

WORKERS OF THE
WORLD UNITE!

Socialist Appeal

LET THE PEOPLE
VOTE ON WAR

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WORKINGMEN, THIS IS NOT OUR WAR! IT IS A WAR OF THE BOSSES! DOWN WITH THE WAR!

Roosevelt Administration Working Overtime to Drag U. S. into the War

Roosevelt is hard on the heels of Chamberlain, Daladier, and Hitler. His powerful war propaganda machine is now working overtime to drag the American people into the butchery of imperialist war.

Roosevelt sends appeals for peace to Germany and Poland, but he is working side by side with his prospective allies, Britain and France. Says the New York Post's Washington correspondent, August 31: "The Roosevelt administration is adopting a policy of a frank and open collaboration with Great Britain." Even *The Post*, which is now shrieking for war with the rest, has to admit that "The subterfuge of independent but parallel action with which cooperation has been cloaked in the past crises has been almost totally discarded. . . . Secretary of State Hull admitted yesterday for example, that he had been informed of the contents of the still secret message from Hitler to Great Britain."

Roosevelt is whipping up the war spirit unofficially and officially. Brig. Gen. Henry J. Reilly and Col. Charles Sweeney, United States Army officers, will raise a volunteer division in the United States. This is the advance guard of the American Expeditionary Force. For the time being, however, they want to keep within present United States law, so enlistments will be made in Canada. It is "believed" the French consular service will cooperate. "Believed." As if the whole business is not a precise repetition of the way in which the American people were maneuvered into the last war.

Stooges Speak

"It has seemed to us," said Col. Sweeney, Roosevelt stooge, speaking to the New York Times, "that apart from what the United States government may or may not do, provision should be made so that those young Americans who feel deeply that the cause of freedom is at stake will have an opportunity to enlist in its defense. . . . What we did in 1914 has never been disapproved and we see no reason why we should not do it again."

Rear Admiral Yates Stirling, Jr., in a speech before the Veterans of Foreign Wars convention asserted on August 29 that the security of the United States depended on "the defeating of the dictators when the war starts." The best way to insure American interests was by "a victory of the democracies," he said, "and the one sure way to do that will be to go into the war at first." He denounced the present neutrality act as "ungrateful" to Britain and France.

Army Parade

On August 31 the people of New York were treated to a parade of tanks and other equipment of the new motorized division. We can look out for more of these.

But there are the workers, who do not want to go to war for Roosevelt or Daladier or the British Empire or for anybody. There are the revolutionary workers who are exposing and continuing to expose Roosevelt. To terrorize those who will not be bamboozled is, therefore, an important part of the war prep-

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Shachtman and Widick Tours, 3-a-Week Appeal Highlight Party Drive

Party Goes on War Footing as War Breaks—Open Letter to C.P. Members, Anti-War Folder Ready for Distribution

By HAL DRAPER
Secretary, Campaign Committee

By the time you read this, THE war, for which the rulers have been preparing since the last war ended, may have broken out in Europe.

In this crisis, the Party calls upon its members and supporters to go on a WAR FOOTING at once. If the war is deferred by another week or month or two months, that only means we have a little more time to prepare.

The Socialist Appeal, which became a twice-weekly only a few months ago, is now appearing THREE TIMES A WEEK!

This action requires the full cooperation each day on the part of every Party and YPSL member, in order to get our message into the hands of workers who are eagerly looking for light to be shed on the events of the day.

Max Shachtman, editor of the

Socialist Appeal, and B. J. Widick, national labor secretary, are touring the country for a series of mass meetings on the war crisis and the Stalin-Hitler pact.

Fifty thousand copies of a two-page Open Letter to the Members of the Communist Party (Continued on Page 2)

PARTY MOBILIZATION CALL

The second World War has begun. Every branch of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Peoples Socialist League will mobilize at once for the struggle ahead. Every member at his post.

All leaves of absence for members of the Party and Y.P.S.L. are cancelled. Every member is on call for Party action.

The anti-war chest of the Party has been exhausted in the last few days. The projected plans of the National Office require thousands of dollars immediately.

The fund quotas which were set for peace-time have been superseded by events. Rush every available dollar to the National Office. The quotas are now

only the minimums and the time limits are tomorrow and the next days.

Every sympathizer, every partisan of the struggle against war, is urged to speed his contribution to the Anti-War Party, the Socialist Workers Party, 116 University Place, New York City.

All friends and sympathizers are asked to report to the various branch headquarters to help in the sale of the *Socialist Appeal* and in the distribution of Anti-War leaflets.

Little time remains for us in America. Every day counts now.

Down with the war!
Long live the international solidarity of Labor!

NATIONAL COMMITTEE
Socialist Workers Party

"Government by the People"



An End to Boss War--Says Local New York Councilmanic Program

Shachtman, Paine Run for Council on Anti-War Program

Local New York of the Socialist Workers Party this week issued its municipal election program. Amid the war lies and hysteria the program stands out for its truth and clarity, offering the workers of New York City a guide to the only action that is meaningful in this pres-

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Text of SWP Election Program

The Socialist Workers Party has no interests separate and apart from those of labor. Today, when the whole world is on the brink of war, the Socialist Workers Party is the ONLY party that fights against capitalist war—a war to redivide the world markets and profits. It is in the forefront of the struggle against Fascism. It has a concrete program which alone can immediately help labor.

The Socialist Workers Party is running two candidates for the office of Councilman in New York City:

Max Shachtman in the borough of Bronx.
George Lyman Paine in the borough of Manhattan.

VOTE FOR THE CANDIDATES OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY BECAUSE

They are pledged to fight for the following program:

1. Put an End to Capitalist War!

Roosevelt and the Democrats have scrapped all the progressive legislation they promised the Forgotten Man in 1932. Even relief for the unemployed has been laid on the chopping block. Roosevelt himself slashed the backbone out of relief appropriations.

Roosevelt promised a NEW DEAL. He handed out a WAR DEAL.

Now Roosevelt and all his supporters are working overtime to convert the Forgotten Man into the Unknown Soldier. Under capitalism the youth has no future except that of becoming cannon-fodder.

Roosevelt is dumping four billion dollars a year into the most costly war machine in history.

The first World War cost more than 360 billion dollars—enough money to provide an income of \$2,000 a year for 12 years to 15 million unemployed! The Second World War will cost many times that staggering amount.

Labor has no more to gain from the next war than from the last. The last World War cost more than 13 million lives. You and yours may be among the many times 13 million who will be slaughtered in the next world war. The flower of our youth will come back—those who do come back—from "Over There" shell-shocked, gassed, mutilated.

Why not use the war funds to end unemployment and hunger?

Why not? But Roosevelt and all his friends even oppose the right of the people to VOTE whether or not this country shall enter the war.

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Only the Workers Can Stop the World Slaughter!

The Second World War began Friday at 5:45 A.M. (New York Time).

Two gigantic combinations of world powers are locked in mortal combat.

The very marrow from the bones of the German workers and peasants has been extracted by Hitler to build the war machine which is now engaged on the plains of Poland.

Thirteen slaves for every Englishman—Negroes in the African colonies, brown men in the Malay states, yellow men in Hong-Kong, Hindus and Moslems in India, Singalese in Ceylon—five hundred and fifty millions in the British Empire, one-quarter of the earth, are exploited unmercifully like slaves to fight Britain's "democratic" war.

