For an Anti-War Vote, Put the SWP on the New York Ballot!

WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE!

Socialist Appeal

LET THE PEOPLE VOTE ON WAR

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

VOL. III, No. 73

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 26, 1939

3c a Copy

ROOSEVELT MESSAGE SPEEDS WAR ENTRY

I HATE WAR

Secret Bulletin Proves Sixty Families Await F.D.R. War Declaration

A most revealing picture of the state of mind of Big Business towards the war problem in the United States is contained in the special and confidential bulletin of the Tax Research Institute of America, Inc., a copy of which was obtained by the office of the Socialist Appeal.

What does Big Business think of the Roosevelt pro-war machine? What does Big Business think of its prospects in the coming war? What does Big Business think the

Roosevelt government is going to do to Labor in the course of the War?

These and related questions will be dealt with in a series of articles on the Tax Research Institute's confidential report, written by Joseph Hansen, beginning in this issue of the Appeal.

The articles will quote extensively from the thoroughgoing Institute bulletin. All emphasis in quotations from the bulletin are in the original unless otherwise indicated

Within a very short time the Roosevelt government will drop its "mantle of benevolent neutrality" and plunge the United States into the World War now raging in Europe.

This is the inside tip that the top leaders of Big Business have sent out to all members of the Tax Research Institute of America, Inc., a confidential bulletin service set up by Wall Street to supply the overlords of American industry with straight information on subjects of vital interest to the capitalist class.

calls on all members of Big Business to make immediate preparations for the ENTRY OF THE UNITED STATES into the conflict and then proceeds to analyze the exact steps the Roosevelt government will take in regimenting labor and in gearing American industry for

"Unless a miracle brings about unexpected peace," begins the bulletin, "the world will remain at war (Big Business understands very well that armed conflict is but an extension of the economic conflict!—J. H.) — a twentieth century type of MINNEAPOLIS war frequently bloodless, always undeclared, but resulting in the same periodic face-lifting of the world's map as did the INDICTMENTS old-fashioned hostilities.'

The bulletin then continues this cold-blooded analysis of the real nature of the war with a point by point explanation of what the present war means to the capitalist class. Not a war (Continued on Page 3)

Behind the Lines

By GEORGE STERN

a definitely active sector of the formed that the thin trickle of ers and union leaders were re-The Far Eastern front is now sion. Is Chow going to be insecond world war. Coming de- Soviet aid to China will now turned this week by the federal velopments there will proceed cease? Is he going to receive grand jury in the latest unionin closest relation to events on new orders for the Eighth Route busting move of the Roosevelt the fronts of Europe.

be free to deal with a single-Chungking? handed enemy in the Far East All of these are now strong voled in the war in Europe.

policy" has in quick succession Hitler bargain. given the go-ahead signals for In any case, the developments cil. They have announced the opening of a new drive in West
China and have resumed needChina, but there is little chance significantly of all, the Japan- and supplies will be flowing gun to assume a truculent tone quantities. toward the United States, in sharp contrast to the previous effort to smear milk and honey on the profoundly antagonistic relations between the two coun-

There are several straws in coming changes in the set-up. Japanese war minister, was on cial mission generally assumed imperialism. But its ultimate his way to Germany on a speto be strengthening of Japanese Stalin-Hitler pact was signed Terauchi's mission was cancellplain tourist who announced he an and possibly even with Rused and he arrived in Italy as a would not go to Germany. But sia if Russia remains part of Terauchi has now gone on to the axis. Berlin to meet German leaders.

Chungking for Moscow last to the Philippines are filled with week on an unannounced mis- such fateful significance.

Army which will in effect retire administration. From its seeming isolation it from effective struggle

after the signature of the Nazi- against the Japanese invasion? Soviet pact, Japan has returned Will the Chinese Communist to partial and tentative collabo- Party — already half-strangled AFL WPA Defense Committee ration with the newly-extended by the tortuous twists in its polaxis. Japanese fears that the icy — be ordered to throw its dividual unions in order to gain pact meant that Russia would support to the "peace party" in freedom for the latest victims

have been entirely dispelled. possibilities, even though the came Wednesday along with Russia has instead arranged a transition to such moves is like-persistent and ominous reports truce quite satisfactory to Jap- ly to go through a careful perian and has become directly in- od of tentative reconnoitering. the jury that is out to "get" For the Soviet-Japanese truce leaders of the Minneapolis Gen-Consequently Stalin's "peace is just as tentative as the Stalin-eral Drivers Union and the Min-

war in Poland and renewed war generally have created new and in China. The Japanese have serious difficulties for the Chinaturally taken up the cue. nese national cause. The road ling Britain and France. Most that French and British arms ese army-inspired press has be-

The situation leaves the problem primarily in the hands of the Roosevelt War Deal. For American imperialism the main issues of the war still remain in the Pacific, cradle of the the wind to attest to further tomorrow. Wall Street has a definite stake in the destruction contact with the axis. When the on the establishment of undisputed American domination of the Pacific. These aims will bring it into collision with Jap-

That is why the U.S. fleet re-Some equally significant jour- mains based in the Pacific and neying is being done by Chow that is why tiny dispatches re-En-lai, one of Stalin's principal porting the regular ferrying of acolytes in China. Chow left great American navy bombers

Dated August 30, a few days before the second World War started, the latest bulleting

war production.

Union-Busting Jury Indicts Another 50 **WPA Strikers**

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) MINNEAPOLIS—Fifty more indictments against WPA work-

This development brought re doubled efforts on the part of the and to adequately defend all those arrested.

Word of the new indictments that there is a grouping within neapolis Building Trades Coun-

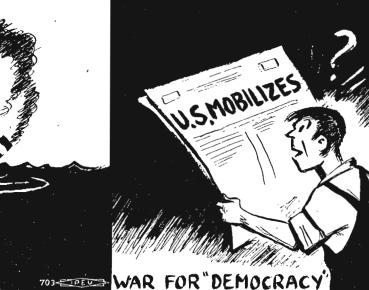
(Continued on Page 3)

Belgian Militarists Arrest Walt. Dauge

Walter Dauge, secretary of the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Belgium, section of the Fourth International, was last week arrested by the Belgian militarists for distributing anti-war propaganda. Comrade Dauge is among the best known and best loved revolutionists in Belgium. Only recently he was elected Mayor by the workers of his village in the Borinage district, which is noted for its many militant strike battles in the mines. His extreme popularity among the workers of the entire Borinage prompted his internment. The Belgian war government, which fears the revolutionary policy of the Fourth Internationalists and the spokesmen for that policy hopes to crush the anti-war sentiment of the masses by repressive measures. They will be proved to be wrong.

"NEUTRALITY FREE TRADE

The American Way



Stalin's Invasion of Polish Ukraine (A Warning to Revolutionary Workers | Against Deceptive Propaganda) Against Deceptive Propaganda)

Stalin's invasion of the Polish Ukraine

has let loose a flood of deceptive propaganda of different kinds from different camps.

INCIDENT"

The cynical hirelings of the Kremlin hail the invasion as an act of socialist "liberation" of the oppressed minorities of the invaded regions. The equally cynical propagandists of the democratic imperialists utilize this military incident as the occasion for new sermons on the identity of the Soviet Union with fascist Germany and for new incitements for a holy war of "democracy versus totalitarianism". Both these arguments are hypocritical and fraudulent to the core. Both arguments are baited traps for the

It behooves the revolutionary workers to keep their heads and avoid both these traps, especially the second. We say, especially the second, because in this country the chauvinist pressure for entry into the war on the side of the allied imperialists of the so-called democratic camp is the real pressure, the real danger that must be consciously resisted at every turn. The slightest concession to the bourgeois democratic ideology would spell the collapse of revolutionary opposition to the war and the doom of the party making

The grotesque agitation of the American agents of Stalin, twisting and turning every day in accordance with the diplomatic and military maneuvers of Stalin, is a mere puff of wind in comparison with the veritable hurricane of chauvinist incitement that is being unloosed by the real masters of America. He who forgets these proportions is lost. He who, in justified rage and hatred at the perfidies of Stalin, forgets that our main enemy is at home, that it is not the pitiful American agents of Stalin and Hitler, but the real masters of the country, the industrial and financial overlords, who are beating the drums ever louder for a "democratic" warhe who permits himself to forget this is no longer a revolutionist but a helpless tool and victim of the class enemy.

The enlightened revolutionary worker burns with hatred for Stalinism and all its man and George Lyman Paine, works. But this attitude of the revolutionist declared today in a joint state- been his intention to call not has nothing in common with the counterfeit moral indignation currently directed against capitalist class of Wall Street's trality legislation," in favor of Stalin by the press of the democratic imper- program of plunging the United a return to the "traditional ialists and their liberal and social-democratic driven away millions of workars This would have meants an end satellites. The revolutionary attitude is inspired by entirely different considerations. We are against Stalin, not because he be-

trayed the imperialist democracies—their in- would arouse the keenest in- made clear to Roosevelt that, terests are of no concern to the workers—but terest among the voters and in the face of the popular resisbecause his entire course, including all his swing millions of voters sickendiplomatic maneuvers with the imperialist a determined opposition that as far as he wished at the prespowers, the so-called democratic no less than would sweep these rotten par- ent time. He therefore modithe fascist, is a systematic betrayal of the Soviet Union and the workers and oppressed peoples of the world. It is important not to mix these things up, not to be overwhelmed by the noise of the democratic patriots and join in their ballyhoo, so as not to turn up, at the critical moment, in the wrong camp.

