# This Is Not Our War! Down with the War!

## Appeal Begins to **Publish** 3-a-Week

ber of workers with our antiwar message. Outdoor rallies

and indoor meetings, tireless

agitation in the factories and

schools and neighborhoods and above all, increasing the circulation of the party press.

The three-times-a-week So cialist Appeal is an experiment, for a period of one

National Committee

N.Y. Party

Into Anti-

**Swings** 

rally later on.

ing the war.

ard, Abe Miller.

Sylvia Bleecker.

as for the circulation of tens of

thousands of leaflets denounc-

the following localities so far:

Needle Trades

33rd St. Speakers: Alex How-

Astoria

at Workmen's Circle Hall, 29

31,31st Ave. Speakers: George

Boro Park

St. Speaker: Sherman Stanley.

Lower East Side

ton St. Speakers: Sam Gordon

Brownsville

Palestine Hall, 1731 Pitkin Ave.

Downtown

announced later in the week.

Friday, Sept. 8, at 8 P.M. La

Speaker: Nathan Gould.

10w, John G. Wright.

Friday, Sept. 8, at 8 P.M.

Friday, Sept. 8, at 8 P.M.

Lyman Paine, Robert Stiler.

Thursday, Sept. 7, at 9 P.M.

Thursday, Sept. 7, at 6 P.M.

Mass meetings scheduled by

bulation.

APPEAL!

# Socialist Appeal

LET THE PEOPLE VOTE ON WAR

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

VOL. III. No. 66

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 6, 1939

# Beginning with this issue, the Socialist Appeal will appear three times a week, and more frequently if necessary. The war situation dictates as rapid an expansion of our work as is humanly possible. A party of agitation—that is the goal laid down by our recent convention. We must reach the widest possible number of the wides reach the widest possible num-

"That's What Wilson Said"

# War Briefs

"All news from Europe is subject to censorship"-for the first few days of the war this warning notice is being carried by month. At the end of that time, if increased income and the press. Nobody needs the notice. Every line of "news" cardistribution justify it, the So- ried cries out that truth has been bound and gagged for the cialist Appeal will continue to duration of the war.

appear at least three times a week. But only if the results of the experiment demonstrate

How many workers, despite all the propaganda to line them up, have spoken out in all countries against the war? What Liebknechts have risen to denounce the lies of the war-mongers? of the experiment demonstrate What is happening in the colonies, among the oppressed peoples that the party branches are —in India, Ceylon, Algiers, Syria, the Malay states, among the prepared to assure the neces-black men, brown men, yellow men, ruled by the colonial fuen-rers of England and France? How many anti-war fighters have sary increased costs and cir- been imprisoned—or executed? The veil of censorship, as yet impenetrable, is drawn across the living stage. Only the staged Forward to the DAILY tableaus of the imperialist rulers and their lying communiquesonly these are permitted us. The "democratic" censorship of England and France is as opaque as that of Hitler.

#### Workers Will Pierce Censorship Socialist Workers Party

In the first, overwhelming days of the war, the censorship is supreme. As supreme as the riflers. But the last war toppled a score of thrones; and long before that, the vell of censorship had been pierced. It will be pierced by the revolutionary workers everywhere—and more quickly than in 1914-1918!

God and his ministers, unceremoniously relegated to the background during the diplomatic struggles of the last few months, came into their own again once the war started.

The emissaries of the Vatican, neglected and unheeded during the diplomatic tussles, when they vainly sought to secure consideration for one after another formula offered by the Pope, War Action were warmly received by the various Chancelleries after the war started. Now the churches had work to do.

In each country the priests and ministers offered prayers that rould be upheld by the Lord. the just cause of their country Hitler made a rather awkward, and certainly unaccustomed,

prayer but a rather realistic one, that "the Lord God, who al-With the outbreak of war in ways has given His grace to him who was determined to help Europe and the increasing danger of an early American entry, himself, will also stand by us." Local New York of the Socialist All public buildings-movies, theaters, etc.-closed in London

by government order. "Only the churches have held their cus-Workers Party (Fourth Intertomary services." Keeping the churches open was deemed, it national) has launched an incity's workers to vigilance seems, a war-time necessity. The Archbishop of Canterbury against the war-mongers in the opened the church campaign before the war broke out: "It is no United States. Meetings in all question of our own interests that is directly involved (in this parts of the city have been war). It is a moral issue on which the future welfare of the world depends." No wonder the churches were exempted from scheduled for this week in preparation for a large, city-wide the closing order.

Moscow dispatches report that an undisclosed number of re-All leaves of party members and Yipsels have been can-serves were ordered to register immediately in case they are celed to meet the emergency. needed. It has also been reported that service was suspended All forces have been mobilized on eight principal domestic airlines. The suspension was preto intensify distribution of the sumed to have been ordered to enable the commercial planes to Socialist Appeal, now appear- fly troops to any border point where they might be needed. Is Stalin getting ready for another "blow for peace"? ing three times a week; as well

### Let Them All Play With Pins

"Methodically and with the precision of one long versed in warthe City Executive Committee for Thursday and Friday to fare", reports a special correspondent to the New York Times, "the bent form of the German Kaiser-once the 'All Highest broadcast the truth about the of the German Empire-placed little colored pins on a map to Second World War and the indicate the positions of the opposing armies in Poland, their meaning of the Stalin-Hitler advances and retreats, the various towns bombarded and the pact have been arranged for

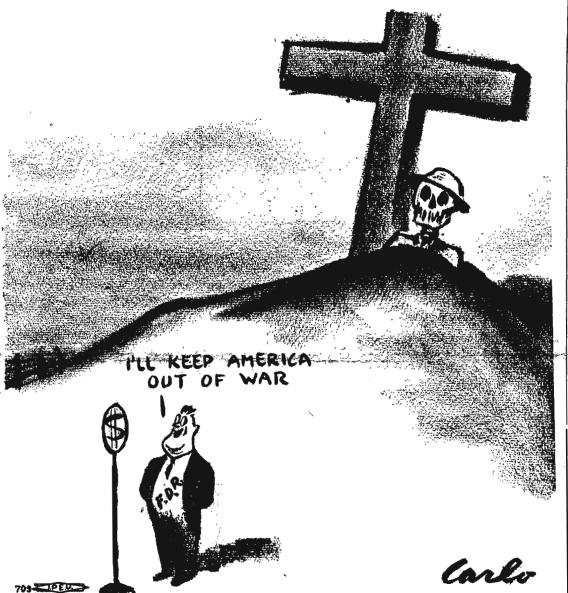
objectives falling to the German armies." Speed the day when Hitler, Chamberlain, Daladier and every other member of the ruling classes will be reduced to impotent play with paper maps and little colored pins! at Cultural Center, 125 West

The government of Australia, New Zealand and Canada an nounced their entry into the war, and the world was thereby given to believe that the peoples of the British Empire had signified their assent. But only the tiny section of "whites" were in any sense consulted, about one in thirteen of the 550 million people in the British Empire. The other twelve (375 millions in India alone) were no more consulted than Hitler consulted the German people. The same "democratic" method was employed Thursday, Sept. 7, at 9 P.M. Branch Headquarters, 1601 42nd in the French Empire.

"This is no war for domination or imperial aggrandizement for material gains, it is not a war to shut any country out of its Great Central Palace, 90 Clin-

sunlight and the means of progress. "Perhaps it may seem a paradox that war should be undertaken in the name of liberty and that right should require . . surrender for the time being to the executive our most valued and George Lyman Paine on order to take full advantage of their money-raising efforts durtraditional liberties. We are sure that these liberties will be in the official ballot in the coming the possibilities that an election ing the two weeks before Sephands which will not abuse them, which will use them for no class or property interest.'

Who said that? The man who cold-bloodedly starved the York, Socialist Workers Party every one of which is partici-German people, gave rickets to (those who survived) a whole pointed to that step as the im- pating in the current wave of generation of German youth after the war was over, continuing mediate task in the concrete war-mongering, we must put bor Temple, 14th St. and Secthe British blockade to make sure that the German revolution application of the party's anti-forward our election program ment. ond Ave. Speakers: Felix Morwas crushed. The man who drew so tight a blockade around war program in this city. Additional meetings will be 'Red Russia'' in the post war years (in an undeclared war that was finally stopped by the British workers with the threat of candidate for Councilman in the coming pre - election period. and readers of the Appeal are general strike) that operations had to be made without anesthe- Bronx and Paine is its standard Sympathizers of the party urged to aid in getting the larg- tics and famine swept away millions. The man who was Clemest possible turnout for these enceau's strongest ally in writing a vengeful peace—Winston Churchill, now First Lord of the British Admiralty as in 1914. of our candidates on the official



# Says "I Hate War" But Acts To Enter War

· War Deal Jumps the Legal Hurdles to Make The Treasury of the United States Available To the British, French War Needs

"I have said not once but many times that I have seen war and that I hate war. I say that again and again. I hope the United States will keep out of this war. I believe that it will. And I give you assurances that every effort of your government will be directed towards that end."