Six slaves for every Frenchman—Moors in French Morocco, Arabs in Syria, Senegalese in Africa, Mohammedans in Algeria—toil under dictatorial rule for French "democracy."

Stalin's puppets, the so-called "Supreme Soviet Parliament", vote "unanimously"—the alternative is death or the concentration camp—for the Stalin-Hitler love-pact, giving Hitler the go-ahead signal.

A War for Profits

What is the war?
This is NOT a war for and against the independence of Poland.

This is NOT a war for and against "democracy"—not one of the participating powers, but rules the overwhelming majority of its subjects with sword and whip.

This war is being fought solely to decide which imperialist powers shall dominate the world.

The assassination of the Archduke of Austria at Sarajevo in July, 1914 was not the cause of the First World War.

The seizure of Danzig is not the cause of the Second World War.

Peace Is Impossible Under Capitalism

The First World War was fought to decide which powers shall rule the world. The victors dictated the bloody "peace" of Versailles.

That "peace" led directly to the Second World War. Another such "peace" will lead directly to the Third World War.

Neither Hitler nor Chamberlain, Mussolini nor Daladier, Stalin nor Roosevelt, can bring peace to the world.

Peace will come to the world only when the workers of the world take matters into their own

(Continued on Page 4)

Stop Fascism In America!

Will Father Coughlin Become Dictator of the United States?

By JOSEPH HANSEN
(EIGHTH INSTALLMENT)

Will It Happen In America?

For ten years a blighting depression has stifled production in the United States. In the great industrial sections, factories are running far below capacity. Many of them are practically idle. Around the plant gates, men rot waiting for jobs.

Unemployment rages in the land like a pestilence and a scourge.

Estimates of the number of unemployed vary from twelve to seventeen MILLION!

Warehouses are crammed with food, clothing, automobiles, building materials. Crops are destroyed, pigs slaughtered, cotton plowed under. The skeleton of hunger stalks through the richest land on earth.

No one dares count the number who are starving. The depression has shattered the future for youth under capitalism. Millions of young people each year leave school to pursue that mirage called a job in private industry. In the cities they pound pavement, make out fruitless applications, pore over the want-ads, learn all the bitterness that one word "sorry" can contain. . . . On the farms they stagnate, their future under capitalism as hopeless as the crops rotting in the fields.

The depression has laid ruin and bankruptcy on the doorstep of the small merchant. Taxes steadily increase. The chain stores have taken over his customers.

The depression has eaten like a corroding acid into the fixed salaries of the white collar workers. Cut after cut has been forced upon them to "help" the company out of its inability to keep paying out the old rate of profit. Files are crammed with applications from skilled men ready to work for anything.

The depression has taken away the income of doctors, dentists, and other professional people. It has forced them into a quiet grave in the back office of some giant corporation, or left them stranded with a heap of bills in an office that no one ever visits. Their clothing begins to reveal the seedy appearance of failure.

The depression has placed the housewife on a wrack of torture. Dwindling pennies must be stretched endlessly into rent, meals, clothes and shoes for the children, doctor bills. The fear of unemployment hangs over the home like a death sentence.

Food prices and sales taxes rise relentlessly. The depression has cut hundreds of thousands of small farmers away from their land. They wander like pariahs from the middle west to California where they are lashed with all the land-owner prejudice that once was wielded against the Chinese, the Japanese, the Filipinos, the Mexicans. . . .

The depression has brought those who own their farms into slavery under the whiplash of the Big Banks—the mortgage doesn't hang on the wall like the shot gun but it is far more deadly. And the farmer and his family live off the vegetable patch, worry about cash for clothes, seed, repairs to the farm machinery. In the evening for cheap recreation they thumb through the only touch of prosperity in the house—a shiny mail order catalog filled with glistening pictures of modern conveniences, stylish clothes, deluxe radios, canned dainties—all the goods which jam the warehouses of the bankers and overlords of industry.

The depression has wound the speed-up to an unendurable tension, slashed wages, lengthened hours, regimented the industrial worker into an industrial slave. Chained to a belt-line, he strains every nerve and muscle to keep going with the speed-up. Labor spies report every careless word; every time the boss passes by with a mouth as sour and profit-conscious as the company cash register it may mean the last pay check. Outside in the streets, those who worked last year gaze with hungry and desperate eyes. . . . If the boss finally goads the workers into taking action, then it is strike-breakers, thugs, tear gas, maybe a bullet.

The depression has struck the security of old age like a consuming sword. How many look forward to old age with assurance in the United States? No job. No pension. Relatives too poor to sponge on. Try to get on relief! Every day the newspapers report what want in the midst of plenty means to the old people—a rope, gas, a leap from a building. . . .

Should only those born into the wealth of the Sixty Families enjoy the right to live like human beings?

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DEPRESSION?

A small handful of people—the Sixty Families—plug the horn of plenty which could pour out untold wealth for America's working people.

Despite the fact that markets are glutted even now, the big basic industries owned by the Sixty Families have reconditioned their plants for super-production. During the past five or six years they have streamlined their mills and plants with the latest word in machinery. One man does the work it took scores to do even a few short years ago.

But this does not make a market where goods can be sold at a profit. The interest on the investments of Big Business is rapidly reaching zero.

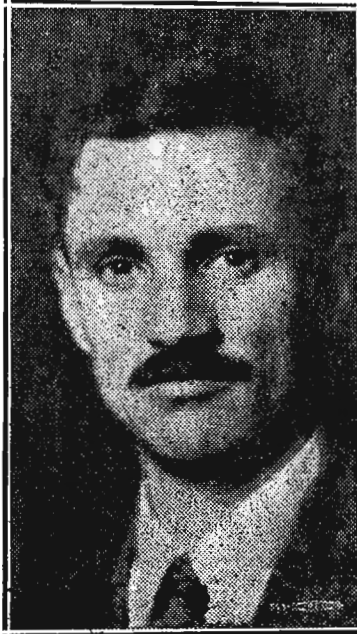
It is a life and death matter for Big Business to slash wages, lengthen hours, and to do so in the near future.

The democratic form of capitalist government as represented by Roosevelt has confessed its bankruptcy. Of all its boasted attempts to help the Forgotten Man, nothing remains but a drive to convert him into the Unknown Soldier.

Shachtman, Paine Run on Anti-War Program

In Manhattan

Program Stands Out For Truth Amid Welter of War Lies



GEORGE LYMAN PAINE

THEIR STOOGES WITHIN THE LABOR MOVEMENT. FIGHT AGAINST HERDING THE PEOPLE INTO THE WAR!

TAKE THE WAR-MAKING POWERS AWAY FROM CONGRESS — LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE.