To be sure, there is something utterly monstrous in the spectacle of the Red Army being sent to "liberate" the Polish Ukrainians and White Russians in collaboration with the military forces of Hitler. It is revolting to hear the butchers of the Kremlin speak in the manner and tone of Goebbels about "liberating the oppressed minorities" and protecting "blood brothers." They who have massacred the flower of the revolution in Russia; they who have sold the workers and colonial peoples on the auction block to the highest bidder among the imperialists; they who have robbed the national minorities of the Soviet Union of every right and trampled them down in the blood and mudthey cannot liberate anybody and have no such intentions.

(Continued on Page 4)

Road to War Decided Behind Locked Doors

U.S. People Must Answer War Plans Of Boss Politicians by Wresting War-Making Power from Congress

Masking his war aims and war actions beneath a cloak of pious demagogy, Roosevelt demanded from the Special Session of Congress immediate repeal of the Arms Embargo, in order to permit unrestricted flow of munitions from this country to the Anglo-French coalition. The Roosevelt intervention in the war, already begun openly by the detention of the Bremen and the declaration that the United States will defend Canada, will thus be driven deeper, according to Roosevelt's plans, by the transformation of United States industry into he armory of British and French imperialism.

In spite of the lengthy debates which may be expected in Congress, Roosevelt had taken care to sew up the decision in

advance. On the day preceding the Special Session, he had met in the White House with "fourteen leaders of the nation": twelve of them the chiefs of the Republican and Democratic parties in the Senate and House of Representatives, plus Alfred Landon and Frank Knox, who headed the SWP Candidates Run Republican ticket in the 1936

On Clear-Cut Stand campaign. Against War

man indicated yesterday.

N.Y. ELECTION

prets this apathy as due to the bear the light of day! blackening shadow of war," candidates of the Socialist conference, however, may be Workers Party, Max Shacht- deduced from a sudden shift in ment. "In part this is true. The merely for repeal of the emespousal by both parties of the bargo but of the entire "neu-States into the World War has practices of international law." from their platform.

platform against Wall Street's with the belligerent powers. war, at this time, however, ed by the new blood bath into war, he would not be able to go ties out of office in an unprece- fied his original purpose, and dented landslide

ALP Silent on War "So far the leaders of the Amtheir stand concerning the war. their own ships. If they defer making such a statement much longer, whether through cowardice or be-

(Continued on Page 3)

Behind Locked Doors For two and a half hours

these fifteen political servants NEW YORK CITY, Sept. 20 of the Sixty Families conferred Both the Republican and Demo-behind locked doors. In keeping cratic parties are experiencing with the ideals of this demoan unusual lack of response cratic war into which Roosevelt from the voting population to is leading the country, all prestheir candidates, early returns ent were sworn to absolute secin the New York election pri- recy, and not one single word maries for the office of Council of the discussions was revealed to the people. The schemes of "The capitalist press inter- the boss politicians will not

One indirect result of this to virtually all restrictions of "An unequivocal and fighting trade and commercial relations

The conference evidently suggested that Congress substitute for the embargo the socalled "cash and carry plan," under which belligerent nations erican Labor Party, largest will-for the time being-be reworking class party in the field, quired to pay cash for munihave not yet seen fit to clarify tions, and to transport them in

"National Unity"

The conference ended with a cause they intend to make a pledge from all hands—Roose-(Continued on Page 4)

Back to the Twice-Weekly

After several weeks during which our party, youth organization and their sympathizers made the noblest and most generous efforts to maintain the Socialist Appeal three-timesa week, we are returning to our regular publication frequency of twice-a-week.

We issued the three-times-a-weekly with the aim of arousing the minds of the widest labor circles we could reach with the gravity of the world situation. We are proud of the revolutionary spirit which accomplished it while others dragged along their routine vegetable existence.

The financial difficulties created by the super-effort to get the Appeal out three times a week, are not removed now, as we return to the twice-weekly. We look forward to the same generous aid in maintaining the Socialist Appeal in the future as we received in the past.

BigBusiness Knows Roosevelt Prepares War Entry

"to save democracy from the madman Hitler," not a war for foreign export? any kind of ideal—just a merciless butchery for profit. And it hammers home to every member of the capitalist class that the entrance of the United States in the war is close at hand.

Expect only Short Interval

"(1) This 'war of nerves' results in the same political and economic alliances as does the battlefield. Real neutrality, in face of this conflict, becomes less possible the longer it continues. Which means if war breaks abroad, a shorter interval of time will clapse until the U.S. drops its mantle of benevolent neutrality and replaces it by actual participation."

There in cold italicized print is the declaration of Big Business BEFORE WAR BROKE OUT IN EUROPE, that when it did break (regardless of who was labelled the "aggressor") it would not be long until dough-boys from the farms and factories of America began crossing the Atlantic in the "old-fashioned" way to fight for the profits of Wall Street.

The second point announces the imminence of the then undeclared European hostilities and raises questions which will immediately confront the individual capitalist when the shedding of blood begins:

"(2) So long as the bloodless war rages, only the slightest will be drawn in." unexpected spark may be required to set off the fuse. And once the fuse starts abroad, even with domestic neutrality, a which must be driven into the mind of every individual behost of business problems immediately arise:

"a. What happens to business even in part dependent upon

"b. What happens to business using imported materials? "c. What happens to security values on exchanges which are shaken by crises as well as by dumped, frightened funds?

"d. What business adjustments will be made necessary by the Neutrality Act when it is for the first time widely applied?

"e. What happens to every-day prices when warring powers really begin feeding civilian and military needs with American merchandise?'

Even the most humble house-wife already knows the answer to that last question. On the day Hitler marched into Poland prices immediately began to skyrocket at the expense of the family pocketbook and to the high advantage of the vaults in

All Emphasis on War Preparation

Without pausing to answer the questions it has raised, apparently considering them self-evident, the analysis rushes to Plan are already in operation." the main business at hand: What is the immediate perspective

"(3) Most important of all among the problems imposed ready in operation"? by today's headlines is the program for preparing American business and economic life for the possibility that America BOARD is the most dramatic hint to business that the coordi-

The bulletin then emphasizes with a pithy slogan the point demic study.' longing to the capitalist class:

"The Business Man Must Not Keep His Eyes Closed Until | whole that its executive arm in Washington, D. C., was prethe U. S. Declares War."

That is, don't be deluded by any statements issued for prop- | Cold Logic of Business aganda purposes that the Roosevelt government wants or intends to remain neutral.

"Among the most unfortunate business misconceptions is that the executive can remain oblivious of the need to adjust his business to war until the United States is IN."

Mobilization Already on Way

With the utmost clarity the analysis then underscores this warning to members of the capitalist class with a very con crete explanation of the "effect of today's events" and the "ostrich-like error" of not understanding that war conditions are about to envelope American industry:

"(1) The Plan for the MOBILIZATION OF AMERI-CAN INDUSTRY has not only been completed by the War they foist on the public through the daily press! None of the and Navy Departments for years, but several phases of this fevered war slogans here! None of the clarion calls to battle

Despite the delicacy in phrasing what could be more clear for which the capitalist class must prepare and organize itself? | than that emphasized declaration: MOBILIZATION . . . al-

nation of the nation's economic resources is NOT merely aca-

In brief, before Hitler began bombing Poland, the top leaders of Big Business were notifying the capitalist class as a

pared and that now it was merely a question of time.

Next point in the explanation about the "unfortunate" and 'ostrich-like" error of not realizing what is happening, is declared by the bulletin itself as "most important of all" that is, the juicy and delectable question of WAR ORDERS:

"(3) Command performance: Most important of all is the presence of Section 120 of the National Defense Act, under which the President in time of war or when war is imminent, and he is the one to decide when war is imminent, is empowered, through the head of any Government department, to place an order with any firm for any product or material that may be necessary."

How different is this analysis presented by the leaders of the capitalist class to their membership from the propaganda for God and Country! Just the hot inside tip: Roosevelt will soon plunge the United States into wor, therefore PREPARE FOR PROFITS.

That is the message sent out confidentially by the Sixty "(2) The recent appointment of the WAR RESOURCES | Families - the Morgans, DuPonts, Mellons, Rockefellers. Girdlers—to the class they head.

> (The second installment in this series of articles exposing the preparations among the capitalists for war will appear in the next issue of the Socialist Appeal.)

In the

mation that Attorney General (I Break Strikes) Frank Mur- serious pressure because the phy let slip a few days ago in prospect of additional profits is

"Detective organizations set shutdowns. up by industrial concerns to prevent sabotage would work closely with the Federal Bureau any concessions once war starts of Investigation" Mr. Murphy by the use of the federal maexplained to a New York Times chinery to hogtie labor.

