments of American capital.

The Economic Crisis of 1929

The exhaustion of European imperialism and the vast profits made from the war enormously increased America's financial power. This wealth had to find a field for investment-the perpetual preoccupation of capitalism. Because they had to invest somewhere, American capitalists invested in Europe, bankrupt as it was, as well as in Latin America and the Far East. For a time imperialism on a world scale seemed to prosper as never before. But it was an artificial prosperity: prosperity under capitalism means accumulation of rofits ,and accumulation of profits means a necessity for further expansion. Expansion where? In 1929 the system crashed again, and this time as never before.

In no country was the crisis worse than in America. By 1932 the unemployed numbered at least seventeen million. Whereas Britain underwent a slow decline over more than half a century, American capitalism plunged downward hal fthe distance in one year and, today, after nine years, gives no sign of recovery. Such is the violence of capitalist disintegration in our time.

New Deal Into War Deal

Roosevelt was elected in 1932 as the man to solve the crisis. Vain hope! By an adroit combination of relief, government expenditures, and demagogy, he impressed the people. Profiting by the slight alleviation of the world crisis, he was reelected in 1936 by the enthusiastic vote of a hopeful but deluded people. But one year later another catostrophic convulsion, the sharpest drop in American history, demonstrated finally to those who still needed proof that American capitalism was, like the rest of the world, in permanent crisis.

and Roosevelt, like every other capitalist statesman, knew onl yone way out-imperialist war.

For an immediate issue he didn't have to look far. Japan, long a rival of American imperialism for the great Chinese market, began a large-scale war in China and served notice on all other capitalists to keep out. In close cooperation with Japan, Germany and Italy, using cheap goods wrung out of their defeated workers at home, were pushing into that special preserve of American imperialism, Latin America. Listen then to Franklin Roosevelt at Chicago in October, 1937, speaking to the startled people of America:

Let the People Vote Against the War

"Innocent peoples and nations are being cruelly sacrificed . . . The peace-loving nations . . . Those who cherish their freedom . . . the sanctity of international treaties international morality . . . moral consciousness . . .'

When a "democratic" statesman shouts hosannahs to peace and international law, then the imperialist war is not far off.

In our time peace is merely a period of preparation for war. The moment was drawing near, the preparations had to be accelerated on all fronts.

Roosevelt set out on his war-mongering career.

Late in 1937 Congressman Louis Ludlow managed to get his proposed amendment to the Constitution discharged from the Judiciary Committee where it had been collecting dust for almost three years to the floor of the House. This called for a referendum vote among all the people before a war could be declared by the United States government against another country. The Ludlow amendment is not a revolutionary measure; even if passed it cannot by itself stop war. But it does give the people an opportunity to express at least an opinion on whether millions should be cut short in their prime. A vote against the war might be a preliminary to more effective means of stopping it.

Franklin Roosevelt, war-monger, opposed the amendment. Under heavy pressure by the President, the House cannot now be held, and this was uation for our Press. Several refused, by a vote of 209 to 188, even to discuss it. The close vote shows that the congressmen were aware of the people in favor of the amendment. That was why many among his trade union contacts. expired. dared not vote against it.

Franklin Roosevelt, war-monger, has bitterly fought the bill ever since. Let the people vote against the war! Let the India's Masses Want Action, people decide! No, says Franklin Roosevelt, war-monger

"Fight at the Drop of a Hat"

On February 4, 1938, through Admiral Leahy, chief o naval operations, Franklin Roosevelt, war-monger, outlined before the House Committee, and to the world, his blueprint for war. A note was sent to Japan heralding the naval race.

On February 17, 1938, Franklin Roosevelt, war-monger, called a secret meeting of the great financial, industrial, and newspaper lords, the heads of the army and navythe real rulers of this country. At Chicago it was all peace on the part of the Madras Legis-still affords scope for repairing and international morality, but now, when these high-up lative Assembly, resigned today the blunder gangsters were speaking not to the public, but to one an- (Oct. 27), in accordance with inother, you could have closed your eyes and imagined yourself in Rome or Berlin. Said Roosevelt, "This nation used others to come. to be ready to fight at the drop of a hat and we must get it that way again.



Once More Imperialist War

Britain and France, leading lights of the eLague of Nations, took no serious steps against either Japan or Italy. The League was only a means of protecting their own possessions and organizing support for their own defense. By 1938 Hitler began to expand over Eastern Europe, first into Austria, next in Czechoslovakia. Hitler and Mussolini helpe destablish fascism in Spain. Britain and France, with their workers hostile at home and their colonies on the verge of revolution, could only retreat, offer "appeasement," and try to bargain with Hitler for what they called a "general settlement." Britain had helped in the rearmament of Germany, hoping to push Hitler into an attack on the Soviet Union. But the plan miscarried. Instead, Hitler accepted for the moment an alliance with Stalin.

The very practical gentlemen who rule Britain and France care nothing for "poor little Poland," for "democracy" (which was destroyed in Spain with their tacit assistance), for the JJews whom Hitler murdered-for anything they talk so much about. But if Germany, allied to the Soviet Union, conquered Poland and was allowed to digest its conquests, then British imperialism, its markets,

Four million workers organized into the CIO; for the first time hundreds of thousands of Negroes entered the organized labor movement; sit-down strikes followed one another in quick succession-the American workers were learning from their brothers in Europe. Here was danger,

Marxism In Our Times by Leon Trotsky AN INTRODUCTION TO:

Living Thoughts of Marx

A 200 page abridgement of the first volume of Karl Marx's CAPITAL, including a brilliant exposition of the fundamental principles of Marxism in the light of modern day events. An entire section is devoted to the newer reformist movements, especially the Roosevelt "New Deal." Also examines the perspectives of the American and International labor and revolutionary movement.

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the New York up-state WPA for lists of unmarried men on home or work relief. He did not hide why he wanted tary and police terror against In- suit of this goal which is no less the lists. It was to get the men into the army.