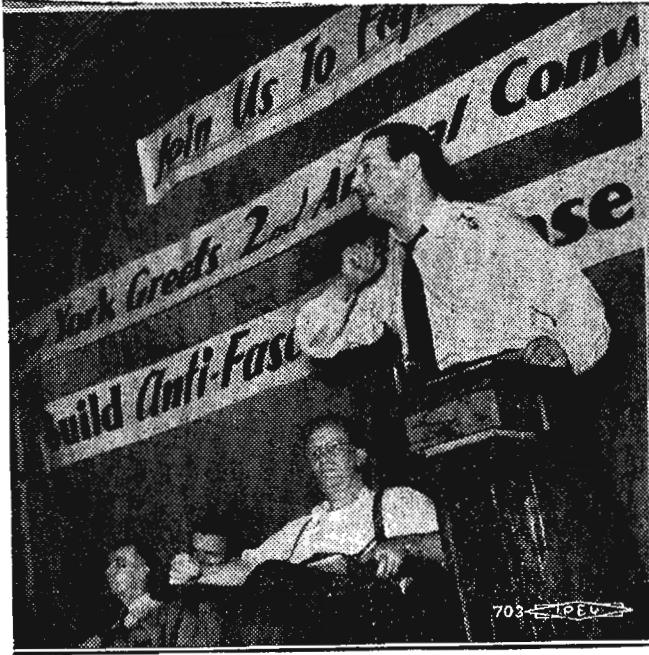
The platform brings home the terrible danger of the rising tide of Fascism, of which Coughlin is at present the prime mover. Nothing is more fatal than the illusion that the war will stem this tide. On the contrary, blackest reaction will be strengthened once the bosses set their war machine in motion.

The greatest war danger for us lies not abroad but at home — in Washington.

The greatest fascist mongers are in Wall Street, in the Sixty Families who control American industry and finance.

MAX SHACHTMAN

In the Bronx



Chicago Police Harass, Arrest Appeal Salesmen

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

CHICAGO, August 31—Grim harbingers of war dictatorship, police have been systematically harassing and arresting Socialist Appeal salesmen and Socialist Workers Party leaflet distributors all this week.

Scores of salesmen and distributors have been picked up by the police, taken to police stations, browbeaten and threatened with further punishment if they continue Appeal sales.

Despite police persecution, however, the anti-war issues of the Socialist Appeal have met with a great deal of sympathy. Communist Party members have been purchasing Appeals which include material exposing what's behind the Hitler-Stalin pact.

Stalinist Hoodlumism

In a desperate attempt to break up the growing friendliness between the rank and file of the Communist Party and

the Socialist Workers Party, the Stalinist leaders here have organized hoodlum attacks against Appeal salesmen the last three nights.

An attack last night of about 75 hoodlums against an Appeal sales squad of 10 was beaten off, but with a number of Appeal salesmen injured. Some of the hoodlums got theirs.

Arrest Salesman

Police arrested Seymour Kahn, Appeal salesman, and are holding him on an open charge.

Tonight's mass meeting on the Hitler-Stalin pact, with Max Shachtman, editor of the Socialist Appeal, as the main speaker, has been advertised by distributions of leaflets in every corner of the city.

Let the People Vote on War!

The "NEW DEAL" that Roosevelt promised the Forgotten Man turned out to be a RAW DEAL. Now Roosevelt's brain trust is trying one last trick with the alphabet. They have taken the word, "RAW," and spelled it backwards. That makes it Roosevelt's WAR DEAL.

But what will democratic capitalism do after the war has ended? Does it plan another League of Nations? Another World Court at the Hague? Another Versailles Treaty?

In Italy King Victor called Mussolini to Rome.

In Germany President Hindenburg called Hitler to Berlin.

In America?

Perhaps it will happen before the war breaks.

(Continued in Next Issue)

TEXT OF LOCAL NEW YORK COUNCILMANIC PROGRAM

(Continued from Page 1)

Together with Congress, Roosevelt is so anxious for war that he refuses to permit a referendum vote of the people on the question.

If the people are fit to face bayonets and bullets and to pay the colossal cost of war, they are fit to decide whether they shall die on foreign battlefields!

ALL WAR FUNDS TO THE UNEMPLOYED!
TAKE THE WAR-MAKING POWER AWAY FROM CONGRESS—LET THE PEOPLE DECIDE!

2. Stop Fascism!

In recent months a rabid race-hatred campaign, similar to those conducted in Germany and Italy, has been whipped up in New York, by men who advocate a fascist dictator for this country.

On February 20, Fritz Kuhn's German-American Nazi Bund staged a fascist rally at Madison Square Garden. 50,000 anti-fascists picketed that meeting in response to a call issued by the Socialist Workers Party.

LaGuardia protected the Nazi Brown Shirts with the largest mobilization of police in the history of New York.

On July 30, Coughlin sent out his notorious "Call to Action" over a nation-wide hook-up. He summoned his shock troops, the Christian Front and Christian Mobilizers, to meet his opponents "cheek to jaw and shoulder to shoulder." He declared that he would fight in Fascist General "Franco's way" in America!

Coughlin's followers in New York brought this campaign to a peak with the announcement that they would march on Union Square together with Fritz Kuhn's Bundists on August 19 in support of "Social Justice".

They rioted in the Bronx; they stabbed and beat anti-fascists; they tried to arm themselves.

Hundreds of thousands of New York's anti-fascists held themselves ready to answer the call of the Socialist Workers Party to hold a giant counter-demonstration.

LaGuardia again assembled huge contingents of police to protect the Coughlinites and the Bundists but FUEHRER COUGHLIN HIMSELF WAS FORCED TO CALL OFF THE PARADE RATHER THAN FACE THE ANGER OF THE MASSES.

The candidates of the Socialist Workers Party are pledged to continue the fight against fascism from the vantage point of the City Council and to spread far and wide the only way to stop fascism: militant action against fascist threats and the building of WORKERS DEFENSE GUARDS.

These DEFENSE GUARDS are an extension of the idea of picket squads to defend labor's rights. They are organized on a permanent basis to defend the labor movement from any force which attacks with terror and violence. The whole labor movement must mobilize to protect itself against the mortal danger of fascism by building WORKERS DEFENSE GUARDS in every union local.

(The full Councilmanic program of Local New York, of which the above is only the first part, will be published in a special 8-page circular.)



BRANCHES INCREASE BUNDLE ORDERS

A review of activities of Party branches in respect to the circulation of the Socialist Appeal during the recent period, and particularly following the signing of the Stalin-Hitler pact, shows that several cities have increased their bundle orders and have ordered extra quantities of specific issues.

The following cities have increased their regular quotas: Reading, Pa., 10-15; New Haven, 10-15; St. Paul, 50-75; Newark, 100-135; Cleveland, 50-70; Akron, 50-60; and Philadelphia, 25-30.

Special orders have been placed by several cities for specific issues, as for instance: St. Louis, 50 extra; Los Angeles, 100; New York, 1,000 of the issue just out; Minneapolis, several hundred extra of various occasions; Chicago, 350; San Francisco, 300; Philadelphia, 100; Toronto, 50; Washington, D.C., 50. As this is written letters indicate that additional extra orders will come in for the tri-weekly.

SPECIAL ATTENTION TO C.P. DISTRIBUTION

Special attention is being devoted to the distribution and sale among the Communist Party and Young Communist League members. In New York, the City Literature Committee is trying to cover all meetings and gatherings of the Communist Party with the So-

cialist Appeal. Also the Committee has instituted a campaign to spread the Socialist Appeal to many more newsstands and neighborhoods. The following offer has been made to all comrades:

Any comrade who can canvass one house regularly and place the Socialist Appeal on one newsstand will receive as many Socialist Appeals as he needs free of charge. If this offer of the New York Literature Committee is to have any real meaning, it should be taken advantage of now. This is an important way to build up Socialist Appeal sales in the neighborhood.

Again it is necessary to point out that several hundred expired subscriptions to the Socialist Appeal and The New International are outstanding. The most important way now to stabilize our press is for the Party membership to make a systematic effort to secure these renewals immediately.