Employ Spies

eral government is enlisting the putes, backed by the US Army. services of stool-pigeons, com- What's new for the labor move pany spies, strike-breaking or- ment is how to fight these ganizations, to fight "sabot-

Pinkerton? Or a Tom Girdler this struggle can be carried agent? Or any stool pigeon in a The aim of progressive unionunion? Workers have had not a lists is always the same. Get the little experience with this in the best possible union conditions last few years. "Sabotage" con- under any circumstances. sists of being a good union man, fighting for rights and good conditions within the plant.

just jail every good union man who feels that, war or no war, workers have a right to fight for just demands. That would be too crude. It would expose the war dictatorship too much.

Frameups Ahead

So the government must now prepare the ground work for a The FBI is going to "work nounced later is being arranged. closely with them."

ers of America's convention, to tivities of the National Negro act. tration in its war moves!

Seniority Rights!

Our prediction of last May that the question of seniority rights during war-time would become a greater issue apparently is being borne out by various information coming to the

Unions everywhere are beginas though he remained in the

this demand? We can only reiterate what was published then "Now every unionist is in favor of seniority rights under all circumstances. What is disturbing is the calm acceptance of the idea of conscription in war-

any conditions, if it is possible. Fight for seniority rights in evbest way to fight against it, conscription of labor.

While on this subject, it might

be worthwhile to repeat certain other elementary strategy for unionists in this period.

War does not substitute new problems for old ones in the union movement. It adds new ones and intensifies the present problems. The rising price level makes the wage question more acute. The government demands for war production will intensify the struggle over hours of work, conditions of work and the speed-up.

What to Do

Every present headache of a shop committeeman increases. Here is a choice bit of infor-Before actual declaration of war, the bosses will give in to too tempting to permit big

> However, the bosses hope to end all the business of making

The "impartial" labor boards consisting mainly of professional and business people are sup-What does it mean? The fed-posed to settle all labor disboards. Direct negotiations between unions and employers is And what is "sabotage" to a the general slogan around which

itions within the plant. The federal government can't DON'T MISS

"A Night in Harlem" with

to aid in the publication and Socialist Appeal.

> At Your Service THE APPEAL **POSTER SHOP**

Progressives Make Important Gains at State Conventon of Minnesota A.F.L.

Large Votes Polled by Militants on Various Issues Indicate Growing Strength Of Progressive Forces in Labor Unions

A number of victories were

chalked up by the left-wing bloc in the convention, but the three outstanding gains made were var; in support of the W P A Strike Defense committees in Minneapolis and St. Paul; and a resolution passed by an overwhleming majority for the retody. The resolution was adoptwhleming majority for the repeal of the Stassen slave act. The resolution supporting the WPA strikers came towards the close of the convention and was Workers, made the outstanding chair. On a rising vote the ap reported on by George Murk, chairman of the defense committee, who held the complete attention of every delegate with his account of the work the defense committee, who held the complete attention of every delegate with his account of the work the defense committee had done. The

very afternoon. Vote on Stassen Act

pigeons will hurl the charge. Special entertainment to be an- the majority report and accept litical endorsements. the minority report left no doubt Following the discussion, a The proceeds from the affair as to the sentiment of the dele- motion was made to refer the wages and lengthening of hours distributed, and many copies of man in demonstration of their

mention the latest union con- Department, the printing and Significant in this vote was was lost. Following this, a de- public relief act; for a 30-hour uted. vention held, went on record to distribution of an anti-war man- the fact that the majority re- mand was made by ten or more work week with no reduction in A novel feature of the party of the factory. support the Roosevelt adminis- ifesto to the Negro people and port expressed the position of unions for a roll-call vote and pay and for a ten billion dollar activities was the appearance. The picket lines held firm distribution of the pamphlet George Lawson, secretary of the state Federation and all Chairman Chairma Johnson, now appearing in the their supporters. The attempt that Lawson and his buddies have been an dstill are playing along with Stassen in

their own personal interests and DULUTH, Minn.—Nearly 900 not in the interests of the labor delegates from AFL unions as- movement of Minnesota. This sembled in Duluth last week to cverwhelming vote to repeal take part in the 57th state con- was a thorough and unquestionvention of the Minnesota Feder- able victory for the militants ation of Labor, the largest ever whose attitude towards Stassen remains uncompromising.

> Discuss Political Activity The other high spot of the convention was the fight over

resolutions adopted unanimous-y for a national referendum on Federation, recommending an amendment to the constitution ed, but not until blow after blow had been struck at it

Henry Schultz, International fused the request. Boscoe appeared from the decision of the pealed from the decision of the peale onomic action. He called to against Olson and Lawson was rense committee had done. The report was climaxed by news that sent a thrill through everyone—that all the defendants had been released on bond that had been released on bond that ers relaxed their political vigilance.

Lawson was the most vocif-The vote for repealing the erous defender of this proposal, Stassen act as against amend- and for good reasons. Opposed ers, and although his nominaive committee was made by self from any restrictions that was able to poll 205 votes agframeup. "Sabotage by spies" dancing and entertainment, ar- Gene Larson of the Minneapolis might be placed on him by the ainst 518 cast for Olson. Lawson becomes the theme song of the ranged for Saturday October 7 Milk Drivers. The minority postate Federation as a body, and was re-elected with no opposi-FBI. Once that is accepted, any at the Mimo Club, under the austion was upheld by speaker seizing upon the opportunity to worker in the plant who re- spices of the National Negro after speaker, including Miles administer a severe blow to the mains a union militant is brand- Department, will be an affair Dunne and Ole Ogg, both from progressives in the Minnesota ed a "saboteur." He "disrupts" the committee in charge reports The resounding vote to reject out with great heat against po-

Yet the United Rubber Work- will be used to carry on the ac- gates present on the Stassen resolution to the 1940 conven-

Chairman Bureaucratic

record for amending the Stas-sen Act instead of repealing the meeting were displayed ev-neapolis; and a condemnation driven all over the city adverit is simply further indication en before the rising vote was taken when, in true bureaucratic fashion, he took a yea vote on the motion to refer but did not take a no vote. It was obvicus to everyone present that. had the vote been completed the motion to refer would have carried by a real majority.

> But even this was not the extent of Olson's contemptuous disregard for democratic proceduré. In a rising vote, the recommendation for the amendment was won by a slim margin of nine votes over the required two-thirds majority. And the clamorous demand for a rollcall vote by many more than ten unions was denied! The THE GENERAL FUND RIDES convention became an uproar. Almost every delegate was on his feet calling for a roll-call vote. So President Olson declared the convention adjourned for

On Wednesday morning John Boscoe, president of the Minneapolis Central Labor Union, asked for a recount. Olson re-

ANTI-WAR RESOLUTION

WHEREAS war brings death, suffering and misery to millions of working people and profits to the employers, and WHEREAS the present war crisis has raised the prices of the necessities of life, and

WHEREAS William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, in his Labor Day address, expressed the sentiments of the workers of this country by taking a stand against war, and

WHEREAS the Railway Executives of the 21 railroad craft unions have gone on record for a referendum of the people on war, therefore

BE IT RESOLVED that we, the Minnesota State Federation of Labor, reaffirm the stand of the labor movement

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that we demand the adoption of a constitutional amendment that would take the warmaking power out of the hands of Congress and refer it to a vote of the people.

Adopted by the Minnesota State Federation of Labor in convention assembled at Duluth, Minnesota, on September 13, 1939.

Fitzsimmons represented a union only two and one-half years old, the Minneapolis Gas Work-

and for the repeal of all objective Socialist Appeal and other solidarity with Segati. The 735 tion. In a rising vote, the motion tionable provisions in the 1940 literature were sold and distrib- workers set up their picket Robert Olson, president, and the motion was declared lost public works and housing pro- of a horse-drawn wagon carry- throughout. Last week the boss gram; for a state housing act; ing huge signs bearing the anti-met with Kennedy of the Interincrease of unemployment ben- war slogans: THIS IS NOT OUR efits from 16 to not less than 25 WAR! THIS IS A WAR FOR The high-handed methods of weeks; for a public improve-BOSSES PROFITS! FIGHT to put the state federation on President Olson who chaired ment works program for Min-AGAINST WAR!, which was of anti-Semitism.

resolution introduced by Stalin- was seen by thousands of workist delegates condemning "Hit- ers and everywhere it went it lerism and Nazi Germany' was won favorable comment from withdrawn at the last minute.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

WANTED BICYCLES to help build up

the Socialist Appeal newsstand routes. Anyone willing to loan or donate a bicycle should get in touch immediately with the Labor Bookshop, 116 University Place.

AGAIN!!! Two solid hours of uproarious, side-splitting entertainment. Also "How the People Can Win in 1939" and the new tableau "Get the Rope," among other sketches to'be presented by the G. F. Newcomers will be initiated into the G. F. at this session. Perpetrated by the

Large Progressive Vote An undercurrent of sentiment gainst Olson and Tame

of anti-war activity in which the use lipstick, powder, and rouge program of the party was car- and orders went out to the facried into every workingclass tory superintendent that he was district of the city culminated not to hire any one who wears in a mass meeting last night at eyeglasses. nority report from the legislat- Minnesota, wishing to free him-Comrade Max Shachtman at skin, and one young worker, Kreuger's Auditorium.

