WORKERS OF THE WORLD UNITE!

Socialist Appeal

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

LET THE PEOPLE VOTE ON WAR

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3c a Copy

BEGIN DRIVE FOR CANADA ANTI-WAR MILITANT

Auto Workers Gird for Action Against Inhuman Speed-up and Lockout Attack on Unionization

FLINT, Mich., Oct. 14.—General warfare in the auto industry threatened this week end as the big corporations, leading off with the Chrysler speed-up and lockout, began a smashing attack against organized labor.

In Detroit the Chrysler Corporation locked out about 55,000 workers, who had refused to be made the victims of an inhuman speed-up that was taking its terrible toll in workers' sweat and blood.

In anticipation of pre-war military orders, the auto moguls are trying to clear the plants of organization, smash wages, and initiate a speed-up never before seen in the auto area.

The Chrysler lock-out was as brazen a union smashing maneuver as the auto industry ever has attempted. The company first herded into the plants scores of young inexperienced workers who in most cases ...

had never had a job before in were told to work harder and Then the whole line was speeded up to keep up with the young not realize the fink role they were playing.

However, union men in the plants saw through this ruse immediately and refused to step up production. They stuck to a normal speed. Immediately the company charged a slowdown strike, yelled bloody murder about the C1O taking "control" of the plants, and following a big publicity campaign, locked out 55,000 workers.

The Chrysler division of the UAW-CIO has notified the com pany of its intention to strike and Tuesday will be the dead line. The lockout affects Chrysler, Briggs, Dodge, Plymouth and many other divisions of the

Effects of Speed-up

In answer to a full page newspaper blast by the Chrysler corporation the UAW-CIO issued the following statement:

"The fact that the Chrysler Dodge crankshaft department cusations against the WPA men are lifting almost three strikers on trial here, for "contons a day. The management spiracy, intimidation, etc." has refused to install hoists. As a result several workers have was Carl Pemble, steward of nation-wide protest movement

(Continued on Page 2)

Behind the Lines

By GEORGE STERN

sion of its own armistice with. In these spheres the main ele-

Russia, Japan embarked upon ments are the creation of a

tion of the China campaign in the continued probing for points

order to free Japanese arms for of support within the Kuomin-

future eventualities. To this tang regime at Chungking. The

Columns attempting to con- tures. But the Russian truce is

deal of trouble in its effort to Chinese hinterland.

war in Europe and the conclu-brilliant so far.

political drives to "settle the ing the past year.

China incident."

their lives. These workers DEFENSE SHATTERS FRAME-UP faster than anyone else if they wanted to keep their jobs. TESTIMONY IN MINNEAPOLIS ed up to keep up with the young fellows who were green and did TRIAL OF W.P.A. STRIKERS

Flash!

MINNEAPOLIS, Oct. 17-The first trial of WPA strikers ended teday, with five convicted and three acquitted, by a jury carefully chosen to include no working class ele-

The five convicted-Carl Pemble, Myron Phillips, Richard Connell, Ben Palmer and Leslie Wachter-were members of the Federal Workers Section of General Drivers Local 544.

Arnold Mullen was acquitted by the jury, and the judge directed verdicts of acquittal for Gordon Smith and John Marshall, the latter the only Workers Alliance member on

The indictment under which the strikers were tried was based on a provision of the relief law forbidding "interference" with WPA workers.

A second trial, involving four other WPA strikers, began today. A total of 193 WPA strikers have been indicted.

he Federal Workers Section, against the relief cuts, and that

The last date set for its in-

(Continued on Page 3)

Corporation is attempting a Brilliant testimony of defense were paraded on the stand last present war. speed-up in several depart- witnesses shattered the feder- week by Federal Attorney Vicments cannot be disputed. In al government's frame-up actor Anderson.

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn. - ect supervisors and scabs who

In his testimony, Pemble showed that the WPA protest

As for the ridiculous charge Wachter until the strike began, and that he had not discussed Japan is meeting with a good their capacity to penetrate the the strike with Wachter. Connell and Phillips, two other debring the war in China to a In the political domain the Japanese achievement has like-Following the outbreak of the wise been something less than fendants until after the strike the present war.' began. The framed-up "conspiracy" charge of the government Alliance Dictated Turn

> ainst such testimony Repeats Strike Speech

At one point in his testimony end it equipped itself with a proposed puppet government, Monday, Pemble used the imbrand new government and a with the miserable Wang pressive device of standing in before his fellow WPA work-

gun in Central China. It was sia would make Chungking es had been cut and their hours stopped in less than a month. more amenable to peace over-lengthened.

(Continued on Page 3)

Nation-Wide Action

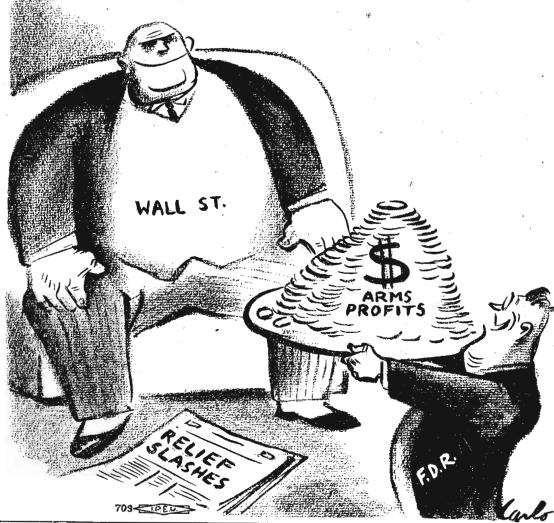
Star defendant on the stand in Minneapolis was part of a Local 544. His testimony rid-reports of the protest through out the nation were published in the daily press.

a policy of has ening termina- new central puppet regime and will make tough headway ag-

brand new high comand on the Ching-wei its leader-designate, the courtroom and delivering a tary alliance with the democratic imperialist China fronts and simultaneous- has had a sad buffeting from 10-minute speech identical to powers and believed that American imperially launched fresh military and circumstances on and off dur- the talk he delivered July 10th ism would be his ally in a war against Ger-So far the results have prov- augural was Oct. 10-the Chi- He told of coming to work champion of the people against Wall Street ed something less than neglig-nese national holiday. But this and finding other workers in monopoly, the democratic opponent of the im-

"You workers must go out the President as a blow for democracy and verge on Changsha, capital of already cracking if it has not and protest this action," he against imperialist war. They supported his Hunan province, were turned already been broken. The Kuo- said. "I urge you to come to a policy of "national unity" for "continental deback with severe losses. Mili-mintang leaders are not likely meeting of WPA workers and fense," that is, imperialist domination over tary experts of other powers to hasten any settlement with vote on the question of strik- the Latin American peoples, and his pledge

The Unforgotten Man



Stalinists Break With F. D. R. To Aid Stalin-Hitler Alliance

As agents of the Stalin-Hitler war alliance and "peace proposals" the Communist Party has begun an open attack on Roosevelt and the perialism who seek to drag the US into the

"Pressed by the imperialist bourgeoisie," declares the latest resolution of the Political Committee of the Communist Party, "the Roosevelt government despite its avowed intention of 'keeping out of war,' more and more akes a course which threatens to involve the the USA in the imperialist war." (Daily Worker, Oct. 15, 1939.

In the present situation, we are told "the slogans of anti-fascism no longer give the main direction of the struggle of the working class and its allies as they formerly did in the perof "conspiracy," Pemble show- od of the struggle for the anti-fascist peace ed that he did not know any of front and pepole's front." Under such condithe seven other defendants save tions the difference "between the New Deal and anti-New Deal camps is losing its former significance. Both are parties of the bourgeoisie and seek in various ways to realize and promote the predatory interests of American fendants, also later testified imperialism in the war and both are following they knew none of the other de- policies which threaten to involve the US in

As foretold by the Socialist Appeal, the abrupt turn-about-face of the Communist Party from enthusiastic support of Roosevelt's war program to opposition to it, was in the cards as soon as the Stalin-Hitler military alliance was signed. So long as Stalin sought a miliman Fascism and Japan, the Communist Party was ordered to support Roosevelt as the ible. The first large scale mili- was put off because the Japan- specting the bulletin board no- perialist section of the capitalist class. Whotary offensive in a year was be- ese hoped their truce with Rus- tice informing them their wag- ever challenged this lying propaganda was condemned as an agent of fascism.

The Stalinists hailed every pro-war move of began to wonder if the Japan- Japan until the further clarifi- ing. The papers tell us that W- to aid Canada in case it was attacked. They

drive to lift the arms embargo so Anglo-French imperialism.

Even after the outbreak of the fake promises to keep America out of the war today. as good coin. In the trade unions, at the conventions of the Rubber Workers Union, the Transport Workers Union, and the recent CIO congress the Stalinists supported resolutions which endorsed Roosevelt's "peace" policy.

Talk Militant—But Why?

Now the Communist Party has thrown over- arized and marked by eras- Since the defendant is practicboard these polices. Has it suddenly discover- ures. ed that Roosevelt, the New Dealers and the Old Dealers are class enemies of the toilers, imperialist spokesmen irrespective of the secondary differences among them? Hardly! petitions to cover any irregu- received an appeal for help However, yesterday Roosevelt was a potential ally of Stalin; today Roosevelt is already an Board was acting on a "flimsy bers of the Canadian Commonally of Chamberlain and Daladier who are pretext to deny thousands of wealth Federation, the Socialengaged in a war against Hitler, the present workers in this city the oppor- ist Workers League and other partner of Stalin. Roosevelt has already lined up against Stalin by his letter to the Kremlin on Finland.