On March 5, Franklin Roosevelt, war - monger, announced plans for a war alliance with the Latin American states.

On March 26, 1938, the war situation sharpened in Eurone. No European nation, no three European nations, could meeting in London, the center of the British, if only they will give attack us, could send across the ocean three or four million soldiers and all the supplies they would need. Roosevelt point on the war agenda and is to knows this as well as anybody else, but he seized the op- be discussed this week. portunity to increase the naval budget. In 1934 it was \$290,000,000. Early in 1938 he had it up to \$1,00,000,000. whom the only relevant factor is the Congress — sends pleading Now he added an extraordiany appropriation, making a the need for launching an im- messages proves this. At home, total of \$2,121,000,000. For the army the budget was mediate, mass struggle against \$500,000,000.

During the next few weeks he praised the Sheppard-May flection of the cowardly fears of the Indian capitalist class and its bill which provides for the mobilization of industry for leaders who at present guide the war. He initiated vast naval maneuvers in the Pacific, on a Indian Nationalist Congress. front of five thousand miles from Alaska to Samoa. This Unable to obtain any conceswas a warning to Japan, whose drive in China continued sions from the war-minded Briunabated. While the naval maneuvers were taking place, he tish, and feeling the intense and announced war-games on land and in the air, to last until hostile pressure of the masses the fall.

(Continued in Next Issue)

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"Will the British public realize structions of the Indian National- that this is a blunder, or will they ist Congress. This is the first of persist in the hypnotic belief that the India Office 'can never err: Meanwhile, Sir Samuel Hoare, that India must always remain

speaking in the British Parlia- their milk cow? I can only say ment, added an enormous amount that the Congress will not rest, On February 24, Franklin Roosevelt, war-monger, asked of fuel to the fire of revolt now and will give no rest until the

spreading throughout India, by a goal is won. Its very existence speech threatening drastic mili- depends upon its relentless purthan the complete independence

of India.'

Passivity Won't Do For the time being, the burning This statement is a combinaquestion of India and its demand tion of cajoling and threatening. for independence, has been shift- But the emphasis is clearly on

ed to the British Parliament now the desire to capitulate before the British Empire. There the the Indian bosses a few bones and some promises

The fact that Gandhi-instead of preparing for mass action and This shift does not reflect the mobilizing the 375,000,000 workdesires of the Indian masses to ers and peasants of India behind where the real fight is, the Gandthe bloody imperialism that rules hists urge the people not to act, over them. But it is the direct rebut to remain passive.

But Gandhi can no longer represent the relentless urge of the masses for their independence. Even if he should temporarly succeed in bringing about some fake compromise, he can no longer call a halt. The need of India's people is for bread: only their own workers' and peasants' govwho are egging them on to revo-ernment can give them this.

lutionary action, these vacillating V. K. Krishna Menon, Secreleaders would do anything to tary of the British India League, reach a compromise. This blowand a conservative follower of ing "hot and cold" is shown in a Gandhi has recognized this in a message sent by the conservaspeech delivered October 25 betive Mahatma Gandhi to the Lonfore British Labor and Liberal leaders. He said. "I cannot see "I wish that the British govhow a large scale conflict beernment would realize that India tween the powerful All-India Na-

is not begging for its independtional Congress and the Viceregence. The Congress (nationalist al's government in India can be organization) asked Britain to avoided. . . . say that she would not resist in-

The round of Parliamentary dependence. Hindu, Moslem and twaddle cannot last long. The other difficulties are there beyond voice of Britain's imperialists dispute. The question is whether and their Labor Party agents Britain will stand aside and let cannot reach across the seas to India settle her own difficulties India's masses. They know what in her own way when the war is their goal is. over. That is why the Congress

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Stalinists and Lewis "LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CAN NOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHERF LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS BRANDED"-KARL MARX. THE Forces at LoggerhendsSEEKS TO BALKOn Auto Uniou PolicyAGREEMENT **NEGRO QUESTION** By J. R. JOHNSON

(Continued from Last Issue)

Negroes! On Guard against The New Stalinist Line

If James Ford is asked why he and Browder spent five years persuading the American workers that their future lay with Roosevelt and the New Deal, he will lie like a trooper in reply. No people Flint this week, as the issue of a in history ever lied like the Stalinists. But the real reason for Ford's Chevrolet strike uncovered growng "democratic front" is this.

Whereas Lenin and Trotsky always said, "How can we best help groups. the workers in Russia and all over the world, for we are all one," Stalin, Ford's master today says, "How can I use the workers to help me and my burocrats preserve our wealth and power?"

In 1935, he was trying to get an alliance with Britain and France. But the reactionary imperialisms didn't want to make an alliance with a revolutionary. So Stalin gave his orders to his servants ail over the world. "Stop being revolutionary. Be good lovers of 'democracy'. Above all no class struggle." Whereupon Browder and Ford started on their "democratic" career. How their paper and Board of the UAW-CIO, and their speeches used to stink! They fawned all over the boots of without adequate preparation of Franklin Roosevelt, the same Roosevelt who now jails Browder and who may well jail Ford tomorrow. Every other column in the Stalinist papers whooped it up for F.D.R. All who were for F.D.R. were heroes in the eyes of the Stalinists. Formerly they had de- for months in the Flint plants, nounced the NAACP and the Urban League. Suddenly these Negro as the Stalinist leadership, topetty-bourgeois, who are as revolutionary as a stale potato-pie, were gether with conservative misfits embraced by the Stalinists, and transformed over night into leaders of the American Negro workers.

The Workers Alliance, led by David Lasser and controlled by tain of unsettled grievances, init-Stalinists, became one of the most reactionary organizations in the late a speed-up and discriminate country. It stifled the militancy of the workers and reached its final against union men. degeneration when it made Eleanor Roosevelt an honorary member. While the Stalinists were fol-How in the name of God could a workers' organization, designed to lowing their pro-Roosevelt line, lead the starving unemployed against a chiseling capitalist govern- and Stalin, the Big Boss, was ment, make the wife of the head of that government an honorary still a good "Democrat,", they workers. While the Stalinists are sion in this proposal since corpormember? Strikers may as well ask the boss's wife to come and be branded every attempt at militant action as an aid to "Fasan honorary member of the picket line. cists" and as a maneuver design-

Acted against the Class Struggle

The Stalinists were simply killing the class struggle, as they had killed it in France and in Spain, and for the same reason-to help Stalin get his alliance with Britain, France, and America. For the American workers, and for the American Negroes, the Stalinists didn't care a damn.