Thus Franklin D. Roosevelt concluded his radio speech to the American people on Sunday, September 3, the day that England declared war on Germany.

The President of the United States was not telling the truth, to put it mildly. Two days earlier, he had taken the first big step towards dragging the country into the European slaughter.

On September 1, after a conference at the White House, Jesse Jones, Federal Lending Administrator, announced that "the Export-Import Bank is in a position to finance American exports of surplus commodities to Europe, and the Reconstruction Finance Corporation has plenty of unused credit to finance industrial production in this country should the occasion arise for it as a result of the war emer-

Funds Do Not Keep Pace

# With Agitation in S.W.P. Anti-War Drive

By HAL DRAPER

Secretary, Campaign Committee The total receipts on the Anti-War Fund drive now stand at intent of this law, solemnly

That used to be considered a good bit of money. Now it is drop in the bucket.

to begin with. While the non-6 financial aspects of the War nent three-a-week or four-a- in his cheek or not—is unmis-Referendum Campaign have week Appeal means to our takably to cut off France and shown good results for all the mass work at this moment; sections of the Party which

seriously went into campaign which are necessary when the credit. work, THE BRANCHES HAVE world is at war and the war-THE FUND QUOTAS.

Funds Are Vital Our meetings are larger than against war by America falls ever; the regular press run of on us, the anti-war party of the the Socialist Appeal is now at Fourth International. the highest point in its history; the petition drive will easily go over the top by the date set; new thousands of workers, who have never listened to us before, have been attracted by our drive to take the war-making power away from Congress and to let the people vote on

war---But the anti-war chest of the Party is empty.

We know that many branches tember 15. But if even this is going to pull us through, the comrades in the branches have to realize what the fund drive means to the Party at this mo-

Great Burden

Make up your list of pamphlets and leaflets which you want to see us put out; reckon up the sections of the country where organizers are urgently needed; think of what a perma-

We set the goal of \$5000 by September 15. That was modest consider all the special steps

NOT COME THROUGH ON makers in the United States are tugging at the leash—and that Sacrifice now for the move-

ment and for the anti-war struggle, before the rulers call upon you to sacrifice for them. Rush every available dollar to (Continued on Page 3)

#### 'Coincidence''

"Professor Mamlock," the anti-Nazi film produced in the Soviet Union, and played continuously at the Soviet Pavilion at the World's Fair, was withdrawn from the Soviet Pavilion program two days after the Hitler-Stalin pact was signed.

Pavilion officials said it "was just a coincidence."

#### Violates Present Laws

Jones' statement was in flat violation of the Johnson Act which forbids the extension of Government credit to foreign governments which are in default on their obligations to the United States. France and England have not paid up on their war debts for several years. The plain and obvious passed by Congress and solemnly signed by the President —the news pictures `don't show whether his tongue was England from all Federal

All this is true, but to the realpolitikers of the War Deal, the burden of the struggle the Johnson Act, like the Neutrality Act, is merely one more legal hurdle, to be jumped over and crawled under as seems most convenient. There is no lack of legal talent in Washington. Although both the R.F.C. and the Export-Import Bank are official governmental agencies which can draw on the billions of dollars in the U.S. Treasury for their operations, they are set up as quasi - private corporations. Furthermore, they don't deal directly with foreign governments, but only with the industrialists and exporters who sell to such governments. Legalistic hair - splitting, of course, but sufficient for the purposes of the War Deal.

> Opens the Treasury Legalisms aside, the point is that the War Deal has already (Continued on Page 3)

#### ment to the State Department in Washington that his villa in a Warsaw suburb had been bombed "deliberately." (He had just moved in.) Why the Germans want to bomb a U. S. ambassador, the scion of a long line of bankers, he

on us to repeat our performance.'

of Morgan's client.

hadn't yet, but-

did not say.

# Party Asks Friends to Help Put Shachtman, Paine on N. Y. Ballot

Repeating an Old Performance

J. P. Morgan arrived home from England Monday,

ready "to repeat our performance" of 1914-1917 when, as

American agents of the British Empire, his banking firm

successfully manipulated America into the war on the side

Asked if it were true that his firm was being retained

"It seems to me it would be a natural thing if they

One of the far-flung agents of J. P. Morgan immediate-

again by Britain. Morgan told newspapermen that he

wanted an American representative that they would call

ly went to bat-Anthony J. Drexel Biddle, Jr., of the Phila-

dephia Drexels and Biddles and of Drexel & Co., Philadel-

phia affiliate of J. P. Morgan-and, incidentally, U. S. Am-

bassador to Poland. He declared in a well-publicised state-

Collection of 5,000 Signatures for Anti-War Candidates Is Concrete Step in the Fight Against the Capitalist War

Calling for an intensified ballot," a spokesman for the

bearer in Manhattan. 'We must assure the placing

drive to put Max Shachtman City Committee said today, "in have planned to concentrate Councilmanic Elections, the campaign offers for publicity. City Committee of Local New As against all the other parties, on every occasion and on every Shachtman is the S.W.P.'s platform in the course of the Point Number One in our program is the international fight against capitalist war.

# Behind the Stalin-Hitler Pact

What It Is and What It Isn't

(Continued from Last Issue)

#### A New Munich under the Stalin Imprint

Publicly, the Stalinist patriots from Moscow to New York and back again have shouted for a united military front of England, France and the Soviet Union against Germany and the Axis. Not with Germany, we repeat, but against her. They insisted that it was more than ever urgent, following the tragic Czechoslovakian experience, in order to save Poland. Now, as the clock starts striking the twelfth hour for Poland, Stalin declares publicly in Article IV of his pact with Hitler:

"Neither of the contracting parties will participate in any grouping of Powers which is either directly or indirectly aimed against the other party to this agreement."

Suppose Hitler invades Poland, and Poland then engages in armed, military struggle, either offensive or defensive, against Germany, Stalin has declared publicly and in advance in Article II of his pact with Hitler:

In the event that either of the contracting parties [Germany, for example—M.S.] should be subjected to military action on the part of a third power [Poland, for example -M.S.], the other contracting party [Russia, in that case will not lend that power [Poland] support in any

Read over again, in the light of this pact, Litvinov's quoted attack on the Chamberlain conception. "It recommends that conversations and negotiations be carried on with him" (that is, with the "aggressor"); "that he be assured that no collective action will be undertaken against him, and no groups or blocs formed against him-even though he himself enters into aggressive blocs with other aggressors . . . that the vital interests of one State be sacrificed to him; and that, if possible, no question of his activity be raised in the League of Nations."

Isn't that a perfect description of Stalin's Munich?

#### The Polish Masses Were Betrayed

Now we Trotskyists, like revolutionary socialists every where, never agreed with the chauvinistic campaign of the Stalinists for the "defense of Poor Little Poland." Their agitation meant, in reality, the commission of two crimes: the recruiting of cannon-fodder for one gang of imperial-Ist bandits (the slave-holding "democracies" of England and France) as against another, and the meek submission of the Polish workers, peasants and national minorities to the rule of the reactionary Polish autocracy. The primary and principal task of the Polish masses was and remains the overturn of the clique of Generals and Colonels who rule the land, who club down the workers, squeeze the peasants to the bone, keep the Ukrainian and other national minorities in an inferno of persecution and discrimination, and practice a vicious anti-Semitism which is second only to Hitler's. Counterparts of the ruling crew of "independent democrats" in Czechoslovakia last year, they are always prepared to sell their people into Nazi slavery if they can save their own precious skins or, better yet, if they are allowed to retain a little of their power and pelf under a Hitlerite "protectorate."

Yet, while we did not join in the Stalinist cattle-herding for war, we were not and are not indifferent to the fate of the Polish people or even of the Polish nation-and we mean the Polish nation, not the Polish Empire in which the old and upstart Polish aristocracy rules by military force over millions of people of other nationalities.

The hope for aid which the Polish masses threatened by Nazi subjection could rightfully and not vainly place in a revolutionary workers' government, if that existed in Russia today, was betrayed by the perfidious Bonapartist gang in the Kremlin when it capitulated to Hitler.

Stalin capitulated to Hitler? Exactly! And that brings us to the question of why Stalin felt obliged to sign the shameful pact.

#### It Is Necessary to Dispel some Illusions

The confusion and bewilderment created among people by the twists and turns of Soviet policy can most easily be eliminated if they first rid themselves of some very popular illusions and misconceptions which the Stalinist press have been particularly zealous in sowing. The first one is that the Stalin règime is strong and popular among the masses, and getting stronger every day, both in its domestic and its international position. How great an illusion this is will be seen after a few moments reflection.