These unscrupulous henchmen of the Kremlin autocrat now use the phrases of militant the incontrovertible evidence at and are now engaged in obtainworking class struggle against capitalism and hand that there is no ground to ing a review of the case in the for socialism. How strange it must be for rule my name off the ballot," higher courts. In reply to their members of the CP to read the present res- Paine declared, "the action of appeal, the ALA has created olution of their Political Committee. Their this Board is an outrageous distine Watson Defense Fund. leaders have drilled into their minds that the grace." democratic sections of the capitalist class must be supported against the fascist sections; that nounced today that the drive said in the statement issued, democratic imperialist governments could to elect Paine to the City Coun- "Watson warned that 'the first conduct a just war deserving the support of the cil will continue unabated. casualty in the "war for demasses; that anyone who denied these bits Dwight Macdonald, Secretary mocracy" is democracy itselfof Stalinist wisdom were enemies of the work- of the Committee, stated late the workers rights of free ing class, progress and socialism. Now . . .

ways has been, is and will be: the capitalist fight to restore the name of our him has furnished living proof class. This is so regardless of the particular candidate on the ballot will be for his contention. political face with which the capitalist class appears, regardless of the political form in which it shields its domination, regardless of the lying and hypocritical slogans with which day called upon the workers of the effects of the present war, it masks the imperialist aims, whether in New York to make known their conducted in the name of a times of war or peace.'

Drop Criticism of Fascists

What honest and intelligent worker can any Socialist candidate will not ap- behalf it is supposedly waged. longer be fooled by the lying and hypocritical pear on the ballot for Manhatslogans of the Stalinists who mask their own tan if the Board of Elections is workers and genuine fighters reactionary aims—the victory of the Stalin- permitted to stand on its rul- for liberty throughout America. (Continued on Page 2)

American Labor Aid Calls for Funds to Help Watson Defense

Cannon Hails Creation of Watson Defense Fund as Demonstration of International Labor Solidarity Against the War

NEW YORK-In a statement issued today, Mary Green, National Secretary of the American Labor Aid, announced the creation of a Watson Defense Fund to obtain full moral. and material support in the United States for Frank Watson, Toronto anti-war mi itant convicted under the War Measures Act for speaking at a public meeting of the Socialist Workers League, Canadian Section of the Fourth International.

SEEK TO RULE SMD NOWINEES OFF N.Y. BALLOT

Protest High-handed Procedure of Board

of Elections Monday morning, afford \$1 30 and 85 cents living October 16, to protest its action allowance to these same unemin ruling his name off the bal- ployed to fight for Canada. For lot, George Lyman Paine, whose Canada? Not ours: wo Councilmanic Candidate of the own nothing. The unemployed Socialist Workers Party for are being paid only to become Manhattan, charged the Board cannon - fodder of imperialism. with "a high-handed disregard Workers, let us first own Canafor the unmistakable mandate da before we fight for it. or workers, Campaign Committee disclosed

nicality to disqualify the only to prejudice recruiting of His anti-war candidate for Manhat- Majesty's Fores." On Septemtan, the Board of Elections rul- | ber 28 he was sentenced to six ed that Paine's nominating pe-months imprisonment plus antitions were "improperly not other six months or \$300 fine.

Flimsy Pretext

Pointing out that there were imprisonment. a sufficient number of signed larities, Paine charged that the from many individuals, memtunity to register their anti-war labor organizations constituted vote with the regularly nomin- as the Watson Defense Commitated candidate of the Socialist tee who have rallied to Wat-Workers Party. In the face of son's defense in the Dominion,

today that "unless the Board of speech and assembly." The vi-"The merciless enemy of the workers al- Elections reverses itself, the cious sentence imposed upon taken into the courts."

Send In Protests

protests to the Board of Elec-struggle against so-called Hittions. "This will be the first lerism, upon the rights and libtime in dozens of years that a erties of the people on whose

(Continued on Page 2)

Watson was arrested on September 15 after a speech in which he denounced British imperialist policy in the colonies and possessions. "Workers, when they tell you to fight for democracy in Europe," he called out to the crowd, "reply by fighting for it here. . . .

"When the Canadian mil-Anti-War Candidates lionaires felt that their wealth was safe," Watson concluded. "they turned the unemployed single workers on the streets to starve without a cent of relief. Now that they feel their Appearing before the Board wealth is in danger, they can

Year's Sentence For these remarks Watson was convicted on September 21 Acting on the flimsiest tech- of "making statements likely ally destitute the sentence is actually a one year's term of

> The American Labor Aid "In the speech for which he

The Campaign Committee an- was convicted," Miss Green

Danger Signal

"The Watson case is the first The Campaign Committee to- example on our continent of "It is a danger signal to (Continued on Page 2)

WAR--WHAT FOR? James P.

The Last of a Series of Friday Night Lectures

Cannon

The Worldin Flames Again

The Real Meaning of the Present War

Friday, Oct. 20 **Irving Plaza** 8:30 P.M. (Irving Pl. & 15th St.) ADMISSION-25c

In the

By B. J. WIDICK

John L. Lewis waited until the last days of the CIO convention and the meeting of the executive council afterwards to the organization.

First dispute between the CIO leaders and their Stalinist allies threatened to arise over the election of a vice president. Emil Rieve, backed by Sidney Hillman was put up to oppose Joe Curran, Stalinist candidate. Rieve is from the textile work ers union. Curran is the boss of the National Maritime Union.

Clipping the C.P.

At the last minute the Stalin ists retreated and Curran withdrew his name. So the Stalinists found themselves without a man among the six vice presidents elected by the convention.

them came when the CIO exectis an obvious maneuver to utive council announced that keep another genuine anti-war Harry Bridges was only Cali-candidate off the ballot. But fornia director of the CIO, in- the Board had better watch its stead of West Coast director. A step," Macdonald warned. couple of Lewis men were given "The number of signed nominthe northwest territory.

York ClO director.

cent Lewis man. Since we cluded. worked together for a year in the United Rubber Workers Union, I could not accept the was a Stalinist.

capable organizer and negotiat-candidacy of Shachtman. The or, whose abilities will mean letters will contain the facts on considerable improvement in the efforts of the Board of Elthe activities of the CIO from ections to rule Shachtman off Washington.

transferred from the Michigan rally behind the candidate of CIO directorship to a post in the Socialist Workers Party.

Tightening Hold

In essence, the meaning of these moves is that Lewis is Prospect Avenue. tightening his hold organizationally on the CIO by putting "reficials in all key CIO posts.

Besides, Lewis gave an inter- way. view to the West Coast press in which he made his first public pronouncement on the question "communists in the CIO."

Communist Party they had bet-statements by the Manhattan as saying.

the Party," he added.

to the organization," Lewis de- York City.

This is the first direct attack on the Stalinists in the CIO that Lewis has made. It takes considerable significance, there-

Purge in Offing

Naturally the question arises: Will there be a purge of the Stalinists in the CIO, and on what basis?

A preliminary examination of the moves indicates that a purge in one form or another is in the offing. However, Lewis reveals his caution by the statement that there will be no witch hunt. The Stalinists, after all, are strongly entrenched in some CIO unions, and besides, Lewis hates to admit that he F.D.R. to Aid Stalinwas wrong all this time in hav ing an alliance with them.

The attitude of the Stalinists Hitler War Alliance on the Lewis moves has not yet been made public since the Daily Worker simply refuses to Hitler war alliance-with the cloak of indeprint any news of the situation to date. Naturally, they are bitter and strongly opposed but the question is: can they afford with genuine working class opposition as the to make a public attack on the campaign of the German Bund—the agents of new Lewis position?

Hitler in the US-against American interven-The next week or so will give tion in the present war. The immediate aims a clearer answer to the ques- of Earl Browder and Fritz Kuhn are identical: tions posed by the Lewis state- the victory of the joint war of their paymasment and his organizational maneuvers.

Let the People Vote on War!

SEEK TO RULE SWP NOMINEES OFF N.Y. BALLOT

Party Publishes 4-Page Election Issue Of Socialist Appeal

(Continued from Page 1) ing," Dwight Macdonald stated. "The workers of New York the Stalinist machine within must fight that ruling," he went opportunity they may have for years to express their Socialist sympathies at the polls."

> Meanwhile, the six day deadline for the remittance of specifications outlining the chalenge to Max Shachtman's Bronx candidacy had passed, the Campaign Committee dis-

Comenting on the efforts to remove Shachtman's name from the ballot, Secretary Macdonald stated, "Like the manner in which George Lyman Paine's candidacy was thrown out by the Board of Elections, the machinations of the Board in withholding its brief chal-However, the real defeat for lenging Shachtman's candidacy

ating petitions placing Shacht-John Brophy, pious fellow- man's name on the ballot is traveler of the C.P. who was three times the number legally national director of the CIO, required. It will be interesting was also clipped. He was re-to observe what the Board will placed by Allan Haywood, New dig up this time. In any case, the hearings before the Board While Haywood has played of Elections on Shachtman's ball with the Stalinists in New challenge are to begin Monday, York, he is a one hundred per October 23, at 10 a.m.," he con-

Shachtman Meetings

The Campaign Committee arguments of some progres- announced today that thoussives who insisted Haywood ands of letters are being mailed to individuals and organizations Incidentally, Haywood is a in the Bronx sympathetic to the the ballot and will call upon all Adolph Germer is being workers opposed to the war to

Shachtman will address public indoor election rally this Wednesday evening. October 18, at Hollywood Gardens. 896

On Wednesday evening, October 23, Shachtman will speak liable" Mine Workers Union of at Bronx Terrace, 3861 Third Avenue, near Claremont Park

Special Appeal Issued

paign issue of the Socialist Ap-"If there are any budding peal in tabloid form will appear young communists who think this week. The tabloid will conthey can make a life work of tain the election platform of the taking over the CIO for the Socialist Workers Party and ter forget it," Lewis is quoted and Bronx candidates. The "The Communist Party sent called upon all sympathizers of paign will enable the Commit-There will be no witch hunts tee to distribute 200 copies of or red hunts and any union has the tabloid. Cash and money the right to elect or select any- orders should be mailed to one it chooses to lead it, how- Dwight Macdonald, Shachtma ever I will insist that CIO lead- and Paine Campaign Commiters give their entire allegiance tee, 116 University Place, New

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.