Other forward steps taken at reached during the week by organizing. the convention were resolutions party propaganda. During the

tising the various street meet-It is interesting to note that a ings and the mass meeting. This those who saw it.

Many valuable party and YP-SL contacts were made as well as several ne wmembers. as several new members.

Liebknecht Unit at its recently renovated headquarters at 1334 Wilkins Ave. Saturday night, Sept. 23. No admission. Dues 20c.

Minimum Guaranteed Earnings!!

WANTED-Men, Women and Students

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

Form Picket Line Around Pennsylvania Cigar Plant

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) | national, and the result was a tablished in front of the General some time in the future. Cigar Co., when the 735 workers who have been out on strike workers voted to accept the since August 18, voted on Satur-bosses' offer to negotiate and

til a contract is signed. while negotiations were being tions with the union. conducted between the factory AFL, of the International Cigarmakers Union.

to continue the strike because a written contract is signed. they felt that the bosses' promises to negotiate their differ-"in the near future"

Resent "Expert"

Organization started in the in the shop. factory about three months ago, when, workers who had been sumed, the determination to with the company from 10 to 15 hold out for victory is greater years were fired to make room than ever. About 50 scabs who for "loyal" scabs that were are working in the plant were without work when the General "educated" about 11 this morn-Cigar Co. closed its Detroit ing amid a shower of tomatoes, plant rather than pay union flour bags, and other missles.

name of Walton was brought in- cated and about 2,000 spectato the plant. He made the wo- tors and sympathizers cheered men's blood boil by trying to the pickets on. make a showgirl palace out of the factory. Stout women were told that they have to wear gir-NEWARK, Sept. 18.—A week dles. All women were told to

Louis Segati, called a meeting The anti-war program of the of the factory workers. About party won enthusiastic approv-250 came to the meeting and al from the hundreds who were discussed ways and means of

Fire Organizer

The next day Segati received public works programs and for held, attended by hundreds of his dismissal notice from the adequate appropriations; con- workers in each case. Thous- boss. One half hour later the demnation of the WPA cut in ands of anti-war leaflets were entire plant walked out as one lines. Nothing moved in or out

ALLENTOWN, Pa., Sept. 19 "paper" which stated that the -Picket lines were again es- boss was willing to negotiate

A meeting was called and the day morning to remain out un- return to work. After the vote was taken it was learned that This action was a reversal of the boss had not even signed their previous vote, taken last the paper or stated when he Thursday to return to work was going to carry on negotia-

Last Saturday's meeting of owner and the union, Local 91, the strikers took up the entire question again. By an overwhelming vote they decided to The union membership voted go back on the picket line until

Union Demands

Among the demands of the union are closed shop contract, mean sometime next|grievance committees operating in the plant, and one contract to cover all the workers

Today, with the picket line re-Traffic was tied up along High-An "efficiency expert" by the way 22 where the plant is lo-

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

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

call upon them. The circulation of a petition for signatures among your shopmates, if you are in a position to do so, will give the

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

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

ning to ask for the continuation of seniority rights during war service. That is, if a workers is taken fro mthe plant for army service, his seniority continues

What is our attitude towards

Workers should never give up an inch of their rights under ent of conscription? Sure. The however, is to fight against the

What Your Dollar Can Do A dollar puts a Socialist Appeal salesman on an im-

portant street corner for one day. Five dollars permits free distribution of two hundred Socialist Appeals.

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

Socialist Workers Party 116 University Place, N.Y.C. Dear Friends:

Anti-War Campaign Committee

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

"LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CAN NOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHERE THE LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN 18

NEGRO QUESTION

By J. R. JOHNSON _

The Negro and the War

No, it is not Negroes alone who recognize that a war for democracy is a fraud, a deception, and a trap for the workers. Many workers in England, in France, in Belgium, and in America are daily becoming more clear in their minds about this war for democracy.

Negroes can hear many a white worker say: "What is this democracy that I must shed my blood for? It is true I have a vote. And I elect representatives to Congress. But what control have I really got over this country? When the capitalists want to go to war, the President decides. Representative Ludlow brings in an amendment to the Constitution which would give me the right to say a word on going to war. Let the people vote on war. By all means. But the president and Congress, both of them refuse. They are not going to have any consultation of the people by referendum vote to decide this question of life and death. So much for this fraud of democracy."

Many a white worker says, "Most of the people of this country would have been willing to allow the Spanish workers and peasants to buy arms from America in their fight against Franco. But the President who, like all capitalists, wanted to see Franco win, refused to allow this and showed that in any matter of importance it is the wish of the capitalists, the landlords, and the bankers which decides, and not the wishes of the large majority of the people."

Why Die for Capitalism!

More and more, white workers are beginning to say things like this.

"These capitalists keep babbling about this democracy. They say that if war comes I have to go and die for my country. But I have no country to die for. The only part of this country that is certainly mine is the 6 ft. by 2 ft. which will enclose me when I am dead. Morgan, DuPont, Rockefeller, Ford, the owners of big factories, the owners of big firms, the great landlords in the South, all'these people have some of the country. They have something to die for. But what have I got for which I must shed my blood?

"I am a working man. During the last ten years sometimes ten million, sometimes 20 million of us have been unemployed. When you add our dependents to this number, it means that thirty or forty million people have been living in misery and starvation for ten years. When will this crisis stop? This continuous crisis, this poverty, is not necessary. There is food enough for everyone. And the factories, if they worked, could supply clothes enough for everyone. And the building trade could build enough houses for everyone to live decently. But, no. This system under which. we live cannot employ the people and cannot use the great factories, the mines, and all the means of production which are now available. The system, this capitalist system, is obviously bankrupt. If it were not bankrupt, if it could work anymore, you would not have these millions of idle men on the one hand, and on the other this vast amount of idle capital. What the devil is the use of this democracy if it has always a quarter and sometimes one-third of the population

"Before I die for my country, I must have a country to live for. I am not a coward. I am prepared to fight for my country, but it is not Hitler or Muusolini who have this country in which I live. I know well enough the people who have it and who mismanage it in such a way that one small section of the population is rolling in wealth while most of the others can barely live on what they earn and still another section earns nothing at all, and has to spend many hours hanging around relief bureaus begging for a few cents. If anybody is prepared to fight, to put an end to this state of affairs, I am ready to go along with them and shed my blood for that. But why the devil should I go to fight so that Roosevelt and the capitalists should dominate Latin America or China and make still more money for themselves? That is their capitalist war. This is not my war."

For a Workers' War

It is white workers today, not Negroes, who say all this. For instance, the Socialist Workers Party members, most of whom are white, for years have said as follows: "The capitalists talk about democracy. In Germany there was this same democracy, and as soon as the capitalists found that the workers were mobilizing to put an end to the injustices and crimes of capitalism, they subsidized Hitler, that gangster, they destroyed democracy, and installed fascism in its place. They did the same thing in Italy. They did the same thing in-Spain. We know these fellows here well enough to know that all the time they are talking about democracy they are thinking of all the property which they own. And as soon as ever they feel that their property is in danger they are going to subsidize their fascist bands and treat me no better than the workers in Germany, Italy, and Spain. So that I shall oppose this war of theirs as best I can, and when I get the chance I shall abolish this unjust bankrupt system and change things. My war is a war to help the workers and farmers of this country take it over from those who have it. Our enemy is not in foreign countries but is here in this very country. And to my fellow workers in Germany, in Italy, in Britain, in Japan, in China, we say this: "We have no enmity against you. You don't want to shoot me and I don't want to shoot you. I am going to try to change this bankrupt system in my country and I recommend to you to

> "Many years ago Karl Marx, the great leader and teacher of the workers, said 'Workers of the world, unite!' That is the only doctrine for the workers. We have to unite today to destroy this system which causes so much unemployment

The Economic Consequence of the Stalin-Hitler Pact in the U.S.S.R.

ccw was accompanied by the well-to-do peasant. that is, the peasantry.

antry, and which placed a rel-lienating the peasantry. atively light burden on them. The new law more than doubles the tax hitherto paid by collective farmers whose income is

da, August 28.) WHY THE LEGISLATION AT THIS TIME

Whereas the tax on collectves grades from 5% to 13.5% of the total, all income from other sources is subject to 11% -25% tax, and in some cases it is as high as 30%.

If I am not mistaken, it is the sharpest legislation enacted against the peasantry since the days of enforced collectivization. Legislation of this nature will hardly meet with the approval of the peasants, and there has been no mention in Stalin knows it. Why then the

Is it because the kulak danterm "kulak" and "speculator"

JOBLESS IN TOLEDO FACE STARVATION

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
TOLEDO—In the face of conemployed face the prospect of being cut off from all relief. On Friday, September 15, ordinary relief funds were exhausted. No orders have been filled. The only food available for 16, 487 persons is flour, corn meal and navy beans supplied by the US surplus commodities. In addition 1,200 families face the langer of eviction.