Once before, a government of the Soviet republic was forced to capitulate to German imperialism. That was in 1918, when Lenin urged the signing of the Brest-Litovsk Treaty with the Kaiser's government, and finally did sign it. Russia was compelled to swallow the humiliating "peace" treaty, to surrender vast territories to the enemy, because it was terribly weak and in no position to continue the war. The young republic was beset by numerous and powerful reactionary foes, at home and abroad. The masses were exhausted after four years of a devastating war.

#### Acted Differently in Lenin's Day

But Lenin, who was an honest and upright revolutionist, did not attempt to deceive anyone. He did not call the defeat a victory for Russia or for peace; he did not call the capitulation a sign of Russian strength and power; he did not call upon the workers to acclaim the treaty. He said, We have won a breathing spell at a heavy cost. We will use it to strengthen our forces and the revolutionary forces abroad and when we are strong enough, the infamous treaty imposed upon us will be abrogated. Less than a year later, the thunderbolt of revolution struck the Kaiser's dynasty, and Soviet Russia kicked the foul treaty into the sewer where it belonged.

The Soviet republic, it may however be said, is much stronger today than it was in 1918. That is unquestionably true, in more than one sense. But the Stalin règime is much

The Lenin-Trotsky règime of 1917-1918 was then at the bottom of a rising curve in its history. It had a broad basis of enthusiastic mass support, which grew by leaps and bounds every month. It had the support abroad of a rapidly-increasing and very militant revolutionary movement. A year after the Bolshevik revolution, this règime faced a capitalist world in the throes of revolution, paralyzed, demoralized, disintegrating.

#### Masses Hate the Stalin Regime

The Stalin régime enjoys only the bitter hatred of the Soviet masses. Its basis continues to narrow every day. It has the support of the upper-crust bureaucrats, the bigshot factory managers, the aristocrats of labor, the rich farmers, the police and army officialdom; all of them put together amount to a small percentage of the population, and even among them there is a mounting hostility to the supreme Kremlin oligarchy. Abroad, the official communist parties are dead or dying, undermined ,disrupted or sent to their doom by the Stalin machine at the head of the Communist International. And the capitalist world, largely thanks to Stalinism's criminal policies, is far more sure of itself as it faces the working class in 1939 than it was in

In a word, scratch beneath the surface of the optimistic fairy tales told in the Stalinist press and you find that, under Stalin's rule, the Soviet Union is in an advanced state of degeneration. Stalin's clique is at once the product and the producer of this degeneration.

#### Stalin Has Piled up a Record of Defeats

Now we are in a position to deal with the question: Which of the two partners in the Stalinazi pact was the stronger, which is in the better position to gain from the pact?

It is a bitter truth for us to observe, but we must not refuse to see that in the past six years Hitler has not only consolidated but has vastly expanded his power. This was not accomplished because he is a genius, and he cannot continue indefinitely; but the fact of his successes cannot be ignored. He took power in Germany without meeting with the slightest resistance by the Social Democrats or the Stalinists (1933 marked Stalin's first capitulation to Hitler!). He denounced the Versailles Treaty limitations on German armaments in 1935, and nobody stopped him. He reintroduced conscription without opposition. He remilitarized the Rhineland and nobody stopped him. He won the Saar territory in a plebiscite. He succeeded in smashing to bits the whole labor and revolutionary movement. In March 1938 he annexed Austria without firing a shot. Six months later, Czechoslovakia was raked in. Another six months passed, and he took Memel, without a fight. He won his fight in Spain. By the time this appears, he may have Danzig and the Corridor, if not all of Poland.

Against this indubitable strengthening of the Nazi règime, Stalin has only defeats to record. He lost the German and Czechoslovakian Communist Parties-each with hundreds of thousands of members-in two Hitlerite blows. The Polish Communist Party he himself suppressed while he wooed the Polish Colonels. Ethiopia, despite Litvinov's tearful pleas to the League of Nations, fell to Mussolini, whose airplanes flew with Russian oil and whose soldiers fed on Russian wheat. His whole policy in Spain cracked up. Czechoslovakia, ditto. His policy in the Orient lost him the Chinese Eastern Railway and is ending with "ally" Chiang Kai-shek driven further and further into the interior. His big "Popular Front" in France breathed its last when it produced Daladier and Bonnet, voted into office by the Communist Party. The League of Nations, publicly blessed by Stalin himself as an obstacle to war, isn't even summoned to talk about the present crisis; and what would it say if it were summoned; and who would care what it did say? All of Stalin's foreign policies have proved bankrupt; all his foreign enterprises have suffered

#### Wages Civil War against the Masses

At home, his position is no better. The last six years in particular have seen Stalin's rule in a state of almost uninterrupted crisis, each convulsion more violent than the one before it. The overwhelming majority of the peoplethe simple people, the small people, the toiling peoplehate Stalin as bitterly as Czar Nicholas the Bloody was hated, and with just as good reason. How else explain the continual purges, the imprisonments, the exilings, the executions, the endless mass terror? What truly popular government has ever had to resort to anything like it outside a period of civil war? And that's exactly what Stalin is engaged in: a civil war of the bureaucratic caste against the masses of the people.

Stalin has wiped out the whole Old Guard of the Russian Revolution, except Trotsky who has been sought by more than one G.P.U. assassin's bullet. The prisons, the God-forsaken corners of exile, the vast concentration camps are chock-full of Stalin's victims. There are more political prisoners in some provinces of the country today than there were in the whole empire under the Czar. All the liberties won by labor's blood and rifle in the revolution, have been abolished by the bureaucracy. The worker is tied to his job and cannot shift to another job or another city without being granted permission, duly recorded in the internal passport he is compelled to carry. The disparity between the wages of the low-paid worker and the salaries of the upper crust is stupendous and on the rise. So is the disparity between the income and conditions of the poor peasants and the bosses of the "collective" farms. Science, art, and culture are prostituted to the power-interests of the narrowminded gang in power. Conditions in the non-Russian national republics—Ukrainian, Georgian, White Russian, Uzbekstan, etc.—are a replica of the relations that existed between the Czarist imperial Russians in Moscow and the national minorities at the periphery of the empire. The secret police (G.P.U.) and the army machine keep Stalin in power with the aid of jail-keys, pistols and

Stalin rules and can rule only by means of terror. As the country moves closer to the monstrosity which he misnames "socialism" the purges and the terror increase in intensity. Everywhere about him, Stalin sees plots and conspiracies, real and alleged, against his domination. The reign of terror during which millions, literally millions, have either been deported, imprisoned or murdered, is Stalin's own confession to immense unpopularity. The rule by terror means that Stalin and the bureaucracy he personifies, are themselves terrified. What do they fear? War! The fear of war, in this case as in so many others, is the fear of mobilization. The fear of mobilization is the fear of arming the masses of people. The fear of arming the masses is the fear of revolution.

#### Deserted Cause of Internationalism

The reasons behind the Stalinazi pact cannot be fully understood, however, unless the reader grasps the fundamental standpoint of the Kremlin régime, and grasps, further, the fact that it is in irreconcilable opposition to the fundamental standpoint of the original Lenin-Trotsky régime which Stalin and Co. finally succeeded in overthrowing in the course of a running fight that began as early as

Lenin, Trotsky and the real Bolshevik party led the masses to victory in 1917 on the basis of the proposition that the Russian Revolution was only one part of an international working-class revolution. The Bolshevik leaders repeated a thousand times to the Russian and world masses that Red Russia could not establish socialism by itself, with its own forces, and unaided by the triumphant workers of other, more advanced countries. This was not only in conformity with Marxian theory, but with modern world realities. Russia might hold out for a time, and even lay the foundations of socialism, but it could not keep going for a long period of time without help from revolutionary states in the other lands. As for achieving a classless socialist society, with security and plenty for all, that was out of the question entirely if revolutionary Russia remained isolated in a capitalist world.

In 1924, however, when the European revolutionary wave subsided for a while, Stalin coined the theory of "socialism in a single country." Russia, he argued, could establish socialism by itself provided only there was no armed intervention from abroad.

#### **Consequences Have Been Disastrous** Now this theory, while totally unsuited to the interests

of the Russian and international revolutions, was ideally suited to the interests of the growing Soviet bureaucracy. The officials—corrupted oldsters and upstart youngsters had lost all faith in the power of the world working class to free itself from capitalist misrule-at least not for another hundred years! Meanwhile, they argued, let's hold on to what we have in Russia.

That sounded plausible to many people, especially those who had grown weary and discouraged and didn't see that new and stormier waves of revolution would break throughout the world in the years to come. Only, the officials really meant: Let's hold on to what WE have in Russia -and to what WE can get. As for the rest of the world, the task of the working class is confined primarily (later it became exclusively) to preventing foreign intervention. In other words, instead of concentrating on getting rid of their own capitalist despots at home, the workers in other countries were to be limited to acting as border patrols for the Soviet bureaucracy.