Naturally, to be able to influence the workers at all, the Stalinists had to maintain a show of militancy. But even while maintain- are vigorously pushing for strike are engaged in a bold campaign union had conclusively demoning this show, their main business in life was to act in such a way as to give the capitalists the following impression:

"We are not real reds any more. See how we restrain the work- ecutive Board of the UAW-CIO. That action is needed to settle ers. See how we praise F.D.R. Make the alliance with Stalin and you can depend upon us to keep the workers quiet. If war comes we the pile of grievances, and stop ials, these manufacturers want shall get them into it much more quickly and efficiently than you the speed up in the Flint plants nothing more than to smash unis true without a doubt. There is ionism can.

The Stalinist rank and filer didn't know that this was the real meaning of the policy. Ford and Browder knew all right.

But thinks didn't go well in Europe from Stalin's point of veiw. Britain and France wouldn't agree to his territorial expansion in the Baltic. Hitler, hungry for an ally, agreed to Stalin's demands (for the time being). The two made their bargain, and Stalin, as Hitler's ally, dropped all his talk about Russia and the "democracies" fighting against fascist aggression.

Here was a fine mess for the Stalinists to be in. All they could pushed through a strike vote that must have weapons! First predo was to double back, put a good brass face on it, and start sup- has little real meaning, except pare your army. Mobilize the un- ing this time the corporation will porting the Hitler-Stalin Pact. They had to or they would have been as a mechanical device to launch ion. Inspire the ranks. Once this stall the union negotiators until a man with a package attempted called Trotskyists. They would have been abused, expelled and calumniated. But though they now have to support Hitler, who at ized action. present is doing most of the fighting in the Hitler-Stalin combination, they are supporting him in a very clever way. They are praising Stalin of course. That they have to do, or out they go on their ground of militancy has proved on the field will mean defeat. heads into the street. It would be difficult, however, actually to sup- that the auto workers will rise What is needed is genuine acport Hitler openly. So what they do is to carry on a vicious cam- in a short time, when given the tion, not an adventure. A wary paign against Hitler's enemies, the "democracies". The more they slightest chance to learn the is- eye should be kept on the "genembarrass the "democracies", the more they help Hitler, and, as sues involved, and when they feel erals" who order an advance prethey see it, the more they help Hitler, the stronger is Hitler's ally, they have an organization behind maturely. They are probably in them. Stalin.

Hence, this strange spectacle of Ford in Harlem bellowing But the conservative bureauthe war, calling it a war of two imperialist groups (which crats and the Stalinist leaders, it undoubtedly is), and saying that his purpose and the purpose of who have spent the past several his party is to save the Negroes from wasting their blood and lives months trying to insure their own in a quarrel not their own (which is certainly not Ford's purpose.) salaries, who have hesitated to

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) | spend a few dollars on leaflets or FLINT, Mich., Oct. 24-Indica- other means of publicity, are now tions of a brewing battle between rushing ahead without any con-Stalinist forces in the United Au-| cern whatever for the manifest tomobile Workers Union and the confusion that has swept the Lewis machine became evident in plants.

the

animosity between

action in Flint Chevrolet plants.

J. Thomas and other Lewis men

Growing Discontent

who sold the offices, have allowed

the company to pile up a moun-

ed to embarrass Roosevelt.

Now, however, that Stalin has

concern for the workers' needs,

Discontent has been brewing

the ranks of the union.

ground, are pushing for strike union.

Vigilance Necessary

from the company.

preparation.

A strike under these conditions, (Continued from Page 1) in feeder plants and in the rubber opposed by R. J. Thomas and Lewis, led by Stalinist flunkeys and glass industries.

Top officials of the union out adequately preparing the ous problems now confronting the "union shop" requires only that find a feudalist. new employes hired shall be re-

against the express policies of R. tion, it is possible the rank and specified period of time). But the completely stand for the support file of the union will sweep ahead, corporation flatly rejected this of the Ukrainian people in their on the International Executive go over the heads of their irres- compromise. The original demand of the unponsible leaders, and by sheer

weight of their numbers and mil- ion for the setting of production Soviet Ukraine from the U.S.S.R.

mature strikes, or other irresponsible actions, without adequate by a joint - union - management

Who Will Lead? Lewis, Thomas and his aides the dispute is to be thrown into ed the Dodge plant. This is a are not to be depended upon eith- the regular grievance machinery. strike the corporation cannot er to lead the battles of the auto agents of Hitler-Stalin, Lewis is ation officials previously labelled ficialdom of the union under pres- crat Miliukov are perhaps ready going to help sell you to the war every demand of the union for a sure of government mediators to answer to this question that going to nelp sell you to the war every demand of the union for a sine of government internations the Ukrainians are "by and ant revolutionary movement in mongering Roosevelt and the Al- voice in production-schedules "so- and even the war department will have and in general" in all like any country will sound the knell lied camp. Neither of these lead- vietization."

ers will lead the workers in a waved his magic wand, and has vigorous fight against speed-up, holding out on the demand that ordered his flunkeys to oppose and both will back down when a corporation-wide contract be er-Stalin camp, these self-same ionism conflicts with American ments for each plant. They use as Stalinist robots, with as little participation in the war.