Stalinists Break with

(Continued from Page 1)

The opposition of the Communist Party to

The "united front" of the Communist Party

and the Nazi Bund has gone so far that there

is not a single word of criticism of fascism in

he resolution of the Political Committee of

the CP! In fact the resolution prepares the

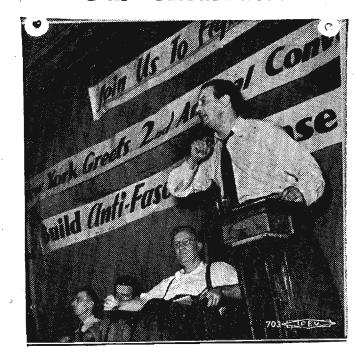
way for open support of German Fascism by

the Communist Party.

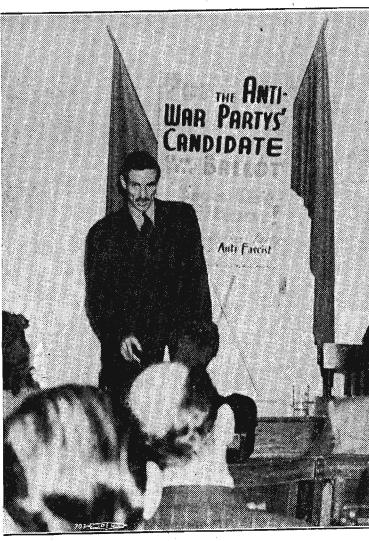
Roosevelt's War Deal has as little in common

pendent workers' action against war?

Our Candidates



In the Bronx—MAX SHACHTMAN



In Manhattan—G. LYMAN PAINE

AUTO WORKERS GIRD AGAINST **BOSS ATTACK**

Lockout Is Union-**Smashing Foretaste** Of War-Time Rule

"In Department 107, Dodge so fast is the rate of production demanded by the company that new automatic machines are burned up, and the workers with them.'

In the Plymouth plant the speed decreed in turning out bearing blocks is so high that men cannot keep pace. One man lost four fingers as a result.

"In the McGee wire department at Plymouth production demands have been stepped up 20 per cent.

"Shop stewards who attempted to discuss these affairs have

Dozens of workers have been fired in the Chrysler plants for refusing to accede to the speedup demands.

GENERAL MOTORS ALSO TRIES SPEED-UP

FLINT, Mich.-General Motors, following up Chrysler's blocks, the company is import-cockles of the heart of even a man. footsteps, has begun a terrific ing southern youths to aid in great (?) humanitarian like speed-up campaign in all the forcing double time production. Ray Trautman! plants which has precipitated a Foremen and superintendents wave of protest among the are lashing the men to the workers that may culminate in point of exhaustion in many dia strike.

The Chevrolet local of the UAW-CIO is taking a strike vote this week end, after wholesale now faces a great test. All in-

COMPANY SPIES DYNAMITED OKLA. OIL PROPERTIES

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) TULSA, Okla.-The tenmonth struggle of the Oil Workers Union against the Mid - Continent Petroleum Corp. received fresh impetus this week when it was discovered that company officials had hired agents provocateurs to dynamite company property and blame strikers.

Elmer Davis, NLRB attorney, announced at the hearing on charges against the company that he would present evidence proving this damaging point.

Dear Sir:

Previously, the company through control of the local city officials had arrested and sought to frame over 100 strikers on charges of violence. The victims were freed by jury decision.

women, the speed-up was so uners marched in a body to the manager's office, protesting the down to a reasonable speed.

of General Motors, with plants hus arms, minus legs — Ah! Oh yes! Your true sentiments covering an area of over 15 that's something to warm the are crystal-clear, Mr. Traut-

Labor in the auto industry

tle will develop unless the com-

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Join the Socialist Workers Party

Ohio, Michigan SWP Branches Hold cro, will struction. The special election cambridge in the bud. It must defeat the later to break in table of the Socialist Apple of th

Campaign Committee today from 7 branches of the Socialist delegate described how the war sion of the preparations of our in witnesses to the Dies Com- the Socialist candidates to con- Michigan, was held here Sun- The bosses are beginning to against the war. mittee to brag about their domtribute to the election fund. One day afternoon, October 8. 58 crack down on the job commitination of the CIO and build up dollar submitted to the cam-delegates attended, including tees in the auto plants, using spiring as a demonstration of leading trade-unionists from au- the pretext of government war the vigorous working-class comto, steel, rubber and other orders to curb any opposition to position of the party in the Ohiomass industries in Flint, Det-speed-ups, wage-cuts and the Michigan district and the firm roit, Toledo, Cleveland, Akron, firing of union militants. Price and unflinching determination Youngstown and New Castle. rises have already taken a of the party here to carry branches in the district during technological improvements are the war system. the recent War Referendum already proving sufficient to campaign and a discussion of guarantee against any great ways to conduct a continuation reduction of unemployment.

branches

Discuss Unions conference dealt with a discus- war.

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) | | sion of the role of the trade-un- | The latter part of the confer TOLEDO, Ohio—A highly suc-ions in the war which the Amer-lence was taken up with a re-

branch spoke with great favor pressions in the war, the workenthus asm of the conferees in at their union rights and living dicated the activization which standards that the objective the campaign gave all the conditions will exist for the revolutionary socialists to lead the workers in great class-struggles

A considerable portion of the against the bosses and their

ainst Hitler is "to try to bring to power in Ger-

against the USSR".

A New Theory Being Born Yesterday the policy of Peoples Frontism Canadian War Measures Act, was defended on the theory that fascism (par- these militants face heavy pristicularly, Hitlerism) represented the most re- on sentences or worse. actionary, most chauvinistic, most imperialistic and most anti-Soviet section of the bourgeoisie. Therefore, it was concluded, a bloc four men, the Toronto Daily was necessary with the "democratic section" Star points out that the authorof the ruling class against fascism. Would it ities refused to disclose the nabe surprising if tomorrow the Stalinists con-ture of the "subversive literacoct a new theory that a bloc is necessary be- ture." tween the working class, and the sections of | Since the Dominion governthe German bourgeoisie which are not in favor ment cannot charge these four of an imemdiate war against the Soviet Union workers with any real or overt —the supporters of Hitler, who apparently are crime, it has resorted to the less reactionary, etc. — against the extreme age-old subterfuge of accusing German imperialists who are allies of Cham-them of possessing "subversive berlain? The new resolution opens the door literature." wide for this development.

cessful Active Workers Confer ican capitalist class is making port of the recent national plenence, with full representation ready to enter. Delegate after um of the party, with a discus-Workers Party in Ohio and is already affecting the unions. party to carry on the fight

The conference included a re- heavy slash in every worker's through to the end its share of port of the activities of the pay. Extension of hours and the fight against the war and

of the anti-war campaign with It was agreed by the deleeven greater success. Every gates that, despite all the reof the campaign method, and ers of this country would face the many new faces and the such misery and so many blows Falls on Four in Canada

Following the arrest of Frank of war hysteria, of which these conditions—that is, they are Watson on September 15 as a four Italian workers are vic-holding out for a higher price That is the clear admission of result of his denunciation of tims, workers everywhere must than the more cheaply paid-off Gandhi's speech. Canadian participation in the come to their immediate de-Gandhi. imperialist war, the Royal Can-fense. adian Mounted Police, aided by Funds for the release of the Gandhi admitted that the re-this. The Congress membership

the Toronto police, raided the four imprisoned workers should cent resolution adopted by the is 5,000,000—the largest in its While stating that all the belligerent powers homes of four workers on Octo- be sent to the Vanguard Provi- Congress Working Committee history. The left-wing—control-"are equally guilty" for the present war the ber 4 and arrested them on a sional Committee for the De- which demanded that the Brit- ling 25 per cent of the votes on resolution states that one of the main aims of charge of possessing "subver-fense of Bartollotti, Benvenuti, ish state their war aims with the Executive Committee—ac-Anglo-French imperialism in their war ag- sive literature." The four workers, Arthur Street, New York City.

many that section of the bourgeoisie which will Bartollotti, Ruggero Benvenuti, immediately engage in military intervention Ernest Gava and Marco Joachim, are being held without bail If found guilty under the new

Age-Old Charge

In reporting the arrests of the

In the battle to stem the rise

year ready for government pur-supporting is done the other chase if and when the United way around, in case you aren't States enters the war." After familiar with this elementary reading this, Harold Swanson economic fact. wrote the following letter, a Ray Trautman, it is clear. copy of which he sent to the thrives on the misfortunes of Socialist Appeal. Mr. Raymond Trautman Mpls. Artificial Limb Co. Minneapolis, Minn.