PARTY KEYS ITSELF TO WAR FOOTING

(Continued from Page 1)

Party and YCL have been printed and are available for national distribution.

100,000 Anti-War Leaflets

The four-page folder on the war crisis will be off the press by Tuesday in an issue of 100,000. In attractive make-up, it deals in popular terms with the meaning of the war crisis, the Stalin-Hitler pact, the fight against war in the United States and the War Referendum, plus a section on the Socialist Workers Party and the Socialist Appeal.

The pamphlet by Max Shachtman on the Stalin-Hitler pact is on the press.

24-Hour Duty

In New York, next week will see a special membership meeting and large public meetings organized in Manhattan, Brooklyn, Bronx and Queens.

Branches have already ordered their members to be ready for duty on a twenty-four hour basis.

What to Do

As the situation in Europe teeters back and forth between a general world war and a temporary peace, the minds of the American masses turn more and more toward the thought: WHAT CAN WE DO HERE IN AMERICA?

Ours is the only voice that can answer that. Ours is the historic task of pointing the way for the fight against the war-mongers in this country who want us to get into the world slaughter on the ground floor. Our immediate weapon is the campaign for the People's Vote on War. Every branch which has thrown itself into the work has found the ready response of the workers, and on the basis of it has been able to direct them against the war government in Washington. Even the most backward workers, who are still hypnotized by the lie of national patriotism, do not want to see the country hurled into war behind their backs.

Close to Masses

Here is one report which we choose from the latest mail. It is from Local Philadelphia, which has not hitherto reported but which has been at work: "The campaign has tremendous organizational and propaganda possibilities. As a direct approach to the masses, nothing has a greater appeal, especially in the light of today's events. On no other Party activity can a speaker feel himself so close to his listeners. He holds them and they are glad of it. The instinctive desire for a 'way out' comes to the surface as it does in no other type of meeting.

"The Party comrades are inundated with this sympathetic vibration. Comrades who are notorious for their shying away from the stranger in the street have been conversing easily and earnestly for hours after the meeting. It has helped activate comrades. We hold three street corner meetings a week, Monday, Friday and Saturday. On several occasions we have spoken to several hundred. At one Negro neighborhood meeting we had at least 150 people present.

"I can very easily say that where perhaps a few hundred people knew or had heard of the Socialist Workers Party, today several thousand people remember us. Our concrete organizational gains will come, I am sure of it."

By Dwight Macdonald

SPARKS IN THE NEWS

(Editorial note: Hereafter Dwight Macdonald will contribute to the Socialist Appeal a twice-weekly column dealing exclusively with the economic, political and propagandistic war preparations on this side of the Atlantic.)

A Short History of Liberalism, Vol. II. The Liberals Dismount

I must admit I was a bit surprised at the abruptness with which the liberal weeklies hopped off the Stalinist band wagon after the horrible news about the Soviet-Nazi pact was out. I had expected a decent interval of squirming, rationalizations, and covering-up. Instead, in the very first issues published after the news broke, both the Nation and the New Republic began to swing their editorial axes in no uncertain fashion at the foundations of the impressive ideological structure they themselves for years now have been building up. The demolition job was done so fast, indeed, as to suggest the use not of axes but of straight dynamite. Thus ends a long and beautiful friendship.

There is a lesson here, it seems to me. We have tended to over-rate the fidelity to Stalinism of the vast army of liberal-bourgeois fellow-travellers of the American C.P. So long as the Stalin regime seemed useable as a cat-paw for America's war aims, so long did the liberals remain among the faithful. But once this role of Stalinism was cast in doubt—to say the least—the liberals dropped the C.P. like a hot potato. The question of who was using whom has been resolved most dramatically: it is now crystal-clear that the liberals were using the Stalinists, and not vice versa. Thus the pact has acted as one of those major, cataclysmic political shocks, which as Trotsky once put it, suddenly and unmistakably lay bare the real, underlying class relationships of the intelligentsia. It takes such cataclysms to expose their roots, since in this sphere such connections are normally vague, hidden, and complicated.

The Ghost Goes West

The most pathetic casualty of the crisis was the newborn Committee of 400 which the Stalinists recently concocted to counter the damaging effects of the Committee for Cultural Freedom and the League for Cultural Freedom & Socialism. Such creations are shadowy, spectral affairs at best, but this particular ghost went west in record time. It burst into the press on August 14 with a stirring appeal to all men of good will to forget their petty sectarian quarrels and unite behind the Kremlin in the good fight against fascism. "The Fascists and their allies are well aware that democracy will win if its supporters are united. Accordingly, they are intent on destroying such unity at all costs. . . . They have tried to prevent a united anti-aggression front by sowing suspicion between the Soviet Union and other nations interested in maintaining peace." Just one week to the day after this noble, moving appeal, the pact was announced. What this news has done to the psyche of Dr. Max Lerner, Prof. Robert Morss Lovett, Cor-

liss Lamont, Vincent Sheean, Dashiell Hammett, Donald Ogden Stewart, and their 394 comrades in arms—this is matter for Freudian speculation.

Johnson vs. Johnson

A central pillar of the War Deal is Louis Johnson, Assistant Secretary of War and the real power in the War Department. Johnson is a tough Legionnaire-politico, so tough, in fact, as to appeal even General Hugh Johnson (no relation). The newly created War Resources Board, chaired by Skettinius of U.S. Steel and manned by DuPont-Morgan executives, was Louis Johnson's brain-child. In one of his recent Scripps-Howard columns, General Johnson makes some sharp criticism of this board.

Old Iron Pants isn't shocked by the idea in itself. Quite the contrary: "The need for such a board is absolute. . . . American industry in war must be under a one-man dictatorship as ruthless as Hitler's." It is the composition of the board that bothers the General. "To lead a country into war," he writes with cynical frankness, "you have to do everything possible to carry full popular support. . . . Imagine the American enthusiasm for what would instantly be called 'a Morgan-duPont war personally conducted by General Motors and the U.S. Steel Corp.'" The General goes on to accuse his namesake of a bit of Trotskyist sabotage: "Somebody in government was very dumb in . . . inventing delay and discord as our first step in war preparation. Could it have been Assistant Secretary of War Johnson?" Comrade Vyshinsky, reach me that dossier marked "J".

The Basutos Are Saved

Whether there is war or not, and whether the Axis or the Democracies are the victors, one thing can be predicted right now: no force except their own revolutionary action is going to strike off the shackles from the colonial peoples. The veneer of "democracy" is at its thinnest in the colonies. There the real nature of the struggle between the democratic and the totalitarian states appear nakedly, unmistakably as a thieves' quarrel over the privilege of picking the pockets of the masses.

Thus in a recent issue of the *Pariser Tageszeitung*, a German emigre daily of the Thomas Mann school of anti-fascism, there was an indignant news item headed: **GOEBBELS ALSO KNOWS BASUTO**, to the effect that Nazi propaganda, in the Basuto language, was being circulated in a newspaper among the Basuto tribes of the Transvaal. And how did the British meet this threat? The *N.Y. Times* report is specific: "The authorities of the Union of South Africa, realizing the danger of such propaganda among the easily influenced natives, especially when many of them are in economic difficulties, promptly confiscated the paper." The Basutos are in "economic difficulties," it seems. But they are not without powerful friends. Herr Hitler solves their troubles with propaganda. And Mr. Chamberlain solves them by "promptly" confiscating Herr Hitler's propaganda. Which leaves the Basutos just where they were before.