Meeting in special session, the City Council voted to appropriate state funds for current cases. But this money will last at most 6 weeks. And despite the large numbers of ex-WPAers-no new cases will be added

to the rolls. The city fathers hope against nope that the war will relieve them of their responsibility. But whatever new employment is gained by the shedding of the olood of European workers, it cannot begin to solve the prob-

The ratification of the Stalin-, press, that is not the reason for vocation of the Supreme Coun-, tions in labor supply. Further

itary term of service and the pel the peasants to disgorge plan and in the oilfields the ery, the crisis in industry can bor movement in preparation Stalin-Hitler alliance is self-ev- their grain hoards. There have tempos of oil production have only be aggravated. ident. But it does seem at first been periodic shortages in the been lowered." Such is the consight surprising that Stalin and cities, but these have been dition in coal, oil and metal his clique should have chosen winked at from above. Now the key industries! the moment when they are fac-Stalin must have foodstuffs not ical test—war—to introduce the supply Hitler. Hence the sud- the time being does not dare to by to the further damage of in- tion. Only seven strikers remain severest legislation in recent den squeeze on the peasantry, apply the measures which were years against that section of Otherwise the Kremlin would enacted only a few months ago the population to whom they be unable to live up to the terms and which were designed to ov-

STALIN MOVING TOWARD COLLISIONS WITH PEAS-ANTS

three, four, five and even six the desired results. Whatever to sharp resistance by the work the fate of Esthonia and other times the previous amount. its effects, it can only act as a ers to the labor laws and their border countries with outlets to Furthermore, the tax falls stop-gap. More and more grain enforcement. These laws have the Baltic becomes bound up most heavily on income derived will be required. The vast army not stopped the enormous turn- with the inextricable web of the from "privately operated hold-|already mobilized by Stalin over of labor. handicraft enterprises, will drain the accumulated and all other income derived grain reserves and place an adoutside the collectives." (Prav- ditional strain on agriculture. Stalin has no other measures than administrative ones to rely upon for obtaining the foodstuffs for the cities, for the Red Army and-for Hitler. We can therefore forecast with certainty not only that increasingly harsh administrative measures will be applied but also that the Stalin regime is moving towards a head-on collision with the peasantry.

Will Stalin perhaps be able to lean on the proletariat? It is noteworthy that in recent days the official press of the stringent labor laws passed last December. The Pravda no longer ger is abroad again? It is un-speaks of the need of enforcing questionable that this danger them in order to bolster up inexists. But even though the dustrial production, as was the case a few months ago. Early has reappeared in the Soviet this year, the lag in production was explained above all by the laxity of factory managements in enforcing these laws.

Not that production has improved. Just the contrary. If in 1938 the output lagged some 33% behind the plan as compared with 1937, the production for the first 8 months in the current year has lagged almost as much behind the plan.

The failure to accomplish the sage. plan for 1939 is openly admitted. One week prior to the con-

JUDAS GOAT

"Of course, there are those who counsel us to sit idly in the stupefying sun of our complacency while the Nazi armies, fed by Russian resources, overrun London and Paris. Those who denounce America's possible participation in the war are Earl Browder, Fritz Kuhn and the Trotskyists. . . . I grant that the problem which

faces the American people is not an easy one. Still the question may almost be reduced to a formula: "While the things we are asked to defend are far from perfect, that which we are called upon to attack is well worth attacking." - Charles Yale Harrison, in the New Leader, Sept. 9, 1939.

and misery, and leads the workers every few years into the self-destruction of imperialist war."

Side by Side with the White Worker

Now, this is what a certain number of workers are saying and what still more are thinking, though they are not very clear about it. And the vast majority of Negroes in this country who have still less cause than these whites to love democracy, should realize clearly that their allies are not only the oppressed Negroes and the oppressed colonial peoples, but these white workers who are as fed up with capitalist democracy as any Negro is.

The white workers joined up with the Negroes to fight in the C.I.O. Some in the C.I.O. are still prejudiced. Prejudice does not end in a day, bu Negroes in the union know how much better things are for them now that the C.I.O. is enrolling both whites and Negroes without discrimination. But the fight against war is a hundred times as serious as the fight that was fought by the C.I.O. workers. and in this fight Negroes and whites will work together more closely and with more real equality than ever before. That is the lesson of history. In his determination not to be bamboozled into a war for democracy the Negro will find many true and firm allies among the whites—far more than he dreams of.

Continued in Next Issue

Hitler pact at the fourth session | Stalin's law. He has relied most cil, on August 22nd, Pravda more, the few production indiof the Supreme Council in Mos- heavily in recent years on the stated editorially, "Despite the ces that are still made public colossal assistance rendered by show that a sharp decline is passage of two laws, one ex- But the peasants, both in the the party and the Government again beginning to evince itself Joint Council, points out that, Labor Union and the Federal tending the conscription age collectives and outside, have to the All-Union coal-bin—the in industry. Now that the war "it becomes clearer than ever Workers Section on the Minneand the other levying a stiff again been accumulating grain Donbas—and other coal regions. has added its gigantic link to that the national administration apolis portion of the nation-wide tax on collective and individual and the flow of commodities they still function unsatisfactor- the developments and placed an is seizing upon the WPA strike, and the structure farmers. The connection be- from the city to the village has ily; the metallurgists fail sys- ever-increasing burden on the in Minneapolis as a pretext for of the local labor movement. tween the extension of the mil-been far from adequate to im-tematically (sic) to fulfill the country's productive machin-crippling the powerful local la-

Yet faced with this critical be able to supply Hitler with far arrested, 34 of whom were ed with their first major histor-only for the cities but also to situation, the bureaucracy for these items? He can do so on-released on their own recogni-

have been catering the most, of its agreement with Adolf ercome this very situation. In which collapsed so catastrophi-Hitler, and assure the flow of stead they have resurrected the cally last winter, is giving signs The new agricultural tax su- foodstuffs into Germany. But to old slogan of "Socialist Competation of that it is about to fold up again. persedes the law passed on May meet his obligations to Hitler, tition," which is being supple. The railroads will hardly bear 31, 1934, the primary intent of Stalin has had to deal his re- mented by feeble attempts to up under the additional dewhich was to assuage the peas- gime a blow internally, by al- revive the ballyhoo about Sta- mands of troop movements, arkhanovism. Failure to produce my supplies, traffic to Germais nowadays being explained as ny, etc. Waterway transport, due to the failure of the man-especially sea routes, have beagement to introduce Stakhan-come indispensable to Stalin ovist methods in the plants, 2,000 rubles a year. Those It remains to be seen wheth- plants, mills and mines. This tions to Hitler. The Baltic is whose income is higher will pay er this initial law will produce change of tone can be due only the one avenue still open. Thus

> Heavy Machine Industry admit- ed by the traffic emergency. ted that his particular branch was practically crippled by this turnover. "From January to May of the current year, states Commissar Malyshev. "the enterprises in our commissariat lost more than 3,000 ally, Nazi Germany? workers a month." (Izvestya, At the very outbre

August 24) WAR INCREASES CONFLICT IN INDUSTRY

soing to improve the condi-the world today.

us by a spokesman for the and funny.

We wish to utilize the Socialist

edge and deal with.

to others of us.

Thunderbolt

group.

If today the output in coal and oil is dropping, how will Stalin lease of 85 of the 92 victims so ternal economic life

above all to meet his obligabureaucracy's difficulties. An The People's Commissar of assault upon Estonia is indicat-

> It may well be asked: How much of a load can Stalin place on the shoulders of the Russian masses in order to fulfill his pledges to his latest imperialist silent as if their tongues had

At the very outbreak of the from Wall Street. war, the Stalin regime finds itself in a blind alley. From ev- to take up the cudgels against Socialist Workers Party deery standpoint it is the weakest one of the most scandalous The army mobilization is not and most unstable regime in frauds perpetrated by any pother following unequivocal lan-

Denouncing Stalin-Nazi Pact,

Group Quits Communist Party

ary role of Stalinism, a group of planations. But the unjustifiable traitors." (When asked if he

Communist Party members in cannot be justified. All the so- had ever read Trotsky, he said

Fulton County, New York, last phisms - for'I refuse to call No!) Another rock-ribbed Stal-

week resigned from the Party. them arguments—of Browder & inist even mentioned a comrade

We print below a statement to Co. appeared to us very shallow by name and remarked that he

Questions Not Answered

Among those who commis-Believing that there was still a diately it dawned upon us that

The Chairman who had told

This pact came as a thunder-day become "another Lenin or France, had always worried us;

me in such a way I shall not

As the awful meaning of the forget, then looked at the other we, a sizeable minority, handed

pact began to seep into our questioners and said significant-in our books and resigned. We

minds and hearts, we became ly that he was waiting eagerly were told we cannot resign, that

re-read the Daily Worker, the when he could himself shoot and the meeting continued. As

bolt to some of us, as a revela-|Stalin" and that he would trust now we see the reason.

Appeal with the hope that we cuss the pact. An important two Trotskyites in Spain.

sioned me to write this letter little democracy left in the Par- it must be destroyed.