WORKERS' FORUM

The following squib appeared tarian alright. He gives jobs to

in the Minneapolis Star-Jour- cripples. While other bosses ex-

nal: "WAR NEWS: The Minne- ploit able-bodied workers, Ray

apolis Artificial Limb Co. has Trautman lives off the backs of

already received instructions to cripples! Be assured that no

have 3,000 artificial limbs per boss supports his workers. All

his fellow human beings. He belongs in the same category with those other peerless philanthropists, Morgan, DuPont, Rockefeller, and Carnegie, A few A few weeks ago I visited you crumbs for charity with frontwith the object of securing sup- page publicity and dirty deals port for a drive against the war. for sordid profits at the postern-It was your privilege to refuse gate! What a typical picture of aid for this worthy cause, but the average business man the discourteous reception world over! Luxuries for the which I received was not only few at the expense of destitubecoming a great (?) American tion and misery for the many!

businessman, but it raised You won't give a nickel for doubts in my mind about your "propaganda". It won't be necanti-war sentiment. The above essary. The anti-war sentiments bearable that 50 women work- clipping confirms these doubts. of the working class will find Ray Trautman is not against expression one way or another, war. Peace is inimical to the if not at the polls, then by rate of production and signify- artificial limb interests. Auto- other means. And all the blurbs ing their determination to hold mobiles plus liquor keep the of patrioitc propaganda dished business going in the dull years out by the capitalistic pigs will Things were smoothed over, between wars, but when the not prevail against an outraged but the speed-up drive contin-surviving cannon-fodder — the working class, determined to flower of youth — comes back crush the war-lords and secure In Buick, huge Flint division from the inhuman carnage mi- its freedom from boss tyranny!

Yours for a popular referendum on war! HAROLD SWANSON

N.Y. Workers! Buy the Appeal this week end, after wholesale discrimination, speed-up and discrimination, speed-up and discrimination are larger than a great bat-

this week end, after wholesale in discrimination, speed-up and lations are that a great best, all indiscrimination, speed-up and lations are that a great best the companient of the plants.

Shift Workers Shop stewards in Chevrolet, and a provocation in the plants.

Shift Workers Shop stewards in Chevrolet, and a provocation in the plants.

Shift Workers Shop stewards in Chevrolet, and a provocation in the plants of the will develop unless the companient of the property of t

Ray Trautman is a humani-

Gandhi Admits Large Indian Opposition to War Policy

Mahatma Gandhi, loyal sup-|on before the Congress Execuporter of the Allied powers in tive Committee. delivered by him in Wardha, left wing of the Congress-vot-

most all by himself in his will- the British under any and all ingness to give unconditional circumstances. On the consupport to the British in their trary, they demanded active

Indian Nationalist Congress is struggle for the freedom of Inprepared to give support with dia from its slave holders.

In his speech, however,

the war, has made a most sig- | One-fourth of the Executive nificant admission in a speech Committee - representing the

ed against this resolution be-The aged Mahatma stands al- cause they refused to support opposition to the war on the The entire Working Commit-part of the Congress. They detee—the leading body—of the manded the launching of a real India has not been lined up!

Spectre of Revolution

The actual figures point to Gava and Joachim, 45 West 17 regard to India did not pass tually has a much greater folunanimously when it was voted lowing among the Congress rank-and-file. But even if we take only 25 per cent of the Congress membership, then there are 1,250,000 Indian workers and peasants clamoring for a fighting resistance to the British. And since every Congress member influences at least 30-40 Indian people (the Congress usually gets 90 per cent of the votes in all election campaigns) we can conservatively estimate that 50,000,000 workers and peasants of colonial India would actively participate in a struggle for their

freedom. This is the explanation behind the trembling fears of Chamberlain and Co. that this war will see the finish of the British Slave Empire.

JUST OUT!!

"Why Negroes Should Oppose the War" By J. R. Johnson

A message that affects the life of every Negro!

Price-5c per copy. Bundle rates-10 to 50-3c per copy. 50 or more—2½ c per copy

SPECIAL RATES TO ORGANIZATIONS

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THE

"LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CAS NOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHERF LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS BRANDED"-KARL MARX.

NEGRO QUESTION

By J. R. JOHNSON ____

What Do the Negroes Themselves Think About the War?

To this question a Marxist replies automatically, "Which class of Negro are you inquiring about? Do you mean Negro workers and farmers or the Negro petty bourgeoisie-the lawyers, the doctors, the small businessmen, the stage performers?" In the party pamphlet, "Why Negroes Should Oppose the War" (J. R. Johnson, 32 pages, 5c), there is a section on the Negro petty bourgeoisie and the war. There it is pointed out that because he has a standard of living higher than that of the average Negro workers, farmer, or unemployed, the Negro petty bourgeois act essentially as agents of American imperialism. To quote one passage from the pamphlet, (p. 22):

'And so, for the sake of the crumbs and bones that they get from the big table, they are quite prepared to sacrifice the interests of the majority of the Negroes. They are the most dangerous people. It is they who deceive the Negroes every time. They, despite their black skin, are no more than agents of the white imperialists. They are not saying much now, but when the time comes, they are going to shout for 'democracy' as loudly as the American ruling class. . . . Meetings will be held at which these Negro traitors will speak and agitate and do their best to bluff the Negro pepole to take part in a war and be deceived and maltreated just as they were in the last war for 'democracy.' The bait that they will dangle will be promises of a better world." etc., etc.

Now this is undoubtedly true. And we have evidence of it already. But the Negro petty bourgeoisie, unlike the white petty bourgeoisie, is cut off very sharply from participation in the general life of American capitalist society. American race prejudice, designed to keep the Negro in a state of subjection and to maintain a division between the Negro and the white workers, differentiates very little between the poor Negro and the middle class Negro. Both suffer almost equally from racial discrimination. Thus the Negro petty-bourgeois press reflects the sentiments of the large masses of Negroes, even though, when things come to a showdown, it declares for the program and policy of American imperialism. Nowhere can this be seen more clearly than in the writings of the Negro press on the war and the present international situation.

The Negro Press on the War

sheets. It fights some valiant battles for the Negro cause. It was one of the few Negro papers to wage a campaign on behalf of Negro entry into and support of the CIO, (one of the three greatest steps forward of the Negro in American history during the last hundred years.) The Courier has taken the lead in the struggle for the entry of Negro players into major-league baseball. It has battled for the right of Negroes to entry into the American army on the same conditions as the whites and for equal facilities in training as air pilots. The Socialist Workers Party, the Fourth International, are opposed to imperialist war. But the Socialist Workers Party fully supports the rights of Negroes to intersectional gridiron contest, participate in American life with the fullest equality, including Lou Montgomery, star Boston entry into the army. If any Negro is ass enough to wish to go to fight for American "democracy" of his own free will, it is his privilege to do so. The paper has a great reputation among the team, Montgomery was yanked ocracy. Negroes. It sells for ten cents which the poorer Negroes cannot from the line-up days in adpay. It maintains a large staff and is essentially the paper of the Negro petty bourgeoisie. The Pittsburgh Courier has on its staff Mr. George Schuyler, one of the most brilliant journalists in America (of whom more later). It is not in any sense of the word a revolutionary paper.

The Pittsburgh Courier has naturally been commenting on the war. What it says, and still more what it does not say, is of the utmost importance for the revolutionary movement.

On March 29, the Courier published a cartoon on the war entitled Ringside Seat. The cartoon showed two boxers, one labeled "Democracies" and the other "Dictatorships." The referee was a military-looking gentleman labeled "Imperialism." In the ringside seats were Africans, American Negroes, Mongolians, Pacific Islanders, and Malays. The chief editorial of that issue expressed the following sentiments: "The 'democracies' and the 'dictatorships' are preparing to

do BATTLE in the near future.

the decision to the VICTOR.

"The stake is the right to EXPLOIT the darker peoples of the world. "The audience consists of the vast MAJORITY of those who

happen to be NON-WHITES. "They have NO FAVOIRITE, because it makes NO DIF-

FERENCE to them which party WINS the fight. "They are ONLY interested in the bout taking place AS

SOON AS POSSIBLE." Now this on the surface is a most bloodthirsty attitude. But

the editorial had its very good reason for wishing this destruc-"The AUDIENCE knows that the destruction of white civili zation means the EMANCIPATION of colored people, and that

explains why they eagerly await the opening gong. The editorial is anxious for the destruction of both camps because it knows that there is no essential difference as far as

ism and fascist imperialism. It explains this in detail: "The democracies which now CONTROL the dark world bread is likely to be best buthave never extended DEMOCRACY to the dark world.

"THEIR meaning of democracy is for WHITE PEOPLE only, and just a FEW of them.

THEY will do as the democracies HAVE DONE in the past. "The democracies as frankly declare that IF they win they will CONTINUE to do as they HAVE BEEN doing.

An Indication of Revolutionary Instincts

Here is an astonishingly clear characterization of the real nature of the great forces which are now tearing civilization they are likely to have can be apart. Note particularly that sentence which states that even among the whites democracy is only for a few of them.

This clear vision into the fundamental nature of modern impotent regimes they have set society, this rage at its pretences, this desire for emancipation up in different parts of China. at whatever cost, are what we mean by the revolutionary in- They are, moreover, likely to stinct of the Negroes. And this is why the Fourth International be given even less time now to states that the place of the Negro is in the vanguard and not at make their new creation look the tail of the revolutionary movement.