By Max Shachtman

Behind the Stalin-Hitler Pact

What It Is and What It Isn't

THE HITLER-STALIN pact is the most sensational news to come out of Moscow in many years.

Up to yesterday, it was the general belief that Stalin was moving heaven and earth in an earnest attempt to establish a "peace front" of the "democracies" against the "fascist aggressors," especially against Fascist Germany. Most people thought that Stalin's only complaint against statesmen like Chamberlain and Daladier was that they favored negotiations and pacts with Hitler instead of uniting with Russia in an uncompromising and militant front against the Nazis. The friends and supporters of the Stalin régime said this repeatedly, and in so many plain words.

None So Stunned as Stalinists

Suddenly, right in the midst of the Anglo-French-Russian military discussions in Moscow, came the news that Hitler and Stalin had made a very important trade agreement. And before the surprise over this announcement reached its height, came the news that a "non-aggression" pact had been negotiated between the two countries. Forty-eight hours later, the Nazi Minister of Foreign Affairs and author of the Anti-Comintern Pact, had flown to Moscow where he was greeted with swastika flags, and the pact was promptly signed.

The newspapers which reported that the pact had "staggered" and "stunned" and "stupefied" most of the world did not exaggerate in the least. Most bewildered and shocked of all were the members and sympathizers of the Communist Party, whom the news hit over the head like a metal-studded club. On the day the report arrived, the *Daily Worker*, official voice in this country of Stalin and the Communist Party, was so taken aback that it refused to print the news or a single word of comment on it. The party leaders and spokesmen could not even be found for an interview. To this day, despite the official explanations given in the *Daily Worker* after it got word from Moscow, most party members do not yet know what to say or how to explain what happened.

We Were Not Caught Off Guard

One organization, however, was not caught off guard and shocked by the news of the Stalin pact—the Socialist Workers Party, and the Fourth International with which it is affiliated, the so-called Trotskyist movement. This is simply a matter of fact and it is not stated in a boastful vein. Our movement foresaw the alliance and predicted it as early as a year ago.

In the *Socialist Appeal* of October 8, 1938, Leon Trotsky wrote: "We may now expect with certainty Soviet diplomacy to attempt rapprochement with Hitler at the cost of new retreats and capitulations which in their turn can only bring nearer the collapse of the Stalinist oligarchy."

In the same paper of March 17, 1939, the present writer said: "The democratic front on which all Stalinist policy hinged—the united front of the democracies against the fascist aggressors and war-mongers—Stalin has dropped overboard without a splash. In its place is something so 'new' that it must have had a stunning effect upon the Stalinist parrots all over the world. Stalin holds out the olive branch to the fascist powers, to Germany primarily."

Our foresight was not a product of crystal-gazing but of Marxian political analysis. While others were taking people in, or being taken in by cleverly-inspired propaganda from Moscow, Berlin and London, we continued our critical examination of Soviet and international realities. "Outdated" Marxism has once again demonstrated its unrivalled superiority as social and political science! Our clear and timely predictions entitle us to an attentive hearing as we proceed to explain what the pact is and what it isn't.

If we first dispose of the latter, we shall have cleared away the pile of rubbish beneath which lies the true significance of the pact. And the best way to tackle the rubbish-clearing work is to deal with the arguments in favor of the Stalinist pact given by Communist Party spokesmen who finally broke their embarrassed silence in the *Daily Worker*.

The Stalinists Explain

"I think," said Mr. Earl Browder, secretary of the Communist Party, in an interview published in the *Daily Worker* of August 24, 1939, "that what strikes one the most forcefully in the newspaper discussion of the announcement of the negotiations for a non-aggression agreement between the Soviet Union and Germany, is the excitement with which this announcement was greeted; although its execution—it is now in the preliminary stages—is in the line of a long declared and established policy which every one who wanted to could be fully familiar with."

Nothing unusual! Nothing out of the ordinary! Nothing to be surprised at or get excited about! Browder was for it all the time, because it corresponds to the "long declared and established policy" of the Soviet Union.

Now, you might explain away the reactions of the ruling circles in Paris, London and Washington by saying that they are merely pretending to be surprised. Good! But what about the masses of the people throughout the world? The Stalinist press kept assuring us that the "millions of workers, farmers and middle class people" understood and supported enthusiastically the Stalinist "peace policy" and would have nothing to do with Chamberlain and Daladier, the Munichers. Obviously, they must have "understood and supported" something entirely different, for it was the masses of the people who were most staggered of all by the news of the pact. That is why there were no spontaneous mass celebrations of the pact, but rather spontane-

ous mass condemnation of it and just as spontaneous mass resignations from the Communist Parties!

They Sang a Different Tune

Secondly, if the pact was produced by "a long declared and established policy," why didn't the Stalinists openly and insistently demand a Hitler-Stalin pact in the past year or more? When they said that their policy was a "peace front" of England, France and the Soviet Union, they agitated at the top of their lungs for an agreement among these three Powers. They introduced resolutions favoring the alliance in every union, in every organization. Their spokesmen in the European parliaments clamored for it continuously. Why, then, didn't they introduce resolutions anywhere in favor of a Soviet-German pact? Why didn't they agitate for it openly? Why didn't they condemn Hitler for failing to negotiate such a pact?

And, above all, why did they denounce as slanderers the Trotskyists, or anybody who even hinted a year, or a month or as little as two weeks ago that Stalin and Hitler would come to terms?

"The reactionaries openly speculate that the Soviet Union may try to beat Chamberlain at his own game by joining hands with Hitler," wrote Mr. Browder in a book published just a short time ago. "But even those who hate the land of socialism cannot believe it, when they see the Soviet Union alone rounds up the traitorous agents of Hitler within its own land, and puts them beyond all possibility of doing any more of their wrecking, spying and diversions for fascism." (*Fighting for Peace*, pp. 183-184.)

On May 13, 1939, the *Daily Worker* quoted with editorial approval a dispatch which said: "Rapid spreading rumors of an impending German-Soviet reconciliation, circulating with obvious consent of the German government, tonight were regarded as a Nazi attempt to thwart a 'peace front'."

"Dirty Insinuation" Changes Character

On March 13, 1939, Mr. Harry Gannes, *Daily Worker* columnist, wrote: "The press apologizers of the Munich treachery make the dirty insinuations that the Soviet Union is 'considering' rapprochement with the fascists." Eight days later, Gannes called a similar report "one of the slimmest examples of an extended vicious campaign."

Now, according to Browder, the "extended vicious campaign" plus the "dirty insinuations" of the Munich traitors plus the "open speculations of the reactionaries" equals nothing more or less than the "long declared and established policy" of Stalinism!

The Soviet Union's Pre-Pact Policy

What really was the "long declared and established policy" of the Kremlin? It was expressed in unmistakable terms by the official representative of the Soviet Union to the League of Nations, Foreign Commissar Maxim Litvinov. In his speech at the League of Nations Assembly on September 21, 1938, only a year ago, Litvinov stated just what was and just what was not the "long declared and established policy" of his government. The reader will pardon us the long quotation, but he will surely feel repaid by the fact that it so damningly reveals the complete fraudulence and hypocrisy of the present Stalinist endorsement of the pact:

"There are inside and outside the League two tendencies, two conceptions of how best to preserve peace. There exists an opinion that when some State announces a foreign policy based on aggression, on the violation of other people's frontiers, on the violent annexation of other people's possessions, on the enslavement of other nations, on domination over entire continents, the League of Nations has not only the right, but also the duty of declaring, loudly and clearly, that it has been set up to preserve universal peace; that it will not permit the realization of such a program; and that it will fight that program by every means at its disposal. Within the framework of such declarations, individual Members of the League can and must constitute special groups for the joint defense of individual sectors of the threatened peace front.