The automobile manufacturers N.L.R.B. ruling. This after the action, and flaunting defiance in to smash the auto unions in pre-strated in the N.L.R.B. elections, point the police arrested Barre the face of the International Ex- paration for war production. called on company insistence, chena. Greedy for the profits that will that it had the allegiance of 80

percent of the workers. come with orders for war mater-

considerable stirring of the rank The Stalinist irresponsible poliand file, and demand for a fight. cies will only lead workers into Chrysler workers. There is now a ican-Airways schedule on him, That a strike is necessary is be- the trap set by the corporations, yond question .But the Stalinists, who know well enough that they ernment "meditator" James Dew- days when Pan American flies. It crats haggled over the national without preparing the ground, have picked a moment when the ey, to return Dodge workers to is believed here that he was the vithout acquainting the men with unions are none too well preparthe issues, without so much as |ed. calling a mass meeting to inspire The speed-up can be ended only tions, it is conservatively said, Trotsky, assigned to make a pre-

the workers in the plants, have by struggle. But to struggle you can drag out for at least three liminary survey of the possibilweeks-and probably more. Dur- ities. an adventuristic and badly organ- is done, no force on earth can they are green around the gills. to enter Trotsky's house, saying stop the advance of the auto And meanwhile they will speed that he had been sent by General The fighting forces in Flint can workers. To try to give battle be- hell out of the workers in the Mugica with fertilizer for the easily be routed. Their back- fore you have a well-knit army tle for its agreement. out of its just demands. Chrysler him.

eral Motors and Ford, It must place cars in the hands of its dealers, who are already howling under squeeze of the competition out of the way. The pard for the

Democratic Feudalists and the Independence of the Ukraine By LEON TROTSKY

In Kerensky's periodical, "No-|independence cannot fail to| of the Ukraine to the interests of vaya Rossia" for July 12, 1939, arouse the ire of feudalists. "The the international proletariat if rank and file workers, and with- ceed in settling the host of seri- demand for a union shop. (The them hard enough and you will held also by the Kremlin. Great tariat.

minds run in the same gutter, The periodical fumes over the reads a French proverb." Once however they are in ac- quired to join the union within a fact that I wholeheartedly and Let us grant that the separaweaken the U.S.S.R. What to do struggle for national and state then with the democratic prinindependence. "The separation of itancy, manage to hold together standards by joint committees doesn't embarass L. Trotsky at ibly retains within its boundaries Ukrainian nation. the union and force concessions has been whittled down by the all." Absolutely so! As regards some other nationality considers corporation. In its stead they Messrs. Democrats, they are not that the separation of the latter But workers must be aware of place an ambiguous proposal only embarassed but deeply would weaken the state in ecothe new political turn of the lined with yards of red tape: pro-Communist Party, and beware of duction standards are to be set separation of the Ukraine. The ler annexed the Czechs and semitheir attempts to provoke pre- by the corporation; in case of democratic urge of an oppressed annexed Slovakia precisely becomplaint they are investigated nationality to gain its complete cause this leads to the military strengthening of Germany.

committee; if satisfaction is not voted overwhelmingly for strike. obtained through this procedure Up to 5,000 workers have picketcrats of "Novava Rossia" follow-There is undoubtedly a conces- break once it gets under way. yield what it should gain before

(Continued from Page 1)

Barrechena attempts to pass as a Spaniard from Malaga, but visional Government brazenly re-In the yielding attitude of fails to conceal his Central Amerfused to extend to the Ukrain-Thomas, Frankensteen and the ican pronunciation. He had no ians not only independence—the other negotiators of the union, papers of any kind or personal Ukrainians did not demand this there is a great danger for the belongings. He had a Pan-Amerat that time as yet-but also mere autonomy. Messrs. Demo move on foot, initiated by gov- and a scribbled note listing the traders. They then took their dithe plant and resume work dur-agent of a group attempting to ing negotiations. These negotia- organize the assassination of rect and immediate point of departure the interests of the old Great Russian "masters" of the landlord, bourgeois and demo-

cratic type. Today they are tran-In a similar incident recently, slating the very same great and glorious tradition into the language of the emigres. From a much higher historical standpoint, namely from the plants to complete their 1940 pro-garden. While the secretary standpoint of the socialist revogram. Then the union can whis- checked over the telephone, Gen-

lution, it would be quite possible eral Mugica denying any knowlto subordinate for a certain per-There is no reason in the world edge of the man, the suspect fied for the UAW-CIO to be euchred before police could apprehend

Workers Stand Ready my article on the independence of question of how this revolution they came into conflict with one he Ukraine (printed in Socialist (the national Ukrainian revolu- another. But there is no sign ev-Appeal, May 9, 1939) is subjected tion) will be utilized by Hitler en of such a conflict. The Ukraine to a "criticism" of its own kind. for the realization of his plans is being strangled by the very From the standpoint of socialist, is not touched by Trotsky." The same Bonapartist reaction that scientific, literary, etc., criteria, gentlemen of "Novaya Rossia" strangles the whole of the U.S.-"Novaya Rossia" is of course of consider that "the separation of S.R. and undermines its capacity no interest at all. But it possess- the Ukraine will lead to the mili- for self-defense. The Ukrainian es this merit, that it enables one tary weakening of the U.S.S.R.," revolutionary movement aimed to peer into the heads of the and they come very close to the against the Bonapartist bureauc-Russian middle and petty bour- conclusion that Trotsky's politics racy is the direct ally of the ininconsiderate of the needs of the a political maneuver, will not suc- agreed to modify their original their original their bald of the the View bald also be the View ball also be the View bald also be the View ball also

The far-sighted democratic feudalists are very much concerned lest Hitler utilize some time in tion of the Ukraine does actually the future the national Ukrainian revolution. They close their eyes to the fact that Hitler already ciple of the self-determination of today is utilizing the suppression nations? Every state which forc- and the dismemberment of the