The Courier editorial naturally makes a great error in badly-stuffed corpse. thinking that the blacks can stand aside in the coming war. Colored people were compelled to fight in the last war. The tions with respect to China re-Africans are being compelled to fight in this one, and if the main studiedly obscure. If it workers of America, black and white, do not stop Roosevelt by is true that hostilities have been working class action, then the American Negroes will be com- or are about to be resumed on pelled to fight when American capitalism goes in.

The Petty Bourgeoisie Cannot Lead

The Courier makes a still greater error when it thinks that participated in last week's raid emancipation for Negroes can come from the mutual destruction of the groups of white imperialists, with the people of color just stepping in to gather up the spoils. The root of this monumental error lies in the neglect of that most important fact which the matic blitzkrieg with Far Easteditorial noted-that even among the white people "democracy" is only for he few. That is the key to the emancipation of Negroes and the oppressed colonial peoples. The political battle is unity among both these groups who recognize that in essentials capitalist democracy is a fraud for all the working people, white and black, and offers them nothing but continual crises, fascist Negroes political leadership and organization necessary to transdictatorships, and ultimately imperialist war. That is the un- late this powerful revolutionary urge into concrete action against that party discredits them in slavery for which you too stand, even if they get paid back in shakable basis of the Fourth International.

expresses himself in these drastic terms about imperialist war, how the Negro petty bourgeoisie, while reflecting the tremen- to do with my testimony, or the nonsense of your polemic. we can have some conception of what are the real sentiments of dous revolutionary drive of the Negroes, is in reality one of the how the newspapers report any I, and others, however, who backs the unmitigated blows of capitalism.

For the Goose, Not the Gander

A particularly striking example of the state of justice in the United States is provided by contrasting the fate of the conspiracy indictments against Minneapolis WPA workers, and he conspiracy indictments against 52 coal mine owners in Harlan, Kentucky.

In the Kentucky situation, the federal government had issued the indictments after an 11-weeks' trial had shown that the coal bosses were guilty of perpetrating a reign of terror in which organizers were shadowed, beaten and fired upon; union meetings were dispersed, union sympathizers beaten and imprisoned and the son of a union organizer slain. But Harlan County is an old story in the United States-Harlan County is an outstanding example of the bosses' idea of industrial democracy.

Indictments against Bosses Are Dropped

Did the federal government press the indictments against the coal bosses? IT DID NOT. On October 2nd, this year the federal government moved for a dismissal of conspiracy charges against the fifty-two coal companies and operators named. And did the federal judge chime in with this move? HE DID. "The propriety and wisdom of the government's action (in moving for the dismissal of the indictments) seems so meritorious I have no other action to take," said Federal Judge Ford.

But in Minneapolis federal indictments for conspiracy are being placed against poor people, against jobless workers. It was these jobless workers who were sinned against by the government, who were shot at and gassed and wounded and slain and thrown in jail at outrageous bail and treated like

Indictments against Workers Are Pressed

Yet, has the federal government moved for a dismissal of the indictments against the Minneapolis workers? IT HAS NOT. It is pressing them ever more harshly.

Justice is of two kinds in these so-called democratic United States. There is the kind of justice the employers receive. And there is the kind of justice the workers get, It is this sort of "democracy" that the war-mongers are

preparing to ask us to defend. Ugh! (From the Northwest Organizer, October 12, 1939)

The Pittsburgh Courier is one of the best of the Negro weekly ALL'S FAIR AND SQUARE IN SPORTS—EXCEPT FOR NEGROES

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) BOSTON --- When Boston College locked horns with Florida taken from the line-up. this Saturday in an important

Reason for his absence from the game is that Lou Montgom-DEFENSE SHATTERS ery, popularly known as the Dobie, Boston coach, according IN MPLS. TRIAL to the sports columnist of the Boston Evening American, withdrew Montgomery "as a sop to the ethnological prejudices of the Southern team."

Boston College would have won have got to take it. . . . " by default. Injury to Montgomery, deliberately engineered by the chauvinist Southerners, would have had its desirable ef-Instead, under the increasing pressure of anti-Negro senti-

Behind the Lines

(Continued from Page 1)

tered on. They will not move projects. until the United States takes action of some kind in the war 'The' dictatorships FRANKLY DECLARE that if they win and Russia's intentions become clearer.

The Japanese have consequently announced their intention of going ahead next month with their puppet government plans. Just how much success gauged by their experiences of the past two years with the like something more than a

Meanwhile Russia's intenthe Mongolian frontier and if it is true that Russian planes on Japanese-occupied Hankow, Stalin may be planning to implement his European diploern moves sooner than the Japanese, at least, had expected.

That the color of skin is enough to upset the beauties of crat, reported the news that cultural back, watched the game from to be assimilated in a study of ist in Nazi Germany.

ery, popularly known as the FRAME-UP EVIDENCE "Ebony Eel," is a Negro. Gil

(Continued from Page 1) PA workers all over the coun-Boston College might have re- try are walking off WPA jobs sisted the "ethnological preju- You have a right to strike and affirm the principle of racial are always a few screwballs tion (Trotskyite), of October 6. Communist Party, I am of they refused to take the field, one gets tough with you, you pearing before the Dies Com- would suppress everyone else.

fect among the Boston rooters. of the American working class ing those who appear before the and entirely for their own bentheir living standards. "We that suppression. so involved in the protest.

colored people are concerned between "democratic" imperial- cation of the war situation such as nursing were not asked lie, what good would that do to in particular will come to the shows them what side their to go on strike and were allow-you, in face of the fact that the same conclusion as the resolu-

ANNOUNCEMENTS

cats meow . . . goblins row . ANTE - HALLOWE'EN AN-Oct. 21 at 8:30 P.M. Entertainment (Honest!).

University Place, N.Y.C.

"A World in Flames" Speaker: ALBERT GOLDMAN St. Paul SWP Headquarters 147 West 5th St. OCTOBER 25th—8 P.M.

But can the Negro petty bourgeoisie give trustworthy revolu- you do otherwise? tionary leadership? Can we trust it to correct itself and give the It is not my fault if the mere dividuals can engineer a des- be it from me henceforth to the war? Not at all. The outstanding characteristic of the vetty the extreme. As to what the explains better than anything their own coin. But what we must note is this. If the Negro petty bourgeois bourgeoisie is instability, and in succeeding articles we shall see Dies Committee does or intends your stand on this question and the great masses of Negroes in every country who feel upon their most dangerous forces misleading the Negroes in the present testimony, this of course is be- see in Socialism a system which

HOOK COMMITTEE FORUM GOES The IN FOR SOME DIGNIFIED AND DEMOCRATIC WAR-MONGERING

By TONY CHAPMAN Assembling a not inconsider-

Friday evening, October 14.

speaker speaks for himself."

Big Hearted Mr. Hook, who refused to hypocritically attacked the So-talitarian—a real revelation. cialist Appeal as a "totalitarian midget" in view of the fact that its editors refused, said Mr. Hook, "to print a notice of the meeting because they didn't like what the speakers were going to say."

Mr. Hook, although anxiously warning the audience against the speakers, was nevertheless sufficiently ample-hearted to were war-mongering college presidents and social democrats, and pro-war labor bur-

Although cultural freedom,

Stalin's Russia.

"Fresh" Wind

warned the audience at the America can learn more from Board. opening of the meeting that the thoroughly native philoso-Each speaker does not neces-phy of John Dewey, Justice sarily speak for the Committee Brandels or of Henry David for Cultural Freedom. Each Thoreau than from the determinist theories of Karl Marx.

Walter G. Krivitsky, former Stalinist chief in the Red Army. take responsibility for the pro- in a fifteen minute speech, told nouncements of his guests, the audience that Stalin is a to-

But of the menacing encroachments upon cultural freedom in the "democratic" nations no one had much to say. George Hartman, of Teachers College, did deplore the signs of cultural restrictions in England and France, but declared preserves freedom, as one can sponsor a meeting for them. see from the free debates in sponsor a meeting for them.

But his anxiety could hardly parliament." The freedom which the British workers enamong his celebrated guests joy now that totalitarian war is on the order of the day, Mr. Hyde Park still lives.'

Not one person attending the such as it is under capitalism, meeting could have learned is being rapidly extinguished from any of the speakers that everywhere under the heels of the United States is being totalitarian war, the majority drawn into the world war, with of speakers confined them- a resultant abrogation of culment in this once classic city of selves to attacks upon Nazi tural, political, social and eco-Abolitionism, Montgomery was Germany, Fascist Italy and nomic freedom. Indeed, not one speaker believed it politic to Willi Schlamm, social demo-mention the inroads against freedom already sport is another of the lessons cultural freedom does not ex-threatened in this country as a result of President Roosevelt's Frances Winwar, declared decree proclaiming a state of that under Mussolini only sec-limited national emergency. ond rate authors are able to Their silence on this point was painfully evident.

A Letter to the Appeal From Joseph Zack

against the savage attack on Dies Committee as aiding in efit, the same as the Bund were only exercising our con- May I ask you whether you the same as they have done in stitutional right to strike and yourself would refuse to appear those countries where they have picket," he explained, adding there if subpeonaed and run the acquired power. I would prefer that the issue of free speech risk of going to jail for con-however, that they be "supand other civil liberties was altempt? May I also ask you pressed" by public ostracism whether you, when appearing, rather than by any administra-Pemble stated that workers would lie in favor of the Com- tive measures, for it is obvious in certain essential projects, munist Party, and if you did that the public and the workers ed free exit and entry to their Dies Committee could prove tion adopted by the American the names of all the various are "anti-democratic, anti-huunions and other organizations manitarian, anti-labor and the that the Communist Party con-servants of Stalin's dictatortrols. Would you undertake to ship, brutal betrayers of the la-SEE SPLENDID FRENCH deny that the Stalin G.P.U. bor movement."