"It is presumed that States which openly denounce the principles underlying the League Covenant and the Briand-Kellogg Pact, which extol aggression and ridicule international obligations, are inaccessible to persuasion or argument—save the argument of force—and that there is no room for bargaining or compromise with them. They can be restrained from carrying their evil designs into effect only by a demonstration of the force which they will encounter, should they make the attempt."

That policy—Stalin's—therefore calls for no futile attempts to persuade or negotiate with the aggressor—like Germany—but favors "the argument of force." Litvinov then continues:

"There is, however, another conception, which recommends as the height of human wisdom under cover of imaginary pacifism that the aggressor be treated with consideration, and his vanity be not wounded. It recommends that conversations and negotiations be carried on with him, that he be assured that no collective action will be undertaken against him, and no groups or blocs formed against him—even though he himself enters into aggressive blocs with other aggressors—that compromise agreements be concluded with him, and breaches of those very agreements overlooked; that his demands, even the most illegal, be fulfilled; that journeys be undertaken, if necessary, to receive his dictates and ultimatums; that the vital interests of one State or another be sacrificed to him; and that, if possible, no question of his activity be raised at the League of Nations—because the aggressor does not like that, takes offense, sulks. Unfortunately, this is just the policy that so far has been pursued towards the aggressors; and it has had as its consequence three wars, and threatens to bring down on us a fourth. Four nations have already been sacrificed, and a fifth is next on the list." (*Against Aggression*, pp. 121-122.)

This second policy, presumably, was the policy of Chamberlain and Daladier, Halifax and Bonnet—the Munichers. It was precisely contrary to the "long declared and established policy" of Stalin, Litvinov and Browder. But

it is precisely identical with the policy that resulted in the Stalinist pact! And the arguments made in its defense differ in no important particular from the self-justifying speeches made by Chamberlain after Munich.

How the Pact Aids "Peace"

"It is a great contribution to the cause of world peace," Browder says now. It helps the cause of democracy and the Democratic Front. It helps Poland! Let us see.

A year ago, when Chamberlain claimed that the Munich Pact was a "great contribution to the cause of world peace," Browder effectively replied: "The direct lie was given to all protestations that the Munich Pact was an achievement for peace when, directly afterward, all governments announced vast expansions of their armed forces as their first response." (*Fighting for Peace*, p. 203.)

What happened directly after the Stalin-Hitler pact? Not only vast expansions of the armed forces of all governments, but mobilization of troops and marching orders on a scale unknown since the World War broke out in 1914. Measured by Browder's own yardstick of a year ago, the Moscow-Berlin pact is exactly the opposite of a contribution to the cause of peace.

Furthermore, if the pact is of such decisive aid to Poland, why did the Stalinists denounce Chamberlain and Co. for acting in substantially the same way a year ago, when Czechoslovakia was on the chopping block? And why didn't Stalin conclude a pact with Hitler a year ago, and "save" imperiled Czechoslovakia in the same way he is now "saving" Poland? If Stalin was able to "force" his pact on Hitler in 1939 because the Führer is so weak and terrified at the might of the Soviet Union, why didn't he "force" a similar pact on Hitler in 1938, when the Nazis were still weaker, before they had swallowed up Czechoslovakia? This argument, too, will not stand up for a minute.

The "Escape Clause" Escapes

But what about the "escape clause"? Doesn't that guarantee that the Soviet Union will denounce the pact and come to the aid of Poland if Germany commits an act of aggression? "It must be stressed," said the very first editorial statement of the *Daily Worker* on the pact, on August 23, 1939, "that in each and every non-aggression pact which the Soviet Union concludes there is a basic clause of Soviet peace policy which provides that in the event one of the parties to the pact invades or commits an act of aggression against a third nation, that the other party (the Soviet Union) is not bound to the treaty, is free to act in defense of peace."

That is more or less true. In the 1932 Treaty of Non-Aggression between Russia and Finland, Article 2 provides:

"2. Should either High Contracting Party resort to aggression against a third Power, the other (High Contracting) Party may denounce the present Treaty without notice."

In the Russo-Latvian treaty of 1932, it is provided that "Each of the High Contracting Parties shall be entitled to denounce the Treaty by giving notice six months before the expiry of this period, or without giving notice if the other Contracting Party commits an aggression upon any third State."

Similar explicit "escape clauses" are contained in a number of other treaties signed by the Soviet Union, as in the case of Poland, Estonia and France.

BUT NO SUCH CLAUSE, OR ANYTHING LIKE IT, IS CONTAINED IN THE SEVEN ARTICLES OF THE STALIN-HITLER PACT!

Unlike the Soviet treaty with Finland, France, Latvia, Poland or Estonia, so far as the Stalinist pact is concerned Hitler can "commit an aggression upon any third State" to his heart's content—objections from the Kremlin there will be none. And this brings us right to the heart of the pact:

A Free Hand to Hitler

In exchange for a Hitlerite promise not to attack the Soviet Union, Stalin has given Hitler a free hand in Poland! Poland has been ruthlessly sacrificed to the brutal imperialistic ambitions of Nazi Germany in the hope of saving the hides of the Kremlin autocrats.

There cannot be the slightest doubt on this score. If there is, the following considerations should dispel it completely:

Why was the pact signed just at this moment—just when Hitler has declared in the most insolent manner that he demands the absorption of Poland into Nazidom, just when France and England threatened to take armed action against Germany? Was it just a "routine" non-aggression pact, such as Moscow signs every day in the week, so to say? But it so happens that a non-aggression pact between Germany and the Soviet Union has been in existence for 13 years, signed in 1926 by Foreign Minister Gustav Stresemann and Soviet Ambassador Nikolai Krestinsky. This pact is still formally in force. It has never been denounced by Stalin. It has never been denounced by Hitler at any time in his six years of power, as he did denounce the German-Polish pact, for example, a short time ago. Why was it necessary to have another "non-aggression pact" at this particular time?

In order to deliver a demonstrative blow against Poland! In order to explode, as publicly, as sensationally, as thoroughly as possible, any Polish hope that a Hitlerite invasion would encounter not only the Polish army, but the joint, armed resistance of England and France on the one side, and the Soviet Union on the other.

(To be continued in next issue)

THE NEGRO QUESTION

By J. R. JOHNSON

Negroes and the Hitler-Stalin Pact

The Stalin-Hitler pact has come as a tremendous shock to the workers everywhere. And to the Negro workers not least. The Stalinists instilled into the masses of the people everywhere within the last five years the hope that Stalin and Russia would lead all peoples in the struggle for democracy, freedom and peace. The Hitler-Stalin agreement has blown all that ballyhoo sky-high. Stalin and the Stalinists are seen today for what they really are. Not internationalists, not concerned with leading the working class in every country against their oppressors, but in reality mere horse-traders with the imperialist nations. Most abominable crime of all, they turn the working class movement today in one direction, tomorrow in another, ready to bargain for the sake of their own skin.