In contrast to Messrs. Demorats of the Menshevik and Narodnik variety, we do not at all proceed from the consideration that there is no beast more powerful than the cat. Hitler's strength in general, and in relation to the Ukraine in particular, Wherein does the criterion of our lies not in himself but in the democrats differ from the criterworthlessness and rottenness of ion of Hitler? As regards the nademocracy, in the decomposition tion or the Ukrainians, the demoof the Second and Third Internationals, in the vast wave of dising the not uncelebrated demoillusion, decline, and apathy among the masses. The triumphant revolutionary movement in large and in general" in all like-for Hitler. The national revolulihood a nation, but after all tionary Ukrainian movement is there are limits. In other words, if they are a nation, it is a sec-revolutionary wave which is now an integral part of the mighty ond-class one inasmuch as the being molecularly prepared unfate of the Ukraine must be de-derneath the crust of triumphant termined by the interests of reaction. That is why we say: Russia, i.e., the Great Russian Long Live Independent Soviet majority. And this is precisely Ukraine! the viewpoint of the chauvinistic August 5, 1939

feudalists. In the sad and sorry days of the February revolution, the Pro-

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iod of time the national interests

And now the corporation is the strike ever gets in motion. Roosevelt and lend aid to the Hit- the crucial fight to maintain un- signed instead of separate agree- TRIES TO ENTER a pretext a technicality in the TROTSKY HOME

This two-faced scoundrel was no more thinking of Negroes' welfare than in the days when he was trying to shepherd them into the "democratic" front and send them fighting against Hitler on behalf NEW YORK PARTY of the Moscow bureaucrats. PREPARES BANG-UP

A Judas Re-Born

CLIMAX TO DRIVE There have been many Judases in the world, since the first and (Continued from Page 1) most famous one. Negroes have produced their fair share. But of all

the criminal specimens on that dirty list, you will have to search must fight side by side with the far before you meet one like Ford, a Negro, brought up in the South, Young Peoples Socialist League knowing what his people suffer. And yet in August 1939, this traitor for:

A peoples vote before war can is telling Negroes to fight for "democracy" and in September he's telling them to keep America out of war. And all the time he's using be declared. A lowering of the voting age to

them to serve the interests of the Moscow murderers of revolutionaries and organizers of frame-up trials. But F.D.R., as the Stalinists so lovingly used to call him, and

18 years to permit the youth, who will be called upon to fight in war, to vote on war.

Murphy allowed Ford and Browder plenty of "democracy" so long For youth WPA projects inas the supported American imperialism. But the moment they start stead of NYA handouts, and the talking about imperialist war on both sides and impeding F.D.R.'s transference of the two billion mobilization for America's imperialist war against Hitler, then they dollar war budget to provide get a real test of the "democracy" which for the last five years they youth with jobs and a chance to so powerfully supported. Franklin jails his old friend Earl. ive, instead of guns and death."

Negroes! Put not your trust in princes, neither in F.D.R., nor in Support Teachers' Demands F.D.R.'s "democracy", nor in anything else except the organized In answer to the questionnaire force of the working class movement, black and white. And the of the Joint Committee of Teach-Negroes should feed with a very long spoon a political party that ers Organizations, comprising between 1935 and 1939 spent its time telling them to trust in 40,000 New York school teach-F.D.R.'s "democracy". ers, Shachtman and Paine de-

The Negroes must beware of the Stalinists when they come nounced all attempts to cut the whining that Browder has been made a martyr on account of his school budget and called upon struggle against imperialist war. If Browder is a martyr, he's a the teachers to rally against any martyr to his own crooked support of Roosevelt's "democracy" dur- attempt to cut their salaries. ing the last five years. If Browder is a martyr, he's a martyr to In reply to the City Affairs Hitler's war, which he's trying to win for the sake of Hitler's ally, Committee and the League of Stalin. If Browder is a martyr, he's a martyr for the sake of Stalin's Women Voters, both candidates bloated bureaucracy. But that slick double-crosser is certainly no stated their support of the plan martyr for the revolutionary workers and their struggle for sofor County Re-organization as a step toward ridding the city of cialism.

So when Ford comes around putting across his sorrowful tale petty grafters and corrupt sineabout Browder suffering for "democratic rights" and as an anti-war cures, many of whom thrive on fighter, the Negroes will tell him to go and tell that tale in Moscow. what they extort from the poor. All workers will oppose Roosevelt's interfering with the working Shachtman and Paine endorsed class movement on any pretext whatever. But that does not in any the fight against the Lyons Resiway mean that we shall cease to expose Ford, Browder, Stalin and dence Bill, which, they stated, discriminates against many all their works.

And at the same time also let us, as vigilant revolutionary work- workers of long service in the vaers, not be taken in by the "democracy" fakers, with their ballyhod rious city departments.

about agents of a foreign power. Negroes and white workers will Initiating the windup to the not lose two winks of sleep about foreign powers, except in so far campaign will be two outdoor as we can help the workers in a foreign country to overthrow that mass rallies this Saturday eveforeign power. We know only two powers-the imperialists on the ning at which both candidates one hand, and the workers, farmers and oppressed colonials on the will speak.

other. Franklin, who jails his old friend Earl, belongs to one camp. In the Bronx, candidate Max Many of Earl's followers belong to our camp, and that is why we Shachtman, George Clarke and protest when Franklin jails his old pal, Earl. But we have to make others will feature the mass ralit very clear that our protest on behalf of Browder is in reality on ly at Tremont and Prospect Avebehalf of his misguided followers and the rights of the workers as nues.

a whole. That protest doesn't in any way make us mitigate, but In Manhattan, candidate Paine leads us rather to intensify our denunciation of his corrupt and will speak between Lexington and Third Avenues on 86th St. poisonous politics.

Let the People Vote on War!

service of the enemy.

nder squeeze of the competition. On the other hand, Chrysler stant guard precautions within under squeeze of the competition. out of the way. The need for conworkers are more than ready to the household has been reinforced fight. Every Chrysler local has by this latest incident.

THE MARXIST SCHOOL

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Yours for a SIX-HOUR DAY, THIRTY-HOUR WEEK.

IKE WOODWARD, Chairman Educational Committee, Local Union No. 3. International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. 130 E. 25th St., N.Y.C.