BLACKWITCH RIDES AGAIN! ed words to that effect.

yond my control.

mittee. You raise the issue I don't have to tell you that the Explaining to the jury, Mr. there of the possible suppres- Communist Party utilizes the Pemble declared that he and sion of the Communist Party available democracy in this the other WPA workers were resulting from the activities of country for no other purpose protesting in the best tradition the Dies Committee, condemn- than to suppress it completely would do if they had a chance.

FILM, "End of a Day." The (Russian Secret Service), in You know as well as I do that Tickets: Downtown Labor the Communist Party here, ocrat in this country is far Center, 51 E. 7 St., or Na- when, in fact, the Dies Commit- more democratic than Stalin's tional Office (Caldwell). 65c. tee could quote your own print- mercenaries, who parade their alleged radicalism as a mere You will probably say that trap to the workers. The democyou would make speeches racy in this country with all its ANTE - HALLOWE EN AN-against the Dies Committee at faults and essentially capital-the same time as you affirm istic character does not depend Center, 51 E. 7 St., Saturday, the facts, in which case, let me on Mr. Dies or any other indiassure you that the speeches viduals. It is inherent in the you would make would appear system but the system of one SOOKS BOUGHT in lots or in nowhere except in your own lit-party domination of governsingle volumes. Estimates the paper, whereas, the facts ment ownership by the bureaugiven on request. Write or you would affirm would be cracy of all economic and povisit Labor Bookshop, 116 flashed across all the newspa-litical institutions has been repers of the country, in a man- vealed as the instrumentality to ner that you would not like, expropriate not only the capbut over which you, the same italists, but to expropriate also as myself, would have absolute- the workers of all their rights. ly no control. When I was first The workers cannot be exprointerviewed by the counsel of priated of property which they the Dies Committee two months do not own, but when they are ago, I said to him that if sub-expropriated of their rights, es over all things, economic peonaed I could of course not then a country becomes a huge and political, shall and will rerefuse to appear and when ap-concentration camp, regiment- main intransigent opponents of pearing I would not lie in favor ed by a bureaucracy, organized the kind of slavery totalitarian of the Communist Party. Would into a totalitarian party. Under parties and their splinter offsuch a set-up, one or more in-springs stand for. Therefore, far

gives more rights to the mass- answer.)

WAR DEAL

By DWIGHT MACDONALD -

This week I am turning over this department to the National Dr. Harry D. Gideonse, pres Industrial Conference Board, a statistical and research agency able number of dignitaries, the ident of Brooklyn College, in- financed by big business. In 1929 the Board published a volume Committee for Cultural Free toned that "We are experienc entitled A Picture of World Economic Conditions at the Begindom, formerly the League ing an Indian Summer of liber- ning of 1929. This was a most cheerful and optimistic work: the Against Totalitarianism, held alism." Not many esoteric par- booming twenties were at their highest period of prosperity, war the first public meeting of its agraphs later, Dr. Gideonse had been "outlawed" by the Kellogg Pact, and all was for the year-old career at Town Hall, hopefully exclaimed that "A best in the best of all possible worlds. The speed and extent of fresh wind has blown through the collapse of world capitalism since then is, of course, a dra-Apprehensive lest his guests progressive America." This ex- matic proof of the superiority of Marxist to bourgeois economic compromise the Committee a ponent of cultural freedom in- theory. And an excellent index as to just how catastrophically little beyond the possibility of dexed his cosmic views by re- world capitalism has gone to pieces in the last decade is to be apology, Sidney Hook, chair- minding the audience that "Any- found in the opening pages of this 1929 survey. So without further man of the Committee and one interested in the mainte- comment on my part—which would be merely gilding the lily—I mainstay of its existence, nance of cultural freedom in turn over this column to the National Industrial Conference

"A Universal Will to Maintain Peace"

"The year 1928," begins the first chapter, "has witnessed many noteworthy developments in the field of international relations and in economic and political conditions in individual countries. These developments have on the whole been favorable to a continuation of the progress which has been made in recent years towards a complete recovery from the numerous and deepseated maladies caused by the unprecedented economic and political upheaval of ten years ago. The formation of the League of Nations: the creation of the World Court; the establishment of the Dawes Plan; the Disarmament Conference in Washington; the admission of Germany to the League; the conclusion of the Locarno treaties; and finally, the signing of the Multilateral Treaty for the Renunciation of War by the United States. France, Great Britain, Germany, Italy, and ten other nations in Paris on August 27, 1928—all indicate that the nations of the world are replacing the old system of checks and balances, Ententes and defensive and offensive alliances by a new conception nevertheless that "Britain still of international relations based on mutual understanding and a universal will to maintain peace.

Enter the "Practical Business Man"

"In their efforts to maintain harmonious relations among the nations, the governments have been materially assisted by private individuals. The work of diplomats and statesmen, of mili-Hartman explained away with tary experts and professional politicians is being supplemented the phrase that "The spirit of by that of practical business men, leaders of industry and finance, economists and statisticians. At no other time in the history of the world has the cooperation of public officers and private enterprise been so intimate and so forceful as during the last few years. Often in the past, the conflict of commercial interests has been the cause of, or the excuse for, war largely because the representatives of industry and trade had no opportunity to sit around a table and discuss their difficulties in a friendly manner. The growing influence of private business on state policies is a most encouraging sign of our era. A business man knows that the prosperity of his business is bound up with the general prosperity of his country; and this principle he applies to international relations: the prosperity of his country can not be maintained at the expense of other nations. . . . The leaders of industry are trying to eliminate one of the causes of war-unreasonable and illegitimate competition for world markets.

Peace on Earth. . . .

"The signing of the Multilateral Treaty for the Renunciation of War on August 27, 1928, by representatives of fifteen nations has been hailed throughout the world as a most significant contribution towards the advancement of peace. . . . As finally adopted and signed, the Treaty is a plain declaration on the part of the signatory powers that they 'condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and renounce it as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another.' . . .

'The right of all states to wage a defensive war is not denied by the Treaty, nor does the Treaty define what constitutes a defensive war. Each nation is . . . the sole judge of what constitutes the right of self defense and the necessity and extent of the same. . . . The Treaty does not restrict the right of France, for ing the Negro back if only to be careful, however. There In an edition of your publication of the possible suppression of the example, to fight for Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Ruman-

"The Treaty enunciates a great moral principle. . . . It would "The 'democracies' and the 'dictatorships' are preparing to equality. Had the 'ethnological and hotheads around, not to prejudices' of the Southern that, of the referee is IMPERIALISM, who stands ready to award the stands of the southern that the provocateurs and principle. . . It would be useless to speculate what the provocateurs and equality. Had the 'ethnological mention the provocateurs and the interval principle. . . It would be useless to speculate what the provocateurs and equality. Had the 'ethnological mention the provocateurs and the interval principle. . . It would be useless to speculate what the provocateurs and equality. Had the 'ethnological mention the provocateurs and botheads around, not to provocate the provocateurs and if it would come to power, if it is would come to power, if it is the provocate in favor of fighting to be useless to speculate what the provocateurs and botheads around, not to provocate in favor of fighting to be useless to speculate what the provocateurs and botheads around, not to provocate in favor of fighting to provocate in favor of fi right direction. For this reason, the signing of the **Anti-War** treaty stands out as the most notable achievement of 1928.

"The Kellogg Treaty is also responsible for the negotiations for the conclusion of treaties of mutual friendship between Russia and her other neighbors, particularly with Poland. . . .

"On the basis of a detailed analysis of the whole field of Germany's economic life, the Agent General for Reparation Payments concludes that 'Fundamentally, confidence has been restored, and Germany has been re-established as a going concern on a relatively high level of economic activity.'

"Among the so-called Succession States, which came into existence as a result of the Treaty of Versailles, Czechoslovakia has shown the greatest economic power and political stability."

The "Practical Business Man" Again

It is only fair to say that the National Industrial Conference Board arrived at the conclusions quoted above in the most impeccably scientific manner. For each of these fantastic (as of 1939) misjudgements, there was the soundest statistical foundation. As President Alexander of the Board puts it in his Preface to the volume: "In the preparation of its publications, the Naout of your own printed articles Labor Party, namely that they tional Industrial Conference Board avails itself of the experience and judgement of the business executives who compose its membership and of recognized authorities in special fields. . . . The publications of the Board thus finally represent the result of scientific investigation and broad business experience." In other words, the National Industrial Conference Board is

a solid, responsible scholarly institution which goes haywire only atre party, Oct. 23 thru 27. fact, controls the activities of even the most reactionary dem- along lines approved of by the best business and statistical brains of the country. Its fantasies are not its own individual day-dreams but the hallucinations of the ruling class as a whole.

INCIDENT

And then there is the story of the man who went to a socialist meeting to boo the speakers and was just in time to see the meeting broken up by the cops. "But I'm an anti-socialist!" he protested. "I don't give a damn what kind of socialist you are," roared the copper, as he gave the man's skull another caress with his nightstick.