Organizer of the Branch and the our "wise" Stalin, Molotov & of socialist freedom.

the Trotskyites.

Disgusted with the reaction-| New Masses for reasonable ex-|those

may reach some Communist leader from New York happen-

Party members with our mes- en to be in Gloversville to "en-

are the Educational Director ty we asked embarrassing ques-

Union-Busters Return 50 New Indictments Against WPA Strikers

(Continued from Page 1)

ficial organ of the Teamsters hours of officials of the Central for America's entry into war."

The WPA Defense Committee had already obtained the rein jail, all of them members of he Workers Alliance who re-Finally, the transport system, jected the defense services of the AFL committee, and chose to be defended by a CIO defense committee which so far has failed to function.

These facts answered the arrogant pretensions of the socalled CIO comittee which whined that the AFL wasn't do-

Among the actions of the jury The Northwest Organizer, of this week was the grilling for

TOM GADDIS ARRESTED FOR STRIKE ROLE

An outstanding example of the vindictiveness of the federal government was the arrest this week of Tom Gaddis, managing editor of the Farmer-Labor Press of the Omaha General Drivers Union. He was arrested there for participation in the Minneapolis strike.

Boss Parties Skirt War Issue in N. Y. Election

(Continued from Page 1) they court disaster.

"On the most burning issue of the day-WAR-they are as been glued by direct bribery

"They have not even decided

would himself shoot him when

the time comes as he had been

Understand Trials

Studying Trotskyism

In the next meeting, Sept 13,

soon as we left immediate pre-

cautions were decided on to

protect the headquarters from

the counter-revolutionary Trot-

skyites! The Chairman declared

we would soon join a fascistic

group in town known as The

Patriots! (A comrade told this

Such is the result of Stalinist

education. In Fulton County,

thousands of miles away from

Moscow, the same miserable

and degrading spectacle of hat-

red and mud-slinging against

idealistic young people who for-

We knew very little of Trots-

kyism. So we decided that it

was about time to investigate.

We are doing this. In the mean-

time we are calling upon all

sincere comrades who are work-

ing so hard in the Communist

Party to think seriously and ask

themselves this question: What

are we giving our time and en-

ergy for? Is it to bring about a

socialist republic where all the

people can live decently and

free, or are we actually helping

to bring about a fascist - like

dictatorship of lies, hatred and

Fraternally yours, FRED KELLER

ignorance

merly were so much trusted by

their Party comrades.

From that moment we were

A meeting was called to dis-responsible for the shooting of

lighten" us poor provincials. through with Stalinism. Imme-

the LaGuardia fraud of paying and support Wall Street's war, Wall Street \$326,000,000 for subways already owned by the city. Subway Scandal

"A party that is a working class party would espouse any reform movement, such as cleaning up this outrageous subway fraud. "More than a month ago the

nounced this subway fraud in ' 'On top of food-profiteering

by the Wall Street war-mongers, these same sharks have now concocted a gigantic fraud by which they hope to raise the. five-cent subway fare to the profit of Wall Street and at the expense of the people.

'LaGuardia has agreed to pay Wall Street \$326,000,000 for the subways which are already "Goddamn Trotskyite city-owned property!

Against Wall Street

'The Socialist Workers Party demands that the IRT and the BMT subway and elevated lines be turned over to the city without paying one more cent to the Wall Street sharks who have already bled HUNDREDS OF MILLIONS OF DOLLARS out of these subway and elevated systems. Only in this way can the five-cent fare be guar-

"EXPROPRIATE THE SUB-We had not been working to and the Membership Director of tions, which were never an bring about such fascist philos- WAYS! KEEP the Communist Party Branch of swered—instead we were told to ophy of ignorant hatred, which CENT FARE!

Fulton County, N.Y. (I was the have faith in the leadership of is Stalinism, the very antithesis "Does the silence of the leaders of the American Labor Par-Literature Agent.) These are Co. and be satisfied with the So we began to see things in ty indicate that they are in fapeople who only yesterday were past record of our leaders. a different light. We began to vor of raising subway fares?

acknowledged as being the Some of us, too sincere for our realize what cruel frame-ups "One thing is absolutely clear, backbone of the movement here, own good, would not be satis- must have been those infamous and that is the necessity of aspeople who gave most of their fied with that. Immediately the trials, in which the majority of suring the appearance on the spare time to the Party, expos-scene changed. We were told the leaders who brought about ballot of a 100 per cent antied themselves and built patient- that we had become the victims the Russian Revolution were war party, a party that will ly a movement here which the of those "rotten, degenerate, shot as "mad dogs, Nazi trait- fight tooth and nail against evreactionaries had to acknowl- fascist enemies of the workers," ors, Trotskyite vipers, snakes," ery attempt of the Wall Street sharks to gouge the public. The defeat of the heroic Span-

"We are pledged to fight war Then the Soviet-German non- me, the Organizer, time and ish workers, the miserable fail- and fascism without quarter. aggression pact was signed, time again that I would some ure of the Front Populaire in We intend to launch that fight if elected with a struggle to lop off the siphon with which Wall Street has been draining the profits from the subway sysem since 1894.

"An end to imperialist war! Break Wall Street's strangleconfused. Eagerly we read and for the day of the Revolution we must be expelled. We left hold on public utilities!"

SEAMEN TIE-UP SHIPS IN PARTS ALL OVER WORLD

Seamen's strikes for war bonuses and insurance continued to spread throughout the world, according to press reports. Three liners were tied up in Holland because operators failed to concede these demands. American, Irish, British sailors already have participated in súch walk-outs

CANADA ARRESTS WAR OPPONENT

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
TORONTO, Sept. 21. -Frank Watson, Canadian anti-war militant, was arrested earlier this week following a street corner speech he made denouncing Canada's participation in the imperialist war. Legal defense has been secured in his behalf. ...

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War---What For?

tion and confirmation of doubts me even with his life, looked at

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 13-8:30 P.M.

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 20-8:30 P.M. The World in Flames Again The Real Meaning of the Present War

VOL. III, No. 73

Tuesday, September 26, 1939

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

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

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

MAX SHACHTMAN

FELIX MORROW EMANUEL GARRETT Assistant Manager: SHERMAN STANLEY

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

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

Stalin's Invasion of Polish Ukraine

(Continued from Page 1)

The secret motives which prompted this immediate militray action are not known to us. Whether there was a secret agreement with Hitler for the partition of Poland; whether Hitler's army advanced further than Stalin anticipated and the invasion of the Red Army was hastily decided as a protection of the Soviet border from the fascist "partner"; whether a re-shuffling of the diplomatic and military alliances is already anticipated or feared, with Hitler, bought off by France and England with backing for an attack on the Soviet Union from the vantage ground of conquered Poland—the secret moves and the hidden cards are not known to us.

Real Road to "Liberation"

But we do know that Stalin's military invasion of Eastern Poland is inspired solely by the one motive that inspires all the actions and policies of the Stalinists-the self-preservation of the bureaucratic caste. The Ukrainian and White Russian people were not consulted; their rights and desires are of no more concern to Stalin than to the Polish masters who ruled and oppressed them up to yesterday.

The unhappy people who suddenly find themselves under the gruesome "protection" of Stalin will find the road to their true liberation only when they unite with their brothers on the Russian side of the border in a determined struggle for an independent Soviet Ukraine, a stage in the revolutionary struggle for the re-constitution of a Soviet federation of free peoples purged of the treacherous parasitic caste of bureaucrats whose name is Stalinism.

This idea, advanced with remarkable foresight by Comrade Trotsky some months ago, reveals itself already as the great illuminating slogan of the peoples caught in the three-sided trap of Stalin, Hitler and the allied imperialists. This slogan of self-determination, penetrating deeply into the mass of Ukrainian people can fuse them together across all the artificial national borders and inspire them with the hope of salvation.

The Need Is Social Revolution

The defense of the Soviet Union, i.e., the defense of the great conquests of the October rev- not yet decided. We know that Stalin is capable oltuion in the field of economy, will not be weakened, but on the contrary would receive a mighty reinforcement by the revolutionary overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Ukraine and the Soviet economy. It is incapable of conducting construction of an independent Soviet republic a war. The war, which it fears above all because there. Such a free republic would unquestionably, and of necessity, turn immediately to the masses motion, draws its bloody days to an end. of Great Russia with the proposal of economic, political and military cooperation in a reconstituted Soviet federation, rouse them to their feet and aid them in a revolutionary fight to wipe the accursed bureaucracy off the face of the earth.

By the inspiration of this example the incalculable revolutionary energies of the German proletariat, dammed up so long by the combination give an answer. of fascist terror and Stalinist betrayal, could order of the day. The slogan of an independent fecting the Soviet Union in these fateful days.

Ukraine is at this moment one of the most important strategic slogans to set in motion the new revolutionary upsurge.