Leaving aside for the moment the theoretical aspects of the question, it suffices to point out that the practical results of this policy were disastrous both for the official Communist International and that section of the labor movement that followed it, and for the Soviet Union itself. All that a labor skate or capitalist political shyster had to do to get the unqualified support of the Communist movement for some shady enterprise or a downright sell-out, was to take a cheap oath in favor of "defending" the Soviet Union. As Stalinism went from bad to worse, and the Kremlin went in for super-clever diplomatic tie-ups with imperialist Powers, the official Communist International, from which every critical, honest revolutionist was expelled, was changed from a militant fighter against world capitalism into an anti-revolutionary instrument, a cheap pawn in the hands of Stalin's Foreign Office.

(Continued in Next Issue)

Socialist Appeal

| 116 University Place New York City.  I would like to get b the Socialist Appeal. Pl the next few weeks. |   |   |
|---|---|---|
| Name  |   |   |
| Address   | · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·   |   |
| City  | • | • |
| <u> </u>  |   |   |

GATHERS SPEED

the Young People's Socialist effective distribution of their League (Fourth International- bundle quotas. ists), gathered speed in the past week. Thirty-seven new subscriptions and fourteen renewals reached the Business Office. The subscription record to date is as follows:

Los Angeles San Francisco .....4 New Haven .....2 Washington, D.C. . . 3 Chicago ......7 Minneapolis .....13 St. Louis ..... 4 Newark .....8 New York City ... 27 Toledo .....5 Cleveland .....2 Newcastle ......1 Lynn .....1 Boston ... ..... 3 Texas Philadelphia ..... 3 Miscellaneous Total ......119

A new order of ten copies reg- drive for mass circulation of ularly has been placed by John the tri-weekly.

Patrick of San Pedro, and Comrade Patrick expects to be able The drive for new and renew- to increase this quota shortly.

al subscriptions to the Socialist In the past week Los Angeles Appeal in conjunction with the St. Paul and Minneapolis did War Referendum Campaign the best work in obtaining new now being carried on by the and renewal subscriptions, and Socialist Workers Party and at the same time are making

#### NEW ORDERS SHOW INTENSIFIED ACTIVITY

The new Literature Agent in Los Angeles, Harry Baker, appears to have gotten the Los Angeles comrades working in a more coordinated fashion than ever before.

Several cities ordered extra bundles of the war issues of the Socialist Appeal, as well as increasing in some instances their regular bundle orders. Reading, Penn., increased its bundle order from 5 to 15, Rochester from 25 to 50. St. Louis placed a special order for 200 copies for sale at Communist Party meetings. Flint placed an extra order of 30 copies for the Labor Day Picnic, and from far-off Denver, Colorado came a telegram asking for 100 extra copies of the war edition to be rushed.

As we go to press extra orders for the tri-weekly are coming in steadily. It is expected that New York, particularly, will endeaver to make a special

## **WORKERS' FORUM**

WHO WINS THE JUDAS CROWN?

Stalin and Hitler sign a noncircles accused Germany of ductive apparatus, the ruling many has infringed the anti- class can build a new economy faith with Japan." Indignant ity that will stand up. Only the charges of betrayal are hurled working class can end secret at Stalin from London and diplomacy; only the working Paris. That arch-betrayer of class can end war by seizing the naive Czecho-Slovak Repub- state power and building worldlic, Chamberlain, was "highly wide socialism. disturbed to learn that while discussions (between Britain and Russia) were proceeding on a basis of mutual trust, the Soviets were secretly FORCE LYNN PARTY TO negotiating a pact wth Ger-

Prime Minister poses as a beacon of Christian virtue and night street meetings of the morality. He promises the last Lynn branch of the Socialist drop of workers' blood for the preservation of "principles" Workers Party, formerly held throughout the summer in Lenand "British obligations to Po- nehan Square, on the corners of ment's case is so obviously have been moved, per order of honorable that the British La- the police, to the dead and isobor Party can unanimously vote lated corner of State and Marit full dictatorial powers, in- ket Sts. cluding power to conduct secret It is perhaps a coincidence trials. Yet, for fear Germany that the action of the police folmight misinterpret the honor- lowed upon the indignation exable and principled intention of pressed in the local press at the her potential enemy, the British holding of these meetings in a embassy in Berlin finds it ex- square named after one of the pedient to burn all its official town's world war heroes. Thus documents, according to the do they honor the memory of London Daily Express.

the world's leading Judas? for Democracy." Chamberlain, Stalin or Hitler? We would give the prize to Stal in. It must be counted among the glories of his Peoples Front line that it enabled him to betray both the British Empire and the world proletariat in one fell swoop, to say nothing of the democracies and international Jewry, and the generals whom he shot for advocating collaboration with Germany. But Hitler may yet win the Judas crown by double-crossing Stalin to take the Ukraine.

In the meantime, we see the utter moral decay of the capitalist world. Within the realm of a dying property system, in aggression pact and both are face of the unemployment of branded as betrayers. Accord- human and material resources ing to the I.N.S., "Japanese and the stagnation of the probreaking faith with Japan. . . class has no answer but war There is no denying that Ger- and fascism. Only the working Comintern pact and broken that will run and a new moral-

> Fraternally, HAROLD CLENDENAN Columbiaville, Mich.

### MEET ON "DEAD" CORNER Above this morass the British

The regular weekly Thursday The British Govern- Willow St. and Central Ave.

those who gave their lives "that Question of the hour: Who is the world might be made safe

> Comradely JOHN TRAVIS

A REQUEST

All available copies of Vol. No. 9 of this year's Appeal are needed for purposes of binding.

We would appreciate it if Appeal readers would send in as many copies of this issue as they may have avail-

## Fall Frolic

Come to the Anti-War Fighters

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# Stop Fascism n America!

## Will Father Coughlin Become Dictator of the United States?

By JOSEPH HANSEN.

(NINTH INSTALLMENT)

#### Who Is This Father Coughlin?

There are hundreds of organizations in the United States which have studied the rise of Fascism and Nazism with the greatest admiration.

So far as is known Big Business has not seen fit to call any of them into active struggle against the labor movement. Big Business still depends on its labor spies, its strikebreakers, its professional thugs who combine with the police in shooting down workers.

Yet there are significant indications that these organizations, students at the feet of Hitler and Mussolini, are receiving funds vastly out of proportion to the size of their membership.

Largest of these movements is that led by Father Charles E. Coughlin, who calls himself the Radio Priest.

In line with the tree-stump American political tradition, the Radio Priest comes to the worker and the small merchant and farmer, not seeking office or pelf, god forbid! But only to give free fatherly advice as a sincere exponent of the political and economic doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church.

He thinks the real cause of the ills afflicting America is -Big Business? Hardly. Father Coughlin has pondered long and deeply about certain experiences in Europe, and he has at last arrived at the real cause. . . Nothing less than the "non-religious Jews," who won't join him in denouncing "Bolshevik" leaders in such trade unions as the C.I.O. and the A.F.L.

No one in the country—except perhaps Roosevelt whom he helped place in office—sympathizes with the poor, the oppressed, the unemployed, the young people out of school, the farmers, those facing bankruptcy, those who are hungry, with more eloquent, beautiful, poetic, and moving language than the Radio Priest.

In his fatherly interest in the trade unions, the Radio Priest asks the membership to throw out their "Bolshevik" leaders who "Make Troops Necessary" by striking, and who are "milking" the union members of their dues in cahoots with none other than the "international bankers" and "loan capital," which boils down to-the "non-relig-

Father Coughlin, the Radio Priest, began originally as an obscure Roman Catholic priest from Canada speaking over one radio station in Detroit. When the depression hit America he blasted rights and lefts into a shadowy bogeyman he called the "reds." Overnight he boomed into national prominence via the reactionary capitalist press.

In the few short years since then he has tried his hand at stock speculation, organization of company unions, stump speaking for Franklin Delano Roosevelt and especially the New Deal in silver in which he made a tidy little fortune speculating on silver futures. He built himself a million dollar Shrine of the Little Flower at Royal Oak, Mich., during the worst part of the depression (using scab labor for which he was denounced at the 1934 convention of the American Federation of Labor), began publishing a sleek magazine which is filled with expensive photographs but not a line of advertising except a few announcements of Catholic Church expeditions to his Shrine. He broadcasts over more than 48 radio stations, and pays, he claims, the regular commercial rates, which makes each broadcast costly enough to set up any one of his listeners in comfort for the rest of his life.

During the last six months his organization has spread the streets with literature on a scale so wide, sudden, and prosperous that it must have received a series of high-powered financial shots in the arm from some mysterious source, most probably certain Big Business men and Bankers whom Coughlin has lauded at times in a discreet way.