Very truly yours JOSEPH ZACK

(See editorial page 4 for our

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MAX SHACHTMAN

Associate Editors EMANUEL GARRETT FELIX MORROW Assistant Manager: SHERMAN STANLEY

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

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

For Frank Watson

The Socialist Appeal endorses enthusiastically the call of the American Labor Aid for a solidarity fund for Frank Watson, that model working class militant who so fearlessly spoke in Toronto against the imperialist murderers of labor. Criminal as he properly is in the eyes of the cynical war-mongers, he is a hero in the eyes of the working class, a fighter captured by the enemy, This fighter must be freed and no stone must be left unturned to effect his liberation.

Support the American Labor Aid's special fund! Demonstrate your international solidarity! Demonstrate your hatred of the imperialist war! Send your contribution to the A.L.A. at 125 West 32nd Street, New Yok, N. Y.

Dies Committee

The letter written to the editor by Joseph Zack, printed elsewhere in this issue, affords us an opportunity to clarify our position towards the Dies Committee and those who have testified before it.

On the aims of the Dies Committee there is no need to elaborate on what has been said here more than once: it seeks to lay the ground for the "big push" that is coming to crush every spark of militancy in the American labor movement, and as such it is part and parcel of the capitalist preparation for the war.

Its "exposures" of the fascist groups in this country is so much misleading farce, except in so far as it is seriously directed against the Bund on the good imperialist grounds that Fritz Kuhn and Co. represent a spy agency for a rival capitalist power.

Its attacks on the Communist Party however are not delivered on the ground that it represents a revolutionary movement, for the good and sufficient reason that every intelligent capitalist understands that the Stalinists are about as revolutionary as the Salvation Army. But, if we leave aside for a moment the foreign-political interests of American imperialism that are involved in these attacks, it would be blindness not to see that the offensive against the Stalinists is merely a preliminary to the very seriously meant offensive against the genuinely revolutionary movement, and particularly against the actual and potential anti-war forces in this country.

It is with this basic fact in mind that the question of the Dies Committee and its witnesses must be approached. Whoever aids Dies in the accomplishment of his ends, is striking a blow at

The question raised by Zack about what to do when served by such a committee with a subpoena, is not very difficult to answer. Revolutionists have not only appeared in the past, either voluntarily or under compulsion, before governmental bodies, but even in capitalist courts. In every such case, what was decisive was the capacity in which they appeared and the attitude they took when they spoke.

And if one is compelled to speak, asks Zack, shall he be silent about the Stalinists, especially when his position on Stalinism is known publicly? A revolutionist who appeared before the Dies Committee or any other committee, would no more refrain from giving his position to-

wards Stalinism than he would if he were a United States Senator speaking in Congress. There again, what is decisive is what is said.

For example: In its day, the Communist International pointed out to the "anti-po itical" I.W.W. that its leader, William D. Haywood, had actually engaged in revolutionary political action when he made use of the platform offered him by the Industrial Relations Committee of Congress to testify on the labor situation and the polition of the I.W.W., and when he demanded a Congresssional Committee to investigate conditions in Lawrence, Mass.

Victor Berger, however, who was a Socialist Party member of the House of Representatives. spo e quite often on the floor of Congress, also speaking on labor problems and his attitude towards them.

Haywood, the "anti-political" I.W.W., remained a revolutionist before, during and after his testimony before the Committee.

Berger, the "political" Socialist, remained an incurable opportunist and social-patriot throughout his career, especially in his later years.

The "radicals" who have testified before the Dies Committee are, with perhaps one or two exceptions, ex-radicals, avowed turncoats. They do not testify as revolutionists. They testify as good Americans, good patriots. What else can anyone gather from the testimony of such peop.e as Git.ow, Dubrowsky, Malkin? Disregarding for the moment our known political differences with Zack, we are ready to acknowledge that so far as the printed excerpts from his testimony are concerned, he did not act the Gitlowian penitent ex-revolutionist, and we were undoubtedly wrong a few weeks ago in bracketing him with Git.ow. The Git.ows and Ma.kins, however, only proved that they remained the same patriotic renegades during their testimony that they were before it.

Billings Free

Just as the welcome news appeared that Warren K. Billings, together with Tom Mooney the most famous class-war prisoner in the United States, had been freed by action of California's Gov. Olson, the trial of eight WPA workers framed-up on a "conspiracy" charge by the Government in Minneapo is, entered into its third

For our professional "democrats," the two events have no connection. For one who looks below the veil and sees the hideous class realities in America, the two are inseparably connected.

A great victory for democracy, we are told, in connection with Billings' release, as we were

told when Mooney was freed. A murderous condemnation of your fake dem-

ocracy, we reply. Bilings, like Mooney, was innocent of the crime charged against him, as virtually everybody now admits. He was framed up—framed by the merchants and manufacturers, by the bankers and traction interests, by the courts and the prosecutor, by the press and all the other pillars of society. He went to prison at the age of 22, an innocent man. He stayed in prison for 22

years, innocent all the time. Isn't that a magnificent tribute to American

That same democracy is now trying to railroad to the penitentiary the Minneapolis WPA workers who committed the unforgivable crime of being surplus mouths for capitalism to feed. Thrown out of work by a decayed system that can no longer even feed the people, they were finally given a pittance on WPA jobs. When the government tried to cut their already low wages to a still lower point, they fought back, as they had a right and duty to fight, for themselves, for their families, for their human dignity and self-

But you have no right to fight your "democratic" government. The only right you have is to keep your damned trap shut and let yourself be reduced to a coolie level without protest. And, say our democrats, who framed-up Mooney and Billings, who framed-up the Centralia I.W.W.'s, whose last prisoner, Ray Becker, was released only the other day after 20 horrible years in a dungeon—if you do protest, if you don't keep your trap shut, you'll be framed-up and railroaded to prison too.

We hail Warren Billings on his release from California's prison. We feel that we have the right to call, in his name, in the name of every great labor fighter who sacrificed for his class, for an unceasing struggle to free every class-war prisoner in this and all other countries, and to prevent the imprisonment of those victims of class rule—like the Minneapolis WPA workers -who are now on trial for their freedom.

116 University Place New York City. I would like to get better acquainted with your paper, the Socialist Appeal. Please send me sample copies for the next few weeks.

Socialist Appeal

The Socialist Party Meets the Problem of the ALP's War-Mongering by--Saying Nothing

By FELIX MORROW

Harry Laidler and Frank Crossabor Farty.

in and the Stalinists for shift- aging note," says The Call. Enng from Anglo-French imperialism to Hitler. The next day the ALP state executive comtest" of ALP membership.

and, along with the war-monstand of the Socialist party.

THE CALL APPLIES GOBS OF WHITEWASH

One awaited with interest, herefore, the following issues of The Call. Would the Socialist Party adhere to its official anti-war position and consequenty condemn Jack Altman, Farty in unequivocal opposi tion to the war-mongering res-

ify voting for the resolution? These were the two horns of he dilemma which the national eaders of the Socialist Party

Lovestoneite Workers Age, jus-

They have met the problem ments been issued to the press 33rd st., New York City." -other than Crosswaith's "unqualified approval of the resolu-

The latest issues of The Call wash of the AFL bureaucracy, by lifting the embargo.

'There can be no question that the convention did plan and speak effectively for all labor in the matter of opposition not only to any involvement of the United States in war but as to the measures preparatory to war in terms of "M" Day plans and war boards." Proof? The mealy-mouthed AFL resolution which proposed, as a solution for "war-time dictatorship" that organized labor be represented on the war planning boards! In neither issue is there a single, solitary word about or against the convention's adherence to Roosevelt's program for lifting the embargo! WHERE THE CALL

FINDS ENCOURAGEMENT The latest issues of The Call have room for many things. That of October 14 wrote: "An encouraging note was struck by the AFL convention here when it gave a tremendous ovation to Gerhart Seger, former member of the German Reichstag, who spoke to the delegates on behalf of the German labor delegation in America." Why is it "an encouraging note" that

Seger received a "tremendous "obey discipline." The Oct. 7 issue of The Call, ovation"? The Call does not THESE GENTLEMEN fficial organ of the Thomas So- say, nor does it accurately de- DO NOT DENOUNCE ialists, proudly announced that scribe who he is. Gerhart Se- The Cail, issue after issue two well-known Socialists," ger may speak on behalf of the prints reams from Devere Alwaith, had been nominated as America, but that means speak- tee member, now in Brussels, New York City councilmanic ing on behalf of those who, hav- who cannot find warm-enough candidates by the American ing capitulated to Hitler with- words with which to praise the On Oct. 4, the state execu- as much propaganda as they ernment of Belgium (and the tive committee of the ALP ad- can for their present program Congo) which is operating, he opted a "special resolution on which is: their return to Ger-says, "with a spirit of poise and he European conflict" which many behind British and sincerity which must evoke the put the ALP on the side of An- French—and American—bayo- admiration of the world." As. glo-French imperialism and on nets. Seger is one of that des- for example—Mr. Allen doesn't the basis of this fundamental picable group of war-mongers mention it—the Belgian governorientation drew two immedi- who are providing "German" ment's recent arrest of Walter ate corollaries: support of testimonials to the purity of the Dauge, leader of the Revolu-Roosevelt's proposals to aid war aims of Anglo-French im-tionary Socialist Party (Fourth Anglo-French imperialism by perialism. That he receives a International) for issuing a malifting the embargo on muni-tremendous ovation from the nifesto calling for struggle agtions; and denunciation of Stal- AFL convention is an "encour- ainst the war. couraging to whom?

ney find room in the issues of present terrible dilemma, mittee made "subscribing to The Call which keep silent ab- wrote the Socialist Party in its and reaffirming" this pro-war out the ALP resolution. The "Declaration Against the War" resolution mandatory upon all Call had printed a message (The Call, September 23). ALP candidates, and an "acid from the "German Independent Labor Party," ostensibly as doubt, that The Call feels that The resolution was submitted an anti-war document. Not be- it is not for it to denounce the to a city conference of ALP del-ling anti-war, Alfred Baker immediate choice of its Ameri-

gering Louis Waldmans and as- etts, writes a communication can Labor Party.