SOCIALIST APPEAL

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 31, 1939

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FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY FOR:

- 1. A job and a decent living for every worker.
- 2. Open the idle factories—operate them under workers' control.
- 3. A Twenty-Billion dollar Federal public works and housing program.
- 4. Thirty-thirty! \$30-weekly minimum wage-30-hour weekly maximum for all workers on all jobs.
- 5. Thirty dollar weekly old-age and disability pension

6. Expropriate the Sixty Families.

- 7. All war funds to the unemployed.
- 8. A people's referendum on any and all wars.
- 9. No secret diplomacy.
- 10. An independent Labor Party. Workers' Defense Guards against vigilante
- and Fascist attacks.
- 12. Full social, political and economic equality for the Negro people.

Trotsky In Danger

Elsewhere in this issue we report the details of the latest attempt against Trotsky. The vigilance of those guarding Trotsky in his household succeeded in thwarting the attempt as soon as it began.

But let us not delude ourselves: Trotsky is in grave personal danger. Not only is he in danger from the Stalinist GPU assassins, but also from Stalin's allies, the Nazi gangsters; and from the "democrats" who, as the war deepens and is prolonged, fear more and more the spectre of the ending of the war by revolution. To both the camps of Hitler-Stalin and Chamberlain-Roosevelt, Trotsky represents the revolution which they would destroy.

Trotsky's comrades and friends are taking all the precautions that are humanly possible within their means. Particularly, guard precautions have been increased within the household.

The Fourth International does not intend that Trotsky, who represents the direct line of Marxism, shall suffer the fate handed out to the old

ALP. The Stalinists have few unions; the neighborhood clubs they control mean nothing in the basic structure of a Labor Party.

Programmatically, we fight equally against both war-camps: against the "democratic" as much as against the Hitler-Stalin camp. We ask the workers to support our program in this election by giving first preference on their ballots to our candidates. But we also ask them to vote for the official candidates of the American Labor Party in order to speed the day when the workers will break away from the capitalist parties.

Within the ALP we ask the workers, in the voting on the ALP pro-war resolution, to vote neither with the Stalinists nor with their opponents. A vote for either side is a vote for a camp of war-mongers. Within the ALP, as everywhere in the working class, we work for the formation of a *third camp*: the camp of revolutionary struggle against both warring camps.

Courting Stalin

Winston Churchill's statement on Oct. 1 that Stalin's invasion of Poland "was clearly necessary for the safety of Russia" received the guarded approval of Prime Minister Chamberlain on Oct. 26; the same day Viscount Halifax, British Foreign Secretary, stated "It is worth recalling that the action of the Soviet Government has been to advance the Russian boundary substantially to that recommended at the time of the Versailles conference by Lord Curzon."

In short, after a month of great moral indignation, the Anglo-French camp has decided to put a good face on Stalin's annexations.

All that this new development tells us is that the Anglo-French camp has not given up hope of wooing Stalin away from Hitler. It tells us nothing new about Stalin's invasion.

We did not join the Anglo-French imperialists in their self-righteous and hypocritical denunciations of the invasion. We do not join them now in their whitewash of the invasion. A month ago and today, our judgment of the invasion remains the same.

We criticised the invasion from the standpoint of the international working class. That standpoint has nothing in common with that of either warring camp, or their Social-Democratic or Stalinist agents. We repudiated with contempt the Social-Democratic call for defense (in "democratic" uniforms) of "poor little Poland." We repudiated with contempt the Stalinist alibi that Stalin was "liberating" the occupied territories; we said that the nationalization of industry and the land by the Soviet bureaucracy in the occupied territories was being carried out, for one reason only: that the Soviet bureaucracy did not desire to share the power with the Polish capitalists and landlords. We called upon the workers in the occupied territories to take advantage of the new situation, by taking the lead in destroying the old regime, organizing factory and peasant committees and preparing to carry through, jointly with the workers of the Soviet Union, of which they are now a part, the overthrow of



What the Nazi Press Says About The Stalin-Hitler War Alliance

(Concluded from Last Issue) |program of the Bolshevik Party many rests in the main upon a The significance of the collapse . . not a single plank has been convulsive terror.

of the Comintern is summarized fulfilled in the Soviet Union" and as follows by the Nazis. (All "there can be no question of Bolquotes are from the Deutsche shevism in the Soviet Union." Zeitung von Mexico, Sept. 12, 19 HAVE NO ILLUSIONS and 28.)

ABOUT STALINISM "This complete ideological and The Nazis are also acquainted rganizational disintegration of the Comintern has not failed to with the arguments which have affect in turn the inner political lately been brought forth by the bewildered Stalinists and People's levelopments in the Soviet Un-Fronters, namely that "this pact on." After Bolshevik Russia found out that it had no revoluis only a bluff on the part of Sotionary support in the other viet Russia . . . in order to facilicountries, "the responsible states- tate the organization of the Bolmen in the Soviet Union were shevik revolution in Germany." left with no other alternative In Germany there is a different conception: "Such an interpretathan that of liquidating Bolshevtion . . . is based only upon disism in their own country too." The Nazi organ has no doubt trust as to the inner-political stability of Germany, and can only that the liquidation of Bolshevism inside Russia has been con- be explained by the fact that the cluded for some time: Bolshevism sponsors of such views leave out neans the erection of a Socialist of consideration the tremendous order of society; Socialism, how- political and economic changes ever, means the removal, i.e., the which have taken place in the withering away of the State. The Soviet Union in the last few