Yet in all the confusion, the Negro people among all others have been quickest to realize the fraud and hypocrisy that is Stalinism. The Negroes remember that all through the Ethiopian struggle, Stalin continued to sell oil to Italy. They know that by no sort of reasoning and by no amount of eloquence from Litvinov at Geneva, could this oil-selling be passed off as support of Ethiopia against aggression. Already Stalin had shown, to all who wanted to see, that all this talk about the Soviet Union being the leader of the democratic movements against the fascists was a lie and nothing more.

Who Oppresses the Negro?

Negroes know that the democratic imperialisms, which were supposed to be the leaders in the struggle for democracy, peace and freedom are the greatest oppressors of Negroes in the world. Great Britain controls and squeezes the life out of some sixty-million Negroes in Africa, France grinds the life out of another forty-million. Belgium is engaged in the daily torture of another twelve million. America has long set an example to the whole of the civilized world for brutal treatment of Negroes, and fascist methods had been rampant in the southern states long before Adolph Hitler or Benito Mussolini were born. Yet Stalin, Browder and Ford summoned Negroes in all parts of the world to join Britain, France, America, and Belgium in the "democratic front", to fight against fascist aggression. Ford called his book "The Negro and the Democratic Front". When anyone, white or Negro, pointed out that this, for the Negroes, was suicide, that it was the Negroes' business to form a united front with all workers and farmers, yellow, brown, and white, to struggle against all the imperialists in all countries and not to take sides, the Stalinists had one word for him—"Trotskyist".

James Ford had spent many years of his life in the Communist Party, repeating the slogan of "Turn the Imperialist War into a Civil War", and calling upon all the workers to fight against capitalism everywhere, now he suddenly discovered that it was the duty and interest of the Negroes in the democratic countries to support their "own" government.

In January, 1938, the Afro-American of Baltimore supported the criminal and unwarranted invasion of China by Japan. This was, of course, a very stupid thing to do. But it was an honest stupidity. Many Negroes are bitter against the apparently never-ending domination of the white race. They therefore clutch at the idea of Japan being the leader of the colored races and, as such, driving the whites out of the East. They are wrong. What is wanted in the East is not a strong Japan, that is to say a strong imperialist nation, but a strong China. A free, and independent China will drive out Japanese, British and Americans and be one of the great leaders of oppressed peoples all over the world. This mistake however, of supporting Japan is, as we have said, an honest mistake. But James Ford, in his justified criticism of this mistake went on to say the following:

"You say that you do not approve of Japan's alliance with Hitler and Mussolini, the Negro peoples' worst enemies. You may not approve. But the alliance is an undeniable fact."

Now there are 120,000,000 people in Africa today who could tell Ford that Hitler is not their worst enemy for Hitler does not rule over one of them. Their worst enemies are the British, French and Belgians, these democratic imperialists who are sitting on their backs. But James Ford says no word about this. Instead he goes on: "Hitler applauds the lynching of Negroes in America."

This is undoubtedly very bad of Hitler, but surely that is no reason why the Negroes should join these American democrats who lynch them, to go to fight against Hitler who merely applauds. But Ford, aping his master Browder (who of course is merely the ape of Stalin), gets quite eloquent on the evils of the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo military alliance. He says:

"And who is so blind to this that he cannot see in the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo military alliance a mortal enemy of the democratic forces of the world?"

He ends his letter by once more shouting at Hitler. "My earnest opinion is that we would make a tragic error in giving our support to any member of the Berlin-Rome-Tokyo alliance."

Now Stalin, pursuing the interests of himself and his bureaucrats and not caring two damns about white workers, black workers or any sort of workers, except insofar as he could use them for his own policy, signs this pact with Hitler, and by his trade agreement promises to let Hitler have the supplies that are so necessary for Germany, that strengthen Germany enormously, and enable Hitler at once to precipitate a new and most dangerous crisis. Comrade Earl Browder says that this pact is a pact of peace and that it helps the workers in every country in their fight against fascism. And comrade Ford, as ready to sell out the Negro people, as any Democratic or Republican Negro boss, immediately forgets what a crime it was to make an alliance or give support to "any member" of the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo axis and hails this pact as "a great step forward for promoting peace and democratic government."

This he does in a submitted published in the *Daily Worker* of Aug. 31, 1939 and submitted to the Amsterdam News. In our press, meetings and pamphlets, etc., we submit the monstrous deception, that Stalin and the Stalinists have practiced on the international working-class movement, to a searching analysis, and in this column we shall analyze specifically the reaction of the Negro people and the Negro press. In the next issue we shall begin a series of articles relating to the Negro and the war. Meanwhile, however, we shall merely ask the Negro people this: Are they to carry on a policy of consistent struggle against all imperialisms, fascist or democratic, in common with the oppressed workers and colonial peoples of all the world, or are they to follow James Ford, Earl Browder and Stalin, jumping like a cat on hot bricks from one side to the other, and being merely the pawn in the hands of the most unscrupulous and shameless hypocrites and betrayers that the working class movement has ever harbored within its bosom? To ask the question is to answer it. Down with the Stalinist lies and contradictions. For a policy of the united front of workers black and white against Ford's death-traps of a democratic front or a Stalin-Hitler front.

WINDOW DRESSERS PLY THEIR TRADE

"LONDON—In the event of war there is a probability of immediate Socialist participation in the government despite the doubts in progressive circles of the wisdom of such a step. They consider that if British experience in the early stages of the war is not favorable, the alternative of a Socialist leadership might be nationally advan-

teagueous." —The Nation, September 2, 1939.

In plain English: keep the Socialist window-dressing for the moment when—the masses, tiring of naked capitalist rule—the Labor Party flunkies of the capitalists will be most useful.

Dr. Daniel Luttlinger wishes to announce that he will continue to care for the patients of his brother, the late Dr. Paul Luttlinger at his office, 1684 Grand Concourse, Bronx, New York.

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- FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY FOR:**
1. A job and a decent living for every worker.
 2. Open the idle factories—operate them under workers' control.
 3. A Twenty-Billion dollar Federal public works and housing program.
 4. Thirty-thirty! \$30-weekly minimum wage—30-hour weekly maximum for all workers on all jobs.
 5. Thirty dollar weekly old-age and disability pension.
 6. Expropriate the Sixty Families.
 7. All war funds to the unemployed.
 8. A people's referendum on any and all wars.
 9. No secret diplomacy.
 10. An independent Labor Party.
 11. Workers' Defense Guards against vigilante and Fascist attacks.
 12. Full social, political and economic equality for the Negro people.

"Unanimous"

Like everything official that happens in Germany and Russia, the ratification of the pact by the "Supreme Soviet" was unanimous.

With elaborate mumbo-jumbo the "deputies" were gathered together (except for those purged since the "election") and after a perfunctory lapse of time they went through the motions of considering and voting for the alliance with Hitler.

The real situation in the Soviet Union is reflected in the mirror of this "parliament." In France, England, America, the Stalinist parties have suffered serious defections in membership, as a result of the pact. Several Communist deputies in France have denounced it. In any casual group of Communist party members anywhere, at least one will be found who, at the least, hasn't made up his mind—anywhere except in Russia. There not a single voice is raised, for the good and sufficient reason that a raised voice means a cell in a concentration camp, if not death.