Followers of the Radio Priest have spread his magazine far and wide. Lately they have begun a series of small actions, beating up a worker when they catch him alone. stabbing a school teacher, attempting to break up an American Labor Party meeting, raiding a workers' school, stabbing a guard at a labor headquarters which they attempted to crash. And even a larger action—an attempt to break up a meeting of 18,000 people at Madison Square Garden in New York.

If the Radio Priest is following the principles laid down by Il Duce and Der Fuehrer, his movement is not yet large enough to blossom in colored shirts or arm bands; nevertheless, a movement as serious as this deserves to be studied more closely.\*

## Coughlin's Program

The Radio Priest is not an agent of either Hitler or Mussolini, despite the fact that he speaks well of them, especially Mussolini.

He does no more than admire their strategy, their propaganda, and their success.

The Radio Priest in fact says right out in public that he opposes both Fascism and Nazism.

He gives his movement a good American name, Social

In Italy it was necessary to give the Fascist propaganda a strongly anti-capitalist tinge. In Germany Der Fuehrer even came out in his program for socialism.

The Radio Priest slants his program to appeal to Amer-

\*Elsewhere I have analyzed Father Charles E. Coughlin's program in greater detail, See "Father Coughlin-Fascist Demagogue," Pioneer Publishers, 116 University Place, New York City. 5 cents.

# Roosevelt to Provide Britain, BRITAIN TAKES France with Credits for War IN DEMOCRACY

### **Jumps Over Legal** Hurdles to Aid So-Called 'Democracies'

(Continued from Page 1) cleared a path for the warring "democracies" straight to the massive bronze doors of the U. S. Treasury. Theoretically, Mr. Jones' institutions can finance exports to either side. Acmany months ago turned down deals with Germany on political grounds. Therefore, in the restrained phrase of the N.Y. Times, "the presumption is would be the only beneficiaries of the bank's underwriting in case of war.'

The machinery has been in motion for some time. Mr. Jones revealed, in passing, that about to entrain for Warsaw.

Spinning the Web This is merely one strand in the complex web which the War across the Atlantic, a web of economic interest which will eventually-and this time perhaps in a matter of months German Navy. rather than years—draw this country irresistibly into the hol-

ymphony.

ance in the Administration's imperialistic plans. Not since 1918 have so many ships been under construction in American shipyards, almost all of them heavily subsidized with Federal

1918 Shipbuilding Tempo

Several days ago, as the armies of Europe took up their umping - off positions, Mrs Roosevelt smashed a bottle of champagne against the prow of the biggest liner ever built in this country — the \$17,000,000 ment-controlled U.S. Lines. Assisting in the ceremonies as Rear Admiral Land, chair man of the U.S. Maritime Commission, who declared the vessel "fulfills the highest requirements of our country's foreign trade and national defense." He read a letter from the President, which was equally explicit: "You and I know, from our deal continue across the counwork during the war, the dis- try. Reading from east to west abilities of a navy which lacks here is a partial summary. an adequate merchant fleet. . The launching of the America nouncements of public meet-

satisfaction. The Bremen Episode Under the National Defense on September 8. Act, passed in 1917, the Presi-

These powers—according to an our comrades after the meetamendment passed in the early ing. days of the New Deal, to allow NEW YORK CITY . . . ssue such a declaration, no one door rally.

knows. But two things are alleady clear: he will issue it, and he will use his powers to enmesh the nation still more deeply into the Allied cause. The Administration has

shown it knows how to get along well enough, for the present, without emergency powers. Thus last week, as the war crisis reached its bursting point, the North German Lloyd liner Bremen, which is worth \$20, 000,000 and is one of the two biggest vessels in the German merchant marine, was prevent tually, the Export-Import Bank ed from sailing for two full days while U.S. customs offiseveral cotton and commodity cials, marine inspectors, and Treasury agents went over her from stem to stern. The purpose of this search was not clear. There was talk of contrathat Great Britain, France and band, of secret arms, and the countries allied with them President spoke darkly of "privateering." Nothing whatever was found, except for one cam era which had not been proper ly declared.

The result of the search was patent to all, however: when President W. L. Pierson of the the Bremen was finally permit Export-Import Bank has been ted to sail, the chances of the in Europe for the last three British Navy capturing her had months "developing new outlets been greatly increased, and, in for American surpluses." At fact, as this is written, there last reports, he was in Paris, are rumors that she has been intercepted. To prove its impartiality as a "neutral," the gov ernment insisted on likewise searching, and delaying, the Deal has already begun to spin Normandie and the Aquitania, thus putting them in grave danger of being captured on the high seas by—the bottled-up

Credits and Neutrality When England and France

begin buying raw materials In 1914-1917, this dirty job and—if the President has his was done by the bankers of way about the repeal of the Wall Street, headed by J. P. Neutrality Act—munitions, the banks are playing second fiddle lied subjects. Some days ago, to the War Deal in this devil's the British Government took steps to keep such selling safe-Shipping is of primary impor-ly in its own hands, and forbade

> securities. bilization and orderly liquida- dared.

### U.S. Entry into War Closer as President Talks "Peace"

tion of American securities held by British interests." It is, of course, necessary for any bour steps to protect its own security markets, and it is no special ign of friendship for England that the New Deal thus cooper ates. But the fact is that such cooperation is one more thread inding us to the Allied cause a link whch, this time as in 1917, doesn't exist with Ger many since German holdings of American securities are com paratively negligible

#### Roosevelt Outstrips Wilson

The total amount of British oldings of American securities is estimated at about \$2,000, 000,000, which will finance purchase of American materials and munitions for many weeks. After that, it will be necessary to set up credits over here for the Allied nations, if they are to continue to buy American goods on a big scale.

In the last war, these vital credits were supplied by the American financial community under the leadership of J. P. Morgan & Co. The Nye Senate Committee revealed in detail how, as the golden chain that bound Wall Street to the Allies grew longer, the pressure from Wall Street on the Wilson Administration for intervention or

the side of the Allies increased. This time it is much simpler more direct. The Federal gov Morgan & Co. This time, how-first step will be to cash in the ernment itself is laying plans to ever, it is the government itself billions of dollars worth of extend credits to the Allies, and which is taking the lead. The American securities held by Al- hence will be in a position to bring pressure on itself to enter the war when the proper moment comes.

There are two main reason all individual selling of foreign for this change: (1) control ov er the nation's credit and bank-Its plans were drawn up only ing system has been centralized after full discussion with offi- in Washington; (2) the Roose cials of the U.S. Treasury, and, velt Adminstration is acting in furthermore—"It is understood this war crisis more openly as that U.S. officials will coope- the agent of big business than rate in British plans for the mo- the Wilson Administration ever

## Fund Drive Lags Behind America, built with government money for the government money for the government ment-controlled U.S. Lines

gained.

(Continued from Page 1) the National Office!

Public Rallies

The public rallies against the war and on the Stalin-Hitler (Branches should send anin our columns).

BOSTON . . . Max Shachtman

GARDNER, MASS. out dent has wide powers over door meeting on August 27, with markets, shipping, banking, a large attendance of Stalinist communications, and a dozen Finnish workers, who engaged other fields of economic life. in an earnest discussion with meeting on September 5.

the President a free hand with series of public meetings to the banking system—can be in- cover the whole city is reported voked whenever the President elsewhere in this issue. Some of declares the nation to be in a the branches will be holding 'state of emergency." How two outdoor meetings an evensoon President Roosevelt will ing in preparation for their in

ican ways of thinking, and here socialism has not yet become a popular idea. Indeed, there are innumerable misconceptions concerning socialism. Seizing advantage of this, the Radio Priest announces to his audience that capitalism and socialism are two varieties of the same thing, which is like saying that war and peace are two varieties of the same thing!

The well-known reluctance with which American workers approach political action provides the Radio Priest with yet another variation from the program of European fascism to fit American prejudices. Unlike Hitler and Mussolini he can come out quite frankly for Private Property.

In fact Father Coughlin, the Radio Priest, advocates the preservation of PRIVATE PROPERTY in his public program. (Point No. 4 of his Sixteen Principles of Social Justice.)

"Private ownership? Yes; the Catholic Church will stand by it and die for it if necessary." (Discourse entitled 'Come, Follow Me," Father Coughlin's Radio Discourses, 1931-1932, p. 27.) Father Coughlin, the Radio Priest, believes too, in a

CORPORATE STATE. "In plainer words, this nation must become United States, Incorporated." (Discourse entitled "Plenty for All." February 18, 1934.)

"Do you boys (the ex-service men) realize that with one more battle you can make this country safe for financial democracy? You can make this country the United States of America, Incorporated," February 25, 1934.) (To be continued in next issue)

WASHINGTON, D.C. combination meeting and social at 19 South 7th Street. on August 26 at which Comrade J. R. Johnson was the speaker.