It is primarily from this point of view that revolutionary workers should view the present events in the eastern section of the old Polish im-

No Faith in Shibboleths

Let philistines and muddle-headed dupes discuss these events in terms of the abstractions and shibboleths coined by the different imperialist camps for purposes of deception. "Defense" and "Aggression," the inviolability of artificial national borders established by previous military force, the struggle of "ideologies," the "right" of one gang of imperialist robbers to what they have previously stolen and the "right" of another gang to regain what it has lost and conquer more -all this kind of talk is conscious deception to fool the people. Whoever permits himself to be swayed or influenced in his judgments by such considerations, whoever indulges in this kind of chatter, thereby takes his place either as a conscious agent or a helpless dupe of one imperialist camp or another. The revolutionary movement, under penalty of annihilation, must rigorously quarantine its ranks against these infections.

On exactly the same order is the "democratic" clap-trap about the identity of bolshevism and fascism, and about the Soviet Union and Hitler's Germany being one and the same thing. This "idea"-to dignify a stupid fraud with a designation it does not deserve—is only the "ideological" justification for the advocacy of a war of "democracy versus totalitarianism," and is almost invariably followed by it. That is all right for imperialists and their social-democratic lackeys. They need deception, they need to muddle things up in order to lure the worker into a war against his own interests. But it is shameful and impermissable for a revolutionary worker to toy with these false and treacherous formulations. Those who do so have already put one foot in the camp of the class enemy.

Stalinist Bureaucracy Doomed

The nationalized economy established by the October revolution has shown its vitality and superiority under every test over a period of more than twenty years of world crisis and internal convulsions. It survived the early wars of intervention and a great civil war in a country already devastated by the ravages of Russia's participation in the world war. It has survived over an agonizing period of fifteen years of the Thermidorian reaction of Stalin. Stalin could physically destroy a whole generation of the men who made the revolution, but he could not destroy its fruit—the new system of nationalized economy. He could undermine it, weaken it, choke its development and reduce it in many respects to a frightful caricature of its natural operation under a truly revolutionary regime. But up to the present he has not been able to overthrow it.

The mission of the reactionary Stalinist bureaucracy was to destroy all the conquests of the October revolution and transform the Soviet Union into a colony of world imperialism. But, after fifteen years, the Stalinist bureaucracy enters the period of the new World War, which spells its doom in any case, with its reactionary mission uncompleted. The nationalized economy, distorted and twisted out of shape in many respects, still retains its basic features. That is the great difference between the Soviet Union and all the capitalist states, including the fascist.

The war will prove which is the stronger. If the Stalinist bureaucracy is not overthrown by the Russian masses, the Soviet economy will surely go down in ruins and be superseded by the restoration of capitalist private property and a genuine fascist counter-revolution. On the other hand, if the Soviet masses overthrow the bureaucracy, they will be able, thanks to the economic system inherited from the October revolution, to overcome all adversaries, and the Soviet system will conquer all of Europe in a revolutionary solution of the war.

They lie who say that the Soviet Union and the fascist countries are the same. They lie who say there is nothing left of the social conquests of the revolution worth fighting for. The issue is of any treachery. But Stalinism, by its very nature, is a transitional regime. It is incompatible with the further existence and development of it necessarily arms the masses and sets them in

Will the Soviet Union itself, will the nationalized economy perish with the perfidious regime of the bureaucracy, or will the Soviet Union, purged of the bureaucracy by a victorious political revolution, surge up with a new invincible power?—that is the question to which the further development of the war will indubitably

Let those predict the worst disaster who will; again find release and sweep through Germany an identification of the Soviet Union with fascist and all Europe in a mighty, irresistible flood. capitalism is a renunciation of the struggle in Humanity, trapped in the bloody shambles of an-advance. There is not a trace of revolutionary other war, would find the way out on the road will in such an attitude. But the revolutionary of social revolution. The war, in fact, so far worker will cling to the end to everything that from sounding the death knell of revolution, as remains of the great conquests of October and philistines, pessimists, skeptics and cowards defend it, arms in hand, against all enemies. imagine, has put the social revolution on the That is the way matters stand in all events af-

C.P. Ordered to Work for Victory Of Stalin-Hitler War Alliance

Browder and Company, in a Breath-taking Political Somersault, Drop the Cause of the So-Called Democracies In Order to Espouse the Cause of the New War Alliance

Daily Worker, Sept. 19.)

I. THE CHARACTER OF THE WAR

1. "The war that has broken small advantage to one side or out in Europe is the Second Im- the other." perialist War. The ruling capit-

and and France declared war Daily Worker wrote.

2. "There are, broadly speakwhich has been waging the war there is the third front, the real peace front, which, so far, in-4. Questions and Answers.)

COUNTRIES DO? 1. The recent Declaration of

the C.P. states: "Communists in all the bellig- Australia." (Sept. 5.) acter of the war, they will vote of the Communist Party on of Poland. against war credits, they go Sept. 4 include: among the soldiers at the fronts "Full moral, diplomatic and tions. The Poland of Beck and and the masses at home ex- economic help for the Polish Smigly-Ridz, which yesterday plaining that this war will bring people and those who help Po- was to be defended by the peothe people nothing but misery, land defend its national inde- ple of the world, suddenly beburdens, destruction and pendence. death."

soldiers at the fronts and the

their colleagues: Communist Party, has present- of the pre-war Stalinist pro- seek to drag the United States ed himself for military service gram).

with the army of France. . . . "Now that Munich has led to war, Thorez, the Communist leader beloved of the French

rial. Sept. 6.) Communist Party of England the autocracy of the Kremlin | ize the militant traditions of the

III. WHAT SHOULD THE AMERICAN PEOPLE DO? 1. The latest line states:

The Communist Party has giving American help to either ponds to the shifting needs and just announced its new line on side of the imperialist conflict; tactics of Stalin. the war situation in a Declara- second, find the most effective tion to the American People. means of keeping the U.S. out world war opened with the Gerof war, without any regard to man invasion of Poland imme-

war."

2. Two weeks ago, during the raine, that is, a "new Munich." ing, three fronts: the front of present war, the Daily Worker ascist aggressive imperialism declared in a leading editorial: "In his radio speech to the for the past two and a half nation following the outbreak task of arousing mass moveyears. There is the camp of of war in Europe, President ments of pressure on the resbourgeois democracy, against Roosevelt voiced sentiments pective governments for the which this war is directed, but which it seems to us have the most vigorous prosecution of had been retreating. And then approval of the majority of the the war by Anglo-French impe American people. . .

cludes the Soviet Union as its a 'true neutrality' for America alleged indecisiveness of Chammain country along with the we feel that American interest berlain and Daladier and to forces and peoples demands the repeal of the false warn against their betrayal of throughout the world who sup- 'Neutrality Act' which now port it." (Daily Worker, Sept. stands exposed as being the op- Munich. posite of a 'true neutrality.' It II.WHAT SHOULD THE MASS- is obviously not in America's lightning rapidity. Hitler con-ES IN THE BELLIGERENT interest, not in the interest of quered the western sections of

But . . . the Communist Par- many for the defeat of fascist French imperialism by the ties of France and England vot- aggression and for establishing Communist parties in the first ed for the same war, told the a democratic peace." (Sept. 5.) stage, is now to be converted in-So that on the question of the to an opposition to the war as a masses at home that the war is character of the war, the meas- robber war of conquest. Brow-"national security" and ures that the workers in the bel- der's support to Roosevelt's "against fascist aggression"! ligerent countries should take, program of lining up the United 2. The Daily Worker endorsed and what the American people States in support of England

ty has renounced the position an opposition to the President's "Maurice Thorez, general which they defended in the first proposal to lift the embargo and secretary of the great French days of the war (to say nothing a campaign against those who

KREMLIN AUTOCRATS DICTATE C.P. LINE

people, offers his life to defend Communist Party cannot be un- ents of these dictators naturalthe national security of derstood unless one all-import- ly they speak against the oppo-France." (Daily Worker Edito- ant fact is kept in mind: the nents of their masters, that is The next day its London cor- in every country is determined American imperialism. These respondent reported that the at each stage by the dictates of unscrupulous tools seek to utiligorously proclaimed that it | An occasional misunderstand-| working class against all impethan ever 'to help win the exist or the orders may be carthey are changed so suddenly! Browder, Thorez and Pollitt

ure to be taken for purposes of Their change of policy corres-

The first phase of the second whether these means incident-diately following the signing of ally happen to confer some the Hitler-Stalin Pact.

Stalin desired a prolonged war between Anglo-French im-It finds peace and pro-war perialism and German Fascalist and landlord classes of all forces on "both sides" of the ism. Even after he signed the the belligerent countries are dispute on raising the arms em- pact with Hitler, probably in equally guilty for this war," it bargo and condemns those cluding secret terms for joint 'who demand the repeal or re- division of Poland, the Baltic . the day after Eng- vision of the Act for the pur- countries, etc., he feared above pose of U.S. help to British and all, a quick victory of Hitler in on Germany, following the lat- French imperialism, and there- Poland, and a reconciliation of ter's invasion of Poland, the by drawing America into the the hostile camps by a German march into the Russian Uk-

> That is why at this stage Stal in assigned to his agents in the "democratic" countries rialism against Hitler. They "When the President spoke of were instructed to attack the "independent Poland" by a new

However, events move with true neutrality' that America Poland, and Stalin decided to shut off its trade with Poland, invade the eastern regions of England, France, Canada and Poland. The second phase of the war was thus opened by Ruserent countries are exposing the The "slogans of action" ad sia's open military alliance imperialist and predatory char-opted by the national comittee with Germany for the partition

Stalin sent out new instruccame a fascist and imperialist "Embargo Japan and Ger- country. The support of Anglothese treacherous actions of should do, the Communist Par- and France is now changed into into the war.