label "Socialist State" which the The Nazis on the other hand, Stalinist bureaucracy have past- who take completely into account ed on; they prefer to stick to the the tremendous political and eco- the same time discredits Stalin facts "The State and all its institu- about in the Soviet Union in the es who up to recently have looked tions such as the standing army, last few years, finally come out police, etc., had not been destroy- with the following contention: ed; on the contrary the Soviet Russian Army and Police are two Germany can live in undisturbed masses of their Socialist hopes, very important factors in the friendship with a National Bol- but he will only free them of power of the State. And in order shevik Russia which has given up their last illusion about Stalinthat no illusion shall remain on the ideas of world revolution, has ism. The Pact may have caused the score that the Red Army has no territorial claims on Germany, temporary confusion and depreslong ago ceased to be an instru- and which fights together with sion in Germany but Hitler will ment of the Comintern and the Germany for the destruction of not gain new. confidence even banner bearer of the world revo- the Versailles Diktat." lution the following words have If the Hitler press has no illu- ainst Hitler, the German masses been deleted from the oath of the sion about the true substance of are now turning at the same Red Army at the beginning of the Stalinism, it does have very time against Stalin and his clique. current year: 'I pledge myself to many illusions regarding the "in- The "undisturbed friendship" of fight for the cause of Socialism ner-political stability of Ger- Hitler and Stalin is approaching and for the brotherhood of the many" and the "undisturbed a hard test. The collapse of the nations.' The Red Army fights on friendship" with Russia. The in- one will most certainly carry the the battlefields of Poland not for ner-political "stability" of Ger- other along with it. the world revolution but, just like the German Army, to rectify an injustice, against British and rench imperialism and for a greater Russia. Phenomenal Sale — One week only SEE NOT A TRACE OF BOLSHEVISM "The workers, peasants and OLD STOCK MUST GO! oldiers councils which are suposed to form the actual ground work of the Soviet system, have 20% off on all books in the Labor Bookshop been successfully eliminated for 15 years and in 1937 they were Here is a partial list of the buys: finally liquidated with the re-in-LEON TROTSKY troduction of Soviet foreign in-History of the Russian Revolution (3.00) 2.39 terest. LEON TROTSKY -"Nor has the officialdom been Third International after Lenin . 75 (1.50)bolshed in the Soviet Union. Of-LEON TROTSKY ficials are not elected by the workers, as the Bolshevik pro-Stalin School of Falsification (2.50)1.00 gram calls for, but are appointed DANIEL GUERIN by superior bodies of the State. **Fascism and Big Business** 1.00 (1.00)They receive not the pay of the LEON TROTSKY --worker, as Socialism propagates, Whither England 1.60 (2.00)out have on the contrary, the LEON TROTSKY very same and even greater priv-In Defense of Terrorism (1.50)1.20 ileges than the officialdom in old V. I. LENIN — Czarist Russia. "Cast distinction and cast con-Collected Works (8 Vol.) (5.95) 5.50Reduction in pamphlets of Modern Age, Penguin, Fact,

and others

Hitler and his retainers are today engaged in exploiting the pact with Stalin in the face of the dissatisfied German masses who were opposed to war: if Rus-

sia itself, they plead stands on cur side, then de we not fight for a just cause? Thus the pact with Stalin serves them to justify the plans of German imperialism and to infuse in the German masses confidence in the fascist warnongers. In reality, however, the upport which the Hitler dictaorship finds in Stalin is of very questionable value. Just as the German masses have come to understand the genuine essence of Hitler's "National Socialism," so they will also lose their illusions regarding Stailn's "National Bolshevism.

MASSES DO NOT TRUST EITHER OF ITS "FRIENDS"

By ordering his scriveners to Nazis are not deceived by the years." describe Stalin as a trustworthy partner who has liquidated Bol shevism and Socialism, Hitler at nomic changes which have come in the eyes of the German masswith hope to Moscow and secretly listened in to the Moscow broad-"Even a National Socialist casts. Hitler intends to cure the with Stalin's help. In turning ag-

Will Stalinist Regime Add to Its Conquests?

By SHERMAN STANLEY

The uppermost question in the minds of imperialist diplomats today is, "What next from Stalin and his regime"? Is it possible for Stalin-already deeply enmeshed in his alliance with Hitlerism-to withdraw? Or must he continue along the path of conquest and enslavement upon which he has set out? Stalin and his bureaucratic cohorts have raised to their lips the bottle containing the heady wine of conquest and expansion, pressed from fruits gathered by their plunderers. The first drops have tasted sweet and have gone down smoothly. Will Stalin now give an additional tilt to the bottle so as to increase the flow?

Let us summarize what has been done by the ruling Kremlin powers to date. They have conquered Eastern Poland (Byelo Russia and the Polish Ukraine) and established their undisputed rule over this large area. Estonia has been made a military "protectorate", with such conditions that its whole national structure is, in effect, ruled by Russia. With this arrangement there has come sea control over the North Baltic (Gulf of Finland) and military positions that make the capitulation of Finland inevitable before the threats of the Kremlin rulers.

Latvia and Lithuania are meekly following behind Estonia and are likewise foredoomed to become "protectorates"-thus giving control of the entire Baltic Sea over to Stalin. Bessarabia-a totally undefended section of the tottering Rumanian state-can be plucked by the Kremlin's hand at a moment's notice. Rumania is eventually to be parcelled between Fascist Germany and the Soviet Union. Thus, a transportation route running from Georgia and the Caucasus, via the Black Sea and Rumania, has been cleared. Over this route will flow a part of the raw materials bound for Hitler's troops.

As to the fate of Turkey and the Balkan nations, while this question has been postponed for the time being by the signing of the Anglo-French-Turkish Pact, it is nevertheless more likely that the German-Russian alliance will be more potent. The door has been left open for this eventuality by an "escape" clause in the Pact which categorically states that under no circumstances will Turkey fight against Russia.

The great strategic value and importance represented by the Dardanelles and Bosporus-as proven by the great campaign waged for control of the Straits and the Gallipoli penninsula in the last world war-make it vitally necessary for Stalin to attempt to hold Turkey in line. This fact, combined with the traditional policy of German imperialism-the drive to the East-will tend to dominate the fate of the

Not a March for Liberation

Already there are reports that indicate the rapid approach of events in the Near and Far East which will have the utmost significance for the oppressed colonial peoples of Asia. These reports indicate the intention of the Stalinist bureaucratic gang to embark on a program of expansion southward and eastward.