Washington branch and more are expected soon. READING, PA. . . Outdoor the chairman permitted the au meeting on August 28. "We sold dience to write out questions gives me the greatest personal ings into the Appeal for notice out on Appeals," reports the branch. "and we could have sold more but did not have

Several Negro contacts were

have been recruited by the

them." Another outdoor meeting on August 31. YOUNGSTOWN Widick, national labor secretary of the Party, at a public

AKRON . . . Widick on Sep

tember 1 CLEVELAND . . . Widick or September 8.

TORONTO . . September 6. TOLEDO . . . Widick on Sep-

ember 9.

Clarke as speakers. DETROIT . . September 5.

An attentive CHICAGO disillusioned returned to Chicago on Septem-

MINNEAPOLIS . . . Shacht man on September 1.

## Notice

special membership meeting of Local New York Socialist Workers Party, has been called for Wednesday, September 6 at 8 p.m., in Victoria Hall, at Irving Plaza, 15th Street and Irving Place. In view of the seriousness of the present situation, no comrade will be exfrom attendance Admission by red card only. CITY COMMITTEE

# ANOTHER STEP

As a major step in their war plans, the British rulers on Friday pushed through Parliament the Government of India Amendments Act. This is more familiarly known as the Indian Federation-a section of the new

constitution for India. Under the terms of this act, a virtual one-man dictator now rules the vast sub-continent of India with its 375,-000,000 people.

The British-appointed Viceroy has life-and-death powers. He can decree any law he sees fit; void any law that has been passed by the Federal and provincial bodies; throw into prison anyone objecting to British rule, etc. He will have powers that

might well be envied by the German Fuehrer. Were the Indian people consulted before this Act was adopted? Not once! Was this

new constitution put to a

democratic vote? No! Only a handful of native Rajahs and Princes-all of them puppets of the British -were consulted and asked

or their "vote" The British and Native States' areas of India will be welded together by this Act. But British-appointed officials will dominate the newly Federated India. Reactionary Princes, British army officials, political dictators these are the men who will attempt to keep India in line

during the Second World War. For every Englishman in India there are 1,300 Indians! The hatred of 1,300 people, result of 200 years of imperialist oppression, falls on the head of each British oppres-

The Labor Party members of Parliament voted with Chamberlain for this iniquitous act, thereby demonstrating once more their role as agents of imperialism.

# PACT SHAKES

MINNEAPOLIS - The eve ning of August 30, the Minne Communist Young held an open meeting on the subject of the Stalin pact with Hitler. The speaker was Carl Ross who is . . . Na tional Public Relations Secretary of the YCL! About fifty YCL members . a ers attended the meeting, held

The atmosphere of the meet ing was heavy, and the speak cr's gloomy attempt to justify Two new members the pact did little to lighten the general tone.

**Avoids Questions** 

At the close of the meeting on slips of paper, which were passed to the speaker. Only members and sympathizers of the YCL wrote out questions They were natural questions. honest questions: How will the pact save Poland from Hitler How will the pact save peace Won't Japan turn to the United States or Great Britain for an agreement aganst Russia? etc

Yet the speaker, Ross, went into a frenzy at most of the questions, describing them as "Trotskyist" questions. He evidently thought that the two Socialist Workers Party members present had turned in the ques-FLINT, MICH., . . . Mass tions, but this was not the case meetings on September 6 with The more Ross raved around Genora Johnson and George and sought to justify the pact by "dialectics." the more puz-. Shachtman on zled the YCL'ers became.

Finally one of the SWP com rades arose and was recognized audience of 400, including many by the chair, who did not recmembers and ognize this comrade. The comsympathizers of the Communist rade started to speak, said he Party, heard Comrade Shacht- understood Ross' failure to per man on the Stalinazi Pact on form the difficult task of justi-August 31. Comrade Shachtman fying or explaining the Stalin-Hitler pact, and suggestedber 3 for a second mass meet- perhaps a debate—. At this point the chairman banged the gavel, announced the meeting ended, and herded the faithful out of the hall.

No Longer Faithful But it is certain that the 'faithful'' are faithful no more. Unquestionably, the rank-andfile Communist Party members and sympathizers are deeply shaken by the pact.

These people do want socialism, they do want to defend the Soviet Union, and they are just beginning to awaken to the fact that they cannot obtain these things with Stalin but rather peace appeal April 15 to Hitler and Mussolini. against him. Communist Party members and sympathizers have shown themselves very our Party in the last week.

#### "LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CAN NOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHERE THE LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS BRANDED"-KARL MARX. NEGRO QUESTION

By J. R. JOHNSON,

Negroes and the War

In Europe the war has begun. Like Woodrow Wilson, Roosevelt says that he will try to keep America out but we know that he has been making every preparation to drag America in.

This is the situation that faces the American people and the great masses all over the world. The Negroes, here as elsewhere, know that great decisions are being made which will affect their whole future. What are they to do? What does this war mean to Negroes? What must they think

Negroes, brothers and sisters, comrades and friends, it is no use merely whispering to one another that it is a white man's war. The stand you take today will help to decide the fate of the world and your own fate for many many years to come. Roosevelt's war propaganda has been screaming at you and the other workers and farmers of America for the last two years. Now, as the hour comes nearer when your parsons, your Elk leaders, your Republican and Democratic Negro bosses, the university professors, Communist Party leaders like Earl Browder and James Ford, all are going to turn on their loud speakers. wave their flags, and beat their big drums, to bewilder you and drive you into support of this war. But in your hearts, you, the masses of the Negro people feel that this war is not your war. You feel that once more you, your relatives and your friends all over the world, in America, in Africa and the West Indies, are going to be used and then flung aside. You are right, but only half-right. For this time you will not only be used, but by the support of this war you will be tying a thousand times tighter, the chains which now bind you as the pack-horse, the servant and the slave of capitalist civilization.

#### Why They Don't Appeal to the Negro

In America, in Africa, in the West Indies, over 150 millions of Negroes bear on their bent backs and sweating limbs, a burden greater than that of any people anywhere in the world. If this war is a great war for freedom and a better life, the Negroes should have been addressed before anybody else. They need a better life and freedom more than any other people. But just note how careful everybody has been not to address the Negroes directly on the war question. In all the preparation for the great slaughter, in all the propaganda that pours over us like a flood, there has been a great conspiracy of silence in regard to what part the Negro must play in the coming war.

Republican Party, Democratic Party, Communist Party, all carefully avoid making direct references to the Negroes and the war. They will talk and write about Negroes and relief, about Negroes and the WPA, about Negroes and the New Deal, about why the Negroes used to vote for the Republican Party and why they now vote for the Democratic Party. The Republican Party appoints a commission to find ways and means to win back the Negro vote. The Communist Party points out why Negroes must hate Japan and Hitler, why the Negroes must vote for the New Deal, why the Negroes must be anti-fascist, why the Negroes must oppose those who attack Jews. But about Negroes and the war, what Negroes must do when the drums begin to beat and the bugles begin to blow, not a direct word all these months. They have been trying to smuggle the Negroes into the war as a section of the American people. They have not dared openly to explain to you, why you, as Negroes, should take part in the war. They do not dare to start the discussion. They know their arguments would stick in their throats. Today, and still more tomorrow, they will seek to sweep you into the war under cover of the general slogan: Our democracy is in danger. One party, however, the Socialist Workers Party, has no tricks to play on the Negroes or anybody else on this life or death question of imperialist war. Clearly, simply, and without possibility of being misunderstood, we say that this coming war, like the last one, is a war that will be fought by the muscles and blood and lives of the poor for the pockets and bellies of the rich. The poor have nothing to gain and everything to lose by supporting the rich in a war that will be fought exclusively for the benefit of the rich. And above all, the Negroes, the poorest and most oppressed people in every country where they live, would be the greatest fools to allow themselves to be deceived this time, as they were the last time. We are confident that the great majority of the Negroes who consider this question with the seriousness that it deserves, will come inevitably to the conclusion that they must fight against the war to the bitter end.

That is our position. The Socialist Workers Party has nothing to hide from the Negro. It says to him, as it says to the poor everywhere-whites, Negroes in Africa, Indians in India, "Brothers and sisters of whatever color, this war is not our war. We will not support it. We, the workers, the poor farmers in every country, white, black, and brown. are not going to kill one another at the command of Chamberlain, or Hitler at the orders of Roosevelt or of the Japanese Mikado. We shall fight for a fraternal unity between all the poor in every country against all the rich. That is the war we shall fight. Down with the imperialist war!"

(Continued in Next Issue)

In Oslo, the work of peace done by the two presidents Roosevelt was praised at the opening of the Interparliamentary union congress. Theodore Roosevelt was cited for his mediation of the Russo-Japanese war in 1904; Franklin D. Roosevelt for his

MILLSTONE IN THE PATH OF PROGRESS: Aram Saroyan, Fresno agriculturalist, advanced a proposal to cut down the receptive to the teachings of anticipated heavy surplus of grapes in 1939 by stripping the fruit from every second or third row of vines before it ripens/

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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 werkers' centrel.
- 1. A Twenty-Billion dollar Federal public works and housing program.
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- 5. Thirty dellar weekly old-age and disability
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- T. All war funds to the unemployed.
- 5. A people's referendum on any and all wars.
- . No secret diplomacy.
- 10. An independent Labor Party.
- Workers' Defense Guards against vigilante nd Pascist attacks.
- Full social, political and economic equality for the Negro people.