'German labor delegation' in len, national executive commit out a struggle, now are making Catholic-Socialist coalition gov

"It is not for us to denounce the immediate choices of our More things of the same kid- European comrades in their

It is in the same strain no egates on the night of Oct. 4. Lewis, state secretary of the can comrades in their present Socialist Party of Massachus- terrible dilemma in the Ameri-

sorted pro-Roosevelt labor in The Call, October 14, "I To vote against the pro-war skates, the Norman Thomas so- think it is only fair to your resolution — why that would cialists, led by Jack Altman, readers to state that the mes- mean a break with the Dubinvoted for the pro-war resolu- sage from the German Inde- skys and Hillmans and all the afterward the pendent Labor Party . . . also other bureaucrats in the needle press reported that the "well-included a statement from the trades; would mean that the known socialist," Frank Cross- Society of Sudeten Germans Jack Altmans would no longer waith, had "expressed unquali- which reads: 'Hitler's defeat be welcome in the corridors of fied approval for the resolu- is an aim common to all those the union officialdom; it would tion." The terms in which his loving peace, liberty and hu- mean to put their much-touted cellow-socialist, Harry Laidler, manity. We are in accord with principles above the interests accepted the resolution have the British and French peoples of the Crosswaiths and other renot been published, but it was who stand up for the freedom tainers of the union bureaucraevidently satisfactory to the of the world.' It would be a mis-cy. As for the very thought of war - mongering ALP leader- take to leave the impression disciplinary action against the ship. All this was, of course, in that our courageous German war-mongers in the party like plain violation of the official comrades regard the outcome Crosswaith, Jack Altman, Alof the war with indifference on fred Baker Lewis et. al.—exthe ground that it is only a pulsions and such weapons are clash between rival imperial-for the Altmans to employ agisms." (Mr. Lewis writes in ainst the left wingers in the the same pro-Ally vein in The party, never against such Nation and elsewhere, but that "leaders." For that's the Sois all right in the Socialist Par- cialist Party of Norman Thomty where only left wingers must as.

By James Burnham Government

Since the beginning of the war, the isolationist Congressmen, especially the group of Senators headed by Borah, LaFollette, Nye and Vandenberg, have attempted to pose before the country as "the peace bloc," the aim of which is "to keep the country out of war." Several weeks of the Special Session provide us with new evidence upon which to judge their claim.

The isolationists continue their opposition to repeal of the arms embargo. On this particular point the Socialist Workers Party agrees with them. Nevertheless, agreement here or on any other single point does not in the least imply the slightest similarity in general policy toward the war. We must always ask what motivates the position taken on any given point that boils down to a "yes or no" question; and ask how this position is related to the whole policy pursued by any group or party.

The Nazi Bund and, today, the Stalinists also oppose repeal of the arms embargo. They do so for a clear and simple reason: because they favor the victory of Hitler, and, under the immediate circumstances, opposition to repeal happens to favor Hitler as against the Anglo-French coalition.

Why the S.W.P. Opposes Repeal

The Socialist Workers Party stands for the defeat of both sides in the war, of Hitler and of Britain-France. The S.W.P. is opposed to repeal of the arms embargo because the SWP is against the war, and because Roosevelt's proposal to lift the embargo is a war act. This can be most obviously seen in the following two ways:

(1) Repeal of the embargo is a unilateral intervention by United States imperialism in the war, on the side of one of the belligerents. This is understood by everyone, and has been brought into the open during the Senate debates. Repeal will turn part of US industry into an armory for Britain-France. This intervention is necessarily a step. and a very important step, toward further involvement which must lead in the end to military entry.

(2) Even more important, however, is the fact that repeal of the embargo is a key part of the direct war preparations of the US military machine. The orders from Britain-France will enable the US armament industry to increase its plant and facilities and raise its capacity to war levels before formal declaration of war. From this point of view, opposition to repeal follows in exactly the same way as opposition to any and all military appropriations by the US or any other imperialist

At the same time, the SWP does not regard the embargo issue as decisive for war or peace. It refuses to delude itself or the workers. Retention of the embargo would prove only a minor bump in the path of the war machine.

Frank Crosswaith and Harry Laidler, and place the Socialist AMERICAN LABOR AD LAUNCHES tion to the war-mongering resolution? Or would it, like the DRIVE FOR DEFENSE OF WATSON

(Continued from Page 1) It is a call to arms in the de- guard the rights of those genuaced. How would they meet fense of civil rights during the difficult period ahead.

Oct. 4, by a very simple meth- pathizer of the workers' cause od: utter silence. The October has a direct stake in this case. question! Nor have any state- American Labor Aid, .125 W.

Cannon Statement

James P. Cannon, National Fund that it has created. The latest issues of **The Call** find room for many things, if or material on the crucial ALP resolution. The main headline in the Oct. 14 issue is "A-line in the Oct. 14 issue is "A-line in the Oct. 14 issue is "A-line in the Oct. 15 issue is "A-line in the Oct. 16 issue is "A-line in the Oct. 17 issue is "A-line in the Oct. 18 issue is "A-line in the Oct. 19 issue in the Oct. 19 issue is "A-line in the Oct. 19 issue in the Oc the most important act or international solidarity initiated there since the outbreak of the war.

the most important act or international solidarity initiated there since the outbreak of the war.

the most important act or international solidarity initiated there since the outbreak of the war.

"The decision of the Ameriwhich, far from really fighting can Labor Aid," Comrade Canagainst the war, railroaded non said, "to undertake a cam- can Labor Aid, Watson Defense through the convention support vaign of support in behalf of Fund, 125 W. 33rd St. (Room for what the Socialist Party has Frank Watson, persecuted Ca- 201), New York City. called the first giant step to nadian anti-war militant, and war: Roosevelt's program to the Canadian section of the aid Anglo-French imperialism Fourth International for which he spoke, is not just an ordi-As if this were not enough, nary action in defense of civil the Oct. 21 issue of 'The Call rights. It is in the truest sense provided further whitewash: of the word a first step in a

world - wide action to safeine anti-war fighters whose revolutionary action alone can put an end to the frightful holocaust

"In this sense we call upon all members of the Socialist 14 and 21 issues of The Call are Rally to the defense of Frank Workers Party and the Young out, and they carry not a sin- Watson. Rush funds at once to Peoples Socialist League and gle word on this important the Watson Defense Fund of the all sympathizers and readers of our press to rally at once to the appeal of the American Labor Aid, and to contribute bountifully to the Watson Defense

Fourth Internationalists."

Rush all funds to the Ameri-

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Why do the Isolationists Oppose Repeal?

A study of the conduct of the isolationists-not, of course, from the point of view of their psychological motives or moral ideals, but of the political magning and function of their acts-proves that their opposition to repeal of the embargo has no.ning in common with that of the SWP and of the militant anti-war fighters in general. On the contrary, their opposition can be correctly understood only as a demagogic exploitation of the antiwar sentiments of the people, and as a pacifist cover for the war preparations of US imperialism Far from helping in the fight against the war, they are most dangerous-because deceptive-enemies of the anti-war fight, and allies of the war-mongers.

This judgment will sound harsh to sentimentalists, but no other conclusion is possible. Consider:

Not a single isolationist in the Congressional debate has called for the peoples' referendum on war. If the isolationists are sincere, if they really are against the war, if they really want the will of the people to be done, how can they possibly fail to make the referendum a central issue in their fight?

Not a single isolationist has had one word to say against the colossal armament expenditures of the government. Quite the contrary: many of them have been loudest in demanding great increases in armament expenditures. The only possible purpose for this mighty war machine is military en-Not a single isolationist criticized Roosevelt's

declaration that the armed forces of the United States would defend Canada—one of the belligerent nations. This declaration was itself an intervention in the war. Not a single isolationist has even mildly criticized the Declaration of Panama which in actual-

ity places the United States in the forefront even now of the world imperialist struggle for the redivision of the earth. In other words and in general: on all major

fronts the isolationists are in the vanguard of those who are pushing forward the aggressive war plans of US imperialism.

Jumping the Gun

In fact, the isolationists are often well in advance of their "opponents." For example: it is on the initiative of the isolationists-specifically, Borahthat the present bill is now being amended to "relax the restrictions on shipping." As drawn up by the administration, all shipments in US vessels to ports of belligerents were to be prohibited. The amendments will prohibit shipments only to "belligerent zones," which will include only Europe, and will exclude the entire East-Australia, New Zealand, India, Hong Kong, Indo-China, etc.

But this is exactly the major strategy of US imperialism, which, stretching out from a stranglehold on Latin America has as its next immediate aim dominance of the East.

And it was the isolationist Shipstead who a few days ago gave more of the show away by openly proposing in the Senate that the United States take over Canada and the European possessions in this hemisphere.

Borah, let us remember, not merely voted for the declaration of war in 1917, but made the most rabid of all the speeches supporting it.