The Communist parties have been ordered to do all in their power to help the victory of the The zig-zag course of the Stalin - Hitler alliance. As agpolicy of the communist parties against English, French and continues to work more active- ing of the Master's orders may rialism and against war for the reactionary purpose of serving war against fascist aggres- ried out clumsily by bewildered their bosses. That is the real henchmen — particularly when meaning of the new line of the Communist parties

(The Socialist Appeal will received their line of yesterday continue the analysis of the new "First, allow no single meas- and of today from Moscow. C. P. line in coming issues.-Ed)

By Max Shachtman

The military alliance between Hitler and Stalin, cruelly attested by the partition of Poland, undoubtedly has deeper implications than appear on the surface. We do not refer to the latest discoveries about the Soviet Union and the Stalinist regime made by the Serious Thinkers of the "democratic front." When it appeared that Stalin would enter the war against Hitler on the side of England and France, these Thinkers were magnanimously willing to paste the label of democracy on the Moscow autocrats. Fundamentally imperialist patriots. both before the Stalinazi pact and after it, they are now just as lightmindedly declaring that there is not, after all, a particle of difference between Hitler and Stalin, between Fascist Germany and the

They never understood the first thing about the Soviet Union, its regime and its foreign policy, and they don't understand it now. That-in the best case; quite often, however, they understand well enough but are interested for good and patriotic reasons in not having anyone else understand.

The New Bureaucracy

Among the forces that impelled Stain to make the pact with Hitler, there is one that has received no treatment in the general press: the new bureaucracy that has developed in Russia in the recent

Before his saddening capitulation to the Stalinist clique, Christian Rakovsky wrote in exile one of the most interesting and penetrating analyses of the transformation of the Soviet ruling circles we have ever seen. He traced the profound changes that had taken place in the leading staff of the Bolsheviks after more than a decade of the revolution. Most of those who had gone through the rigors of the fight against czarism, of the world war, of the two revolutions and the civil war and intervention that followed, had grown tired. World revolution? Perhaps, but not in our time; so why waste efforts on promoting it. Faith in the vast resources that had brought them to power, gave way to cynicism. The isolation of the country was taken for granted, and with it the perpetuation of inequality. Stalin? A scoundrel, but a brutal one you couldn't afford to antagonize until he broke his own neck Meanwhile, hold fast to everything you can, including the not inconsiderable and not uncomfortable privileges of the bureaucratic hierarchy.

And these privileges, which gave the party functionary a decent apartment in town and perhaps a country house, with a servant or two, an office car at his disposal, plus, perhaps, one of his own, a hetter and then a much better gown for his wife, plus a bit of finery—all these contributed to the general atmosphere that imperceptibly but inexorably washed out of his consciousness all the revolutionary feeling and spirit that made possible the great working class triumph in November 1917.

Since Rakovsky made this study, which we reprinted some time ago in the New International. the transformation has proceeded at a terrific pace. The decisive element in the Soviet bureaucracy is no longer the degenerated old Bolshevik. In fact, his whole generation has been wiped out physically - ex-oppositionists and capitulators along with real oppositionists. Its place has been taken by a new generation which now makes up the bulk of the bureaucratic apparatus.

No Ties With the Revolution The new bureaucracy has no real ties with the

grand revolutionary tradition. The tradition is either horribly distorted or else looked upon with the upstart's contempt. The socialist foundations upon which the life even of a man like, let us say, Zinoviev, was built and maintained, at least to one degree or another, are entirely absent in the new bureaucratic layers. To the latter, socialist terminology and slogans play about the same role as did the anti-capitalist slogans of the Nazi machine a few years ago: a means of duping the contemptible masses. All of them, of course, are ardent champions of

the theory of "socialism in a single country," which, as Trotsky pointed out in 1928, gives them a feeling of Messianic Russian superiority. This feeling has been fostered systematically by the purely Great Russian patriotic propaganda of the past years, the glorification of most of the despots of czarist times, of victorious reactionary generals, and the like. It is not by accident that the newlyappointed official, equipped with plenipotentiary powers by the Kremlin, operates in the provinces, and especially in the national republich of the Soviet Union, in the spirit of imperial arrogance so characteristic of the czar's chinovniks. Is it inconceivable that this bureaucratic layer,

entirely devoid of the spirit of socialism and internationalism, is playing with grandiose ideas of imitating the "successes" of Hitler, for whom ever so many have a feeling of purely totalitarian admiration? Far from being inconceivable, it is more than likely. A gang that was able to frame-up and destroy the whole leading staff of the Bolshevik revolution on the most infamous of charges, is capable of anything. They are far from having reached the boundaries of their degeneration; they still have more than one "surprise" in store

How much pressure does this layer exert upon the formation of official Kremlin policy? Far more than most people imagine—both direct and indirect pressure. There is no doubt in our mind that their influence will be even more openly revealed in the period ahead. A little thing like a military alliance with Hitler, another detail like partitioning Poland, or the Baltic or the Balkans, with Hitler, still another detail like carving up China between Russia and Japan-all these are trifles in the mind of an eager and rapacious bureaucracy which is interested entirely and exclusively in keeping itself in

And if its self-preservation means the radical alteration of the foundation of present-day Soviet economy, it will not hesitate too long before making that alteration, even if it means the restoration of capitalist private ownership of the means of production and exchange. "During the war," Trotsky said two years ago, "the allies can impose on the Soviet Union such concessions that the Soviet state can become a bourgeois state."

What percentage or section of the bureaucracy will be the victim of such concessions, and what percentage the beneficiaries, may soon be seen. In any case, it is not decisive. Decisive for the salvation of the remaining conquests of the Russian Revolution is the position and the action that will be taken by those numerous millions in whose hands lies Russia's future—the now gagged and fettered workers and peasants.

Roosevelt Message to Congress Session Speeds War Intervention

(Continued from Page 1) other words, the authoritative a maximum of war profits. spokesmen of both boss parties heir united defense of the in-

ber, Hiram Johnson, Clark and referendum? aFollette, held their own opposition conference to map parliamentary strategy. This conference was equally secretive and equally pledged to unity, patri-

tism and non-partisanship. More and more the fight openchampions of the "battle to keep ner Welles. America out of the war.'' At

Harlem Mass Meeting "THE NEGRO AND WAR" Wed., Sept. 27, 8 p.m. at the Y.M.C.A. 180 West 138th St. SPEAKERS:

E. R. McKinney Rueben Plaskett Nathan Gould Stanley B. Jobes ADMISSION FREE

"patriotism," and "non-want legislation which will en- be taken by the Special Session partisanship" in the crisis. In able the Sixty Families to gain will not be limited to repeal of

war no personal or factional fight over the arms embargo, differences will interfere with both groups aim to suppress the M-Day may well reach the floor democratic demand for a popuerests of United States imper- lar referendum to decide the question of entry into the war. As the Special Session open- If either of them actually were ed, seventeen members of the serious about keeping this counimpotent isolationist bloc, head-try out of the war, how could over the world might swiftly ed by Senators Borah , Vanden- they argue against the popular

While Congress was opening, the delegates to the special Pan-American conference were the coast artillery at Panama. This meeting, designed to complete the work of the Lima Conng up in the Special Session ference in bringing all of Latin takes on the character of a America under the firm dominfarce. Both groups are striving ation of Washington, is to be to appear to the public as the supervised by the reactionary defenders of peace and the under-Secretary of State, Sum-

> Roosevelt has asked the Special Session to confine its work exclusively to revision of the Neutrality Act. Insofar as this means paying not the slightest attention to the terrible condition of the unemployed, left stranded by the Roosevelt-Woodrum relief bill, which has sent WPA rolls down to a new low of 1,600,000, insofar as it means no measures whatever that would be of benefit to the workers of the country, he will undoubtedly have his way.

the same time both call for ever Nevertheless, it is quite probvelt to Landon—of "national un-bigger armaments, and both able that the war measures to the embargo. New armament At the same time, by the appropriations, new bills aimed oledged that in relation to the smokescreen of a bitter-end at civil rights, new legislation preparing for conscription and before the session adjourns.

Roosevelt ended his speech on an ominous note:

"I should like to be able to offer the hope that the shadow pass, I cannot. The facts compel my stating, with candor, that darker periods may lie ahead. .

"Further, in the event of any future danger to the security of gethering under the guns of the United States or in the event of need for any new legislation of importance. I will immediately reconvene the Congress in another extraordinary session."

Let no one be under any illusions about the "new legislation of importance" which Roosevelt had in mind when he spoke: He meant, simply and flatly, the declaration of war.

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