## "I Hate War"

Lying phrases, an essential stock in trade of the liberal politician, have an unfortunate way of getting themselves remembered long after their utility has ceased. The "He Kept Us Out of War" slogan on which Woodrow Wilson was re-elected in 1916 had become a bitter joke within a year. And we suspect that President Roosevelt in his radio speech of last Sunday coined not a few phrases which will later on come back to plague him. Notable among these was his fervent "I hate war!"—a gag he hasused on previous occasions and one that by now is beginning to spread at the seams.

There was little except phrases of one sort or another in the President's speech. The truth is that he was in a damnably uncomfortable spot, and he squirmed and twisted accordingly. The customary ring of conviction, the usual thrilling dramatic effects were absent from his voice. For this politician who for months has been whipping up the war hysteria, who has been organizing down to the last tent-peg and draft card the war mobilization of the nation, this ardent lover of democracy (across the Atlantic, that is) and doughty fighter against tyranny (also strictly trans-Atlantic)—had to advise his people to remain neutral, had to pull a long face and talk piously about the New Testament and brotherly love and "true neutrality" and "spiritual values." When all the time he longed to be leading the world crusade of fire and sword.

But the President was unable to deny himself the pleasure of a few hints, and some of them none too subtle, as to the future direction of his Administration's policies. "When the peace has been broken anywhere," he said, "the peace of all countries everywhere is in danger." He also revealed that the American frontier, as defined by the War Deal, takes in by now a considerable stretch of territory, namely, "the Western hemisphere and the seas adjacent thereto." (The economic frontier, by the way, in the matter of jobs and opportunity, is a much less expansive affair: here the New Deal can suggest nothing more promising than Alaska.)

The most notable of the President's side-remarks, however, was the at-first-glance innocuous statement: "This nation will remain a neutral nation, but I cannot ask that every American remain neutral in thought as well." One remembers that in 1914 President Wilson, in a neutrality address in similar circumstances, urged Americans to be "impartial in thought as well as in action." The difference between Wilson and Roosevelt's formulations is the difference in the tempo of imperialism today and then. Roosevelt has no intention of waiting three years before he enters the war.

## Cannon Fodder--at **Union Rates**

In the last war, Gompers and the AFL bureaucrats led the workers of America into the slaughter like so many Judas-góats leading sheep into the killing pens. This time, the mantle of Gompers is divided between William Green and John

The Steel Workers Organizing Committee recently made contracts providing that employees absent "because of war service" retain their seniority ratings. When General Motors last spring struggle.

purged many of its alien employees in order to get war orders, the United Auto Workers made no protest.

But the most open indication of the war-mongering position of the CIO bureaucracy was the keynote speech John L. Lewis made at the Pittsburgh convention last fall.

"The United States of America," he boomed, "is under increasing pressure in the realm of foreign affairs. . . . It is possible that we will have to meet the German dictator as he tries to extend his domain into the realm of the Western hemisphere. If that day comes, who is going to sustain the United States of America? Who is going to man its industries? Who is going to send its young men to military ranks to engage in war? Labor-Labor! Who is going to protect the institutions of this country, those that are meritorious? Labor! Who is going to protect the titles to property and great wealth down through the generations in America? Labor-Labor! . . . The workers of this country will never make anything out of war. They merely work and sweat and fight and die. Some one else takes the profits."

It was a grim black picture Lewis painted. But then, master of oratory that he is, he triumphantly concluded with The Way Out: "In consideration of all these things, in consideration of the fact that we are Americans, and that we believe in the principles of our government, and that we are willing to fight at any time to maintain that flag, we are going to ask from those who are the beneficiaries of that service and that attitude and that loyalty, we are going to ask proper treatment for ourselves-proper treatment for ourselves!" (Proceedings, First Constitutional Convention. p. 9)

What an inspiring prospect for the American workingclass! Messers the bourgeoisie! cries this mighty chieftain of labor, if you expect us to make your war for you and die for your institutions ("those that are meritorious," that is) we demand-proper treatment! Don't expect our heart's blood unless we get time and a half for overtime! Union shop in the trenches! Lewis only forgot to insist that the union label be placed on all ammunition, and that CIO gunners refuse to handle "scab" shells.

If this was the keynote of last year's CIO convention, what may we expect from this fall's gathering? Only strong rank-and-file pressure on all delegates will prevent it from turning out to be an orgy of social-chauvinism unparalleled since the last war.

STYLE NOTE: Says Sylvia Dawes, just returned from an extensive tour of Europe: "Out of the grim preparations for war have come one bright spot—the influence of military uniforms on styles and fashions. Some of the smartest clothes and hats have been designed along military lines, particularly the hats.

What name shall we give to those repulsive creatures-the Leon Blums in France, the British Labor Party leaders, the Abraham Cahans and Algernon Lees of the Jewish Daily Forward and the Social-Democratic Federation, and the Stalinists-who peddle this imperialist war among the workers as a war for which the workers should gladly die?

During the First World War, Lenin popularized the term "social-chauvinists" or "social-patriots" to describe those who gave lip-service to socialism but were actually lackeys of their "own" imperialist governments. Socialism in words, chauvinism in deeds—that was the Judas role of the Second International in 1914-1918.

That is still the role of the Second International. In all the "democracies" these lackeys are once more serving as recruiting-sergeants.

Stalin's latest betrayal of the working class, the Hitler-Stalin pact, has been exhaustively exposed in these pages. But only those can honestly indict Stalin who come to court with clean hands, namely the revolutionary internationalists who denounced Stalin's betrayal of the working class to the "democracies" as decisively as they now denounce his alliance with Hitler.

The social-chauvinists of the Second International are now loudly denouncing Stalin for his latest crime. But his previous crime of subordinating the workers of France to Daladier, of America to Roosevelt, etc., that crime they hailed and joined in, and paid Stalin for.

When Leon Blum was premier of France with Stalin's support, his paper, Le Populaire, developed extreme discretion concerning the first Moscow Trials. Stalin's G.P.U. executioners and spies ran amuck in France, with immunity. In Spain, Caballero and Prieto were hand in glove with Stalin-and the Socialist press said not a word about the Moscow Trials or G.P.U. assassinations of revolutionists. And these people and their like have the effrontery to express pious windignation at Stalin!

They and Stalin are cut from one pattern playthings, tools, of the imperialist powers. As we refuse to recognize that one of the imperialist camps is less foul than the other, so we fail to find an iota of moral superiority as between a social-chauvinist or a Stalino-chauvinist. Both are traitors to the working class. Against both we shall wage irreconcileably the revolutionary

## The Last Turn



### Some Timely Words -

## In the Struggle Against War

As both warring camps justify themselves in the name of "national independence," it is well to remember the slogans and promises under which the First World War was fought. "Poland" merely replaces "Belgium," the "Beast of Berlin" s heard once again, as is "British world-domination." And now, as then, the "socialists" support 'their" governments, with the so-called "Comnunist" parties joining the chauvinistic chorus.

After the war is over, many of the chauvinists vill repent, as they did after the last war. Almost everybody admitted that the war of 1914-1018 was waged under lying slogans-that is, almost everybody until this new war began!

Timely Words

But in 1914 few saw the truth, fewer still had he courage to proclaim it to the world. The leader of the anti-war forces was Lenin. In 1915, in the midst of the war, he wrote the draft resolution of the left wing delegates to the Zimmerwald antiwar conference of Socialists. His words are as timely today as then:

"The World War, which has been devastating Europe for the last year, is an imperialis waged for the political and economic exploitation of the world, export markets, sources of raw materials, spheres of capital investment, etc. It is product of capitalist development which connects the entire world in a world economy but at the same time permits the existence of national state capitalist groups with opposing interests.

"If the bourgeoisie and the governments seek to conceal this character of the World War by asserting that it is a question of a forced struggle for national independence, it is only to mishead the proletariat. . . . Equally untruthful are legends concerning the defense of democracy in this war, since imperialism signifies the most unscrupuous domination of big capital and political re-

"Imperialism can only be overcome by overoming the contradictions which produce it, that is, by the Socialist organization of the advanced capitalist countries for which the objective conditions are already ripe.

They Betrayed Workers

"At the outbreak of the war, the majority of the labor leaders had not raised this only possible in opposition to imperialism. Prejudiced by nationalism, rotten with opportunism, at the beginning of the World War they betrayed the proletariat to imperialism, and gave up the principle of Socialism and thereby the real struggle for the everyday interests of the proletariat.