Fulfilling his current role as a supporter and agent of German imperialism, Stalin may—at the command of his present master-be instructed to strike vital blows at British imperialism in its territories that extend from Iraq on the West to distant Burma on the East.

These lands are now the prize possessions of the badly shaken British Empire. They include Iraq, Iran (Persia), Afghanistan, British and Native India, Nepal, Tibet, and Burma. Within its vast confines live hundreds of millions of colonial slaves-workers and peasants-who have suffered long years under the harsh rule of "democratic" British imperialism. These people-representing almost one-fourth of humanity (500,000,000!) have been swept by tidal waves of revolutionary nationalist sentiment for liberation from imperialist rule. The people of these British colonies desire-above. all --- their national independence. Right now their lives are spent as colonial slaves working in the interests of the hated British slave-masters. The oil fields of Iran, the produce of the "Fertile Crescent" of Mesopotamia (Iraq), the mineral and industrial wealth of India- all of these are exploited by the British imperialists. But Stalin would not come down among these people as a "liberator" or a revolutionary enemy of British rule. If Stalin should march south into the Persian oil fields; if he should attempt to overrun Afghanistan as a route into the Punjab, the most fertile and developed agricultural area of India; if he should conceive of a double invasion of India by way of Afghanistan from the West, Sinkiang and Tibet from the East; then we must openly state that he comes as an enslaver of the colonial peoples-not as their "emancipator"

Bolsheviks by Stalin.

American Labor Party

In the New York City councilmanic elections, we are asking the workers in the Bronx and Manhattan to give first place on their ballots to Max Shachtman (Bronx) and George Lyman Paine (Manhattan), the candidates of the antiwar party, the Socialist Workers Party. For all other councilmanic and other posts, we ask the workers of New York to vote for the candidates of the American Labor Party.

Our support of the ALP candidates, now as in other elections, is not based on any agreement with their program. It would be more correct to say that we support them in spite of their program. The ALP program has always been an opportunist one, a patchwork of petty-bourgeois proposals, tinged here and there with a trade union coloration. The ALP's pro-war resolution of Oct. 4, which we have analyzed and condemned in a series of articles, merely continues the opportunist course of the ALP. Peace-time opportunism is the fountain-head of war-time chauvinism.

Why, then, do we call upon the workers to vote for the ALP candidates? Because the ALP is the organized expression on the political field of a major group of trade unions. We want to see the trade unions and other workers' organizations organize their own party, a Labor Party, independent of and opposed to the capitalist parties, and within the arena of the Labor Party a struggle of programs for the working class can be carried on far more concertedly than today.

The bigger the vote for the ALP, the more would the workers be encouraged to insist that their unions join in the formation of a nationwide Labor Party.

A Labor Party, to have any meaning, must be based on the trade unions. That is why, in the present fight between the pro - Ally and pro -Hitler-Stalin camps in the ALP, we recognize the pro-Ally camp-the leadership of the needle trades unions-as the official representatives of the ALP. They have with them the overwhelming majority of the trade unions affiliated to the the Stalinist bureaucracy. We still stand on that position, Messrs. Cham-

berlain and Halifax and Stalin to the contrary.

Why Catalonia Fell

In the early spring of this year, we now know, Hitler prepared his anti-Polish military campaign; the first negotiations between Hitler and Stalin in this connection began then.

In the early spring of this year, the Stalinistdominated Negrin government was still in power in Loyalist Spain. Suddenly, its defenses in Catalonia collapsed. The chief stronghold of the Loyalists, Barcelona, fell without a fight. Within a few days all of Catalonia was in the hands of Franco. When the outright capitulationists, led by Miaja and Casado, moved to take control and make peace with Franco, the Stalinist leaders offered no resistance; they flew to safety abroad, leaving the masses to Franco's mercy.

Was it a coincidence that, as Stalin was coming to terms with Hitler, Stalin's hirelings were abandoning the fight against fascism in Spain? We did not then know the facts about the secret agreement with Hitler, although we then predicted a pact between them. But even then we were able accurately to characterize Stalin's role in Spain: a deliberate betrayal of the Spanish working class.

The Stalinists indignantly denied it then. But now?

Heywood Bround, columnist and president of the American Newspaper Guild, denied he is, or ever has been, a member of the Communist party. Gad! Think of the dues he's cheated that party out of!

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flicts have not been abolished in the Soviet Union. They are perhaps not greater, but in no case smaller than in other countries.' The Nazi paper substantiates this contention by taking up wage policy in the Soviet Union and concludes :"We have here differences in income from 3,000 up to 300,000 rubles." And after all these facts have been enumerated we get this reassuring balance sheet: "Of the

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Colonials Will Reject Stalinism

The key answer to this complex problem lies in the overwhelming desire of these colonial people for their real, genuine freedom and national independence. Although the forms and methods of conquest and oppression of Stalin may vary greatly from those of British imperialism, nevertheless the entire nationalist and colonial revolutionary movement will instinctively reject and oppose any moves of Stalinism in their direction.

If reports continue to come through of the massing of Red Army troops in Sinkiang, of border violations in northern Afghanistan, of Nazi and Stalinist agents at work among the colonial peoples in attempts to deceive them and misuse their more than justified hatred of "democratic" British enslavement, then we shall return to what may become a burning question for the revolutionary colonial movement.

For the masses of the countries involved in these events there is only one slogan that strikes to the root of their desires: Neither British imperialism, nor enslavement by the Stalinist bureaucracy. National independence and the right to work out their own revolutionary and socialist destiny!

It took the Stalin regime three months to intervene in the Spanish revolutionary events, with results that everyone is acquainted with.

Now with the beginning of activity on the part of the 375,000,000 people of India in a drive to gain their independence from British tyranny, the Kremlin masters are already casting an anxious eye in the direction of India. They are already laying the basis for their counter-revolutionary intervention through the pseudo-revolutionary activities of the Indian Stalinists and GPU agents! Stalin stands in unholy fear of a colonial revolution in India. Such a revolution would knock at the very doors of the Kremlin and threaten the ruling caste with immediate overthrow.