"Social-patriotism and social-imperialism, the standpoint of the openly patriotic majority of the formerly Social-Democratic leaders . . . is a more dangerous enemy to the proletariat than the bourgeois apostles of imperialism, since, misusing the banner of Socialism, it can mislead the unenlightened workers. The ruthless struggle against social-imperialism constitutes the first condition for the revolutionary mobilisation of the proletariat and the reconstruction of the International

The Way Out 'As against all illusions that it is possible to bring about the basis of a lasting peace, the beginning of disarmament, by any decisions of diplomats and the governments, the revolutionary Social-Democrats must repeatedly tell the masses of the people that only the social revolution can bring about lasting peace and the emancipation of mankind"

And the manifesto of the Zimmerwald conference, penned by Leon Trotsky, concluded with

this ringing call: "Proletarians!

"Since the outbreak of the war, you have placed your energy, your courage, your endurance at the service of the ruling classes. Now you must stand up for your own cause, for the sacred aims of Socialism, for the emancipation of the oppressed nations as well as of the enslaved classes, by means of the irreconcilable class struggle.

"It is the task and the duty of the Socialists of the belligerent countries to take up this struggle with full force; it is the task and the duty of the Socialists of the neutral states to support their brothers in this struggle against bloody barbarism with every effective means. Never in world history was there a more urgent, a more sublime task, the fulfillment of which should be our common labour. No sacrifice is too great, no burden too heavy in order to achieve this goal: peace among the peoples.

"Working men and working women! Mothers and fathers! Widows and orphans! Wounded and crippled! We call to all of you who are suffering from the war and because of the war; Beyond all borders, beyond the reeking battlefields, beyond the devastated cities and villages-

"Proletarians of all countries, unite!"

#### PARTY ASKS AID IN GETTING ON N. Y. BALLOT

(Continued from Page 1)

democrats, of the treacherous

effectively, we urge every party member, every sympathizer, every friend, every reader of the Socialist Appeal to chip in and help us get the necessary them a hand! Party sympathiz-5,000 signatures to place ers and readers of the Appeal Shachtman and Paine on the ofricial ballot in their respective tions at the City Office, 116 Uni-

"Branches of the party in the Bronx, in the Downtown, Upper West Side, Lower East Side and Workers Party's election cam-Needle Trades sections of Man-paign! hattan are holding open air meetings regularly to obtain ti-war party, the only party the necessary signatures. Give fighting Fascism in action!"

## HIGHLY INTERESTING ISSUE OF NEW INTERNATIONAL APPEARS

"To enable us to do this job Stalin-Hitler Pact and the future role of American imperial-

versity Place.

"Do your bit! "Help put over the Socialist

"Join hands with the only an

The September number of A detailed history of WPA is "We want to confront the can- The New International is off the contributed by Dwight Macdondidates of the capitalist parties, press and on sale. Featured in ald. Every important aspect of of the wildly patriotic social this issue is editorial comment the relief policies of the Roose on the Stalin-Hitler Pact, re- velt Administration are examviewed only briefly in this is- ined in this story of the WPA, 'Communist Party," with our sue, since the pact was signed which can well be called the revolutionary socialist program as the magazine went to press. most thorough-going exposition on the real issue of the day—the The forthcoming number will of relief history yet written. issue of barbarous capitalist have an exhaustive review of The article is at the same time war or a free workers society. | the outbreak of the European so simple that every WPA and war, the significance of the unemployed worker should be

Other important articles conained in the September number are, "The Future of Roose velt,'' by James Burnham; ''Ar Open Letter to the Workers of India," by Leon Trotsky, and "The Story Behind Tea," by Sherman Stanley.

The subscription rate of The New International is \$2.00 per year. Single copies also can be obtained by addressing:

> The New International 116 University Place New York City

# Had There Been A Liebknecht In Parliament

Karl Liebknecht stood up in the German Reichstag in December 1914. Around him the social-patriots vied with each other in their eagerness to vote the government war credits. Liebknecht, however, shouted his "NO" and that "NO" was heard by the working class of the whole world.

Last week the British Parliament in an orgy of patriotism voted the government full dictatorial powers for the prosecution of war against Germany. Laborites, conservatives, and the "Communist" Gallacher stampeded over each other to vote the government war powers. Four members of the Independent Labor Party feebly cast "nay" votes; Maxton, in doing so, bade His Majesty's imperialist government to go out and work for peace among the boss nations. Had there been a Liebknecht in the British Parliament this is the kind of speech he would have made:

#### Who Will Fight against Fascism?

"The government is preparing for war. It asks powers so that it may conduct this war. And all the gentlemen of His Majesty's loyal opposition scamper to nod assent.

"These loyal flunkies of imperialism are quite ready to accept the official deception that this will be a war against fascism, to defend "poor little Poland." And since it is not their blood that will be shed on the battlefield, they are ready, nay eager, to spread this deception among the working

"Yes, war against fascism is indeed honorable. It is necessary. If the government were capable of waging war against fascism, I, too, would vote 'Yes!" But the war against fascism cannot be fought by this government. It can only by fought by the working masses, striking at the root of the fascist disease. And above all, it can only be fought with, and not against, the workers of other lands, especially of Germany.

'This government presumes to fight against fascism; it is anxious to save Poland. Miserable fraud. It cares little for "poor little Poland." It will sell Poland to Hitler if a satisfactory price can be arranged.

#### Is There Democracy?

"What the government does care about, and that a great deal, is the vast colonial empire-India with its 375,000,000 people; Ceylon with its great tea, rice and cocoanut plantations; South Africa with its gold and diamond mines; the harbor of Hongkong; Australia with its wool, meat and grain, Malay with its rubber and tin, and so forth. To defend these, conquered through the years by the mailed fist of imperialism, it will go to any length.

'The government pleads tearfully for the defense of democracy. Democracy! There are 550,-000,000 people in the British Empire. At least 500,-000,000 would willingly give their right arms to be free of our "democracy" in which they have no freedom, rights or security, but must work at bayonet point. If the government were interested in fighting fascism it would start with its colonial administrations, the colonial "fuehrers" who yield nothing to Hitler in terror and brutality:

"Democracy indeed! When the very powers asked for today wipe out democracy; put the powers of dictation in the hands of a board that speaks not for the people, but for the land-owners, industrialists and financiers. And you, Messrs, Laborites, you Mr. Greenwood and Co.; you too, Mr. Gallacher, yours is the slavishness of servants who for a small bribe, a little extra favor, spy upon, and betray their fellow workers. Yes, betray.

"The honorable Mr. Greenwood, Laborite, piously deplores the war clouds. He abhors war. And he has certain criticisms of the government. But Mr. Greenwood, who presumes to speak for millions of Labor supporters, hastens to add that the foe will not find us a disunited people. Precisely. That is Mr. Greenwood's function in society. Oh no, he is not a supporter of the government. He is its loyal opposition. It is his job to oppose that government on all issues except where it really matters. It is his job to see that the government gets the proper window dressing in order that labor may be deceived into purchasing its wares. It is his job to see that the people are not disunited as between worker and boss, that they are deluded into believing themselves members of one happy family of good democratic Englishmen.

"The honorable Mr. Greenwood adds that no democratic country will make war. Mr. Greenwood conveniently ignores the 'democracy' of the Empire. And he speaks a deliberate lie. Mr. Greenwood knows that wars are not made by one or the other country. That they stem inevitably from the system of capitalist exploitation that Mr. Greenwood supports, of course in his own 'oppositional' way. Hasn't it long been exposed to every thinking being that the last war was not provoked by Germany alone, but by every one of the ruler nations? Twenty-five years after the First World War Mr. Greenwood, who would 'dispel' the war clouds,

resurrects a fraud. "We heard another honorable Laborite speak. This one, an Independent Laborite no less. Mr. Maxton says: 'I record my opposition to the Prime Minister's mandate to go to war. But I give the Prime Minister a complete mandate and complete support for him to go into the world and make a new call to the nation to build a new civilization that will abolish poverty and inequality.' Mr. Maxton asks His Majesty's government of exploiters to lead a revolution to abolish poverty and inequal-

"The fight against fascism is also a fight against such powers as the government seeks. I will defend democracy by opposing powers of dictatorship for a war that the people do not want, that is not their doing, from which they can gain nothing. I will defend Poland by offering the Polish workers my comradeship and support in their struggle against their oppressors, inside or outside of Poland. I will fight German fascism by joining hands with German workers against their exploiters. And I will show them I mean business by fighting the exploiters whom our government represents.

"That is the way to fight fascism. That is the way to defend democracy. The main enemy is at home!

ON THE WAY TO THE TRENCHES: Five youthful pickets for peace were ordered off the Iowa state fairgrounds shortly after opening an anti-war campaign before a preparedness exhibit.