How were these Soviet "deputies" elected? By exactly the same method as Hitler's Reichstag "deputies" were elected—a single ticket, no opposition candidates: vote yes—or else.

His Majesty's Flunkies

The kind of struggle against war and for peace and democracy carried on by the Stalinists and the London Bureau (Independent Labor Party, etc.) received striking illumination in the recent Commons debate on the Emergency Powers Bill.

As reported in the last issue of the Appeal, the bill

1. Gives the King, i.e., the Cabinet, power to issue decrees having the force of law, i.e., exactly the sort of power that Hitler and Stalin have.
2. Any premises may be entered and searched.
3. Anyone may be arrested if the government "deems it expedient".

Thus a British subject in this great British democracy has no more liberty than if he lived in Berlin, Rome or Moscow. American workers, take note. It can and will happen here.

Now how do the friends of "democracy" react to this naked tyranny? The Liberals vote for it side by side with Chamberlain.

The Labour leaders voted for it unanimously as John L. Lewis and William Green will certainly support Roosevelt when he brings in the Emergency Powers Bill.

And the Stalinists who to this day foam at the mouth whenever they mention Chamberlain, William Gallacher, the Communist M.P., voted to put this noose around the neck of the British workers. So much for the Stalinist love of democracy. And what will Browder do here when Roosevelt brings in his Emergency Bill? Browder will rally to its support and prove that this is the finest example of democracy in the world, just as he proves that the Stalin-Hitler alliance is a victory for democracy.

And the "revolutionaries", James Maxton and the I.L.P. erstwhile brothers in arms of the Lovestoneites. They voted against, but Maxton, their spokesman shows exactly how he is going to struggle against Chamberlain and the war.

He is for a revolution but Chamberlain must make it:

"I have to record my opposition to the Prime Minister's mandate to go to war. But I give the Prime Minister a complete mandate and complete support for him to go out into the world and make a new call to the nations to build a new civilization that will abolish poverty and inequality. . ."

He supported Chamberlain at Munich, he now asks him to lead the revolution to abolish poverty and inequality. He, Maxton, will support him there.

STALIN LIED UP TO LAST MINUTE . . . On August 14, ten days before Stalin signed the pact with Hitler, Pravda, Stalin's personal organ, published an article violently attacking Germany for desiring to change Europe's frontiers by force and to obtain complete hegemony in Europe. Pravda said:

"The war of the Soviet Union against fascism will be the most just and most legitimate of all wars that humanity has known. It will be a war for the liberation of the oppressed nations reduced to slavery. It will be for the defense of the international proletariat and the culture of the whole of progressive humanity against fascist barbarism."

This—just ten days before he signed the pact!

The Daily Worker

The Daily Worker, central organ of the Communist Party, came out Friday morning with the following headline:

"Enraged by Polish stand, Nazis bare British squeeze on Warsaw."

Workers rubbed their eyes as they read it. For the World War was already on.

But what is the war, compared with orders from Moscow, to Stalin's flunkies on the Daily Worker?

Moscow had said that the Hitler-Stalin pact was a "blow for peace". Therefore there could be no war.

Moscow had justified its turn to Hitler on the theory that Britain would force Poland to capitulate to Hitler. And the Stalinist hacks, in America as elsewhere, write what Stalin orders.

That's why the fantastic headline in the Daily Worker when the war had already begun.

NUTCRACKER . . . "BERLIN—Reports from Moscow that Soviet military strength on the Polish frontier was being raised instead of lowered were published here under headlines which suggested the dream of all Germans—that the Polish nut may now finally be gripped in a nutcracker which can crack it."—New York Herald Tribune, Aug. 31, 1939.

Why the Polish C. P. Hasn't Commented on the Pact

A great many people have expressed surprise that the Polish Communist Party has issued no declarations on the Stalin-Hitler pact or, in general, on Hitler's Polish demands. Last year when Hitler moved on Czechoslovakia the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia was loud in its pronouncements. It would fight! The Czech people must never give in, etc. Why then the unusual silence of the Polish C.P.?

The explanation is simple. *There is no Polish C.P.!* Stalin dissolved it just a year ago! Literally, actually, read it out of existence!

First, the leaders of the Polish C.P.—Sophie Unshlicht, Bronkowski, Lenski, etc.—were summoned to Moscow and murdered in the torture chambers of the G.P.U., accused of being spies and agents-provocateurs. Then, the history of the Party, which had been organized by Rosa Luxemburg and Leo Tishko, was re-written and pictured as a police agency for all its twenty years. And finally, on Stalin decree, it left the land of the living.

Could it have been an advance token to Hitler of Stalin's sincerity?

Fall Frolic
 DANCE & ENTERTAINMENT
 Saturday, September 16th at 9 p.m.
 at the IRVING PLAZA BALLROOM
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- Professional Entertainment
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Boxes Reserved for parties of 6 or more
 Tickets 75c On Sale at S.W.P. office

"Browder Speech Available on Records" Daily Worker Headline



Only the Workers Can Stop The New World Slaughter

(Continued from Page 1)

hands, and throw off the bandits who rule over them.

"This is not our war!" said the American people in November, 1916, and they elected Woodrow Wilson because he ran under the pledge: "Vote for Wilson—he kept us out of war."

But the "New Democracy" of Wilson had already secretly prepared to drag us into the war, and within a few short months of his election, he succeeded in dragging us into that foul and reactionary war.

"This is not our war!" the American people have said, time and time again in these last few months. They said it in the Gallup polls, in the Fortune poll—up to 75% of those polled declaring that under no conditions shall American ships and troops fight across the sea.

But the "New Deal" of Roosevelt is hot-footing it in the footsteps left by the "New Democracy" of Wilson. The Roosevelt administration is dragging us into the war, as fast as it dare go. Already General Hines, Roosevelt's administrator of the Veterans Bureau, is making lynch-speeches against "slackers"; Assistant Secretary of War Louis Johnson is howling for the hides of those Congressmen who dared vote against giving Britain and France access to American armaments.

They "only" want to provide the British-French bloc with arms, say Roosevelt and the Republicans—they're united now in "sacred union" for the war.

But where arms go, soldiers will follow. That happened in the last war, it will happen again. Everything is being done in secrecy in Washington. Only a hint here and there, a slip of the tongue here and there, give us an insight into Roosevelt's preparations for war.

What must we, the American people, do?

Tear from the hands of the greedy and merciless Sixty Families and their War Deal agents the war-making power!

Take the war-making power away from Congress!

Let the people vote on war! Let the people decide!

Put an end to secret diplomacy. The State Department, under Roosevelt's orders, has closed all its files from 1914 on—open the records of the State Department to the people!

All secret treaties and agreements, all the secret reports now being sent in by American diplomatic representatives abroad must be made public!

Not a man, not a penny, for this war of the bosses!

All war funds to the unemployed!

Workers—in your unions, in your neighborhoods, everywhere, mobilize for merciless struggle against the war!

Join the anti-war party—the Socialist Workers Party!

ROOSEVELT WORKING OVERTIME TO DRAG U.S. PEOPLE INTO WAR

(Continued from Page 1)

aration. Roosevelt's war-mongers label these as "aliens" and (as if the war had already broken out) as "slackers". This campaign is being whipped up with a new frenzy as M-day, the day for general mobilization of American cannon-fodder draws near. General Frank T. Hines, United States veteran's administrator, addressing the Veterans of Foreign Wars, declared: "the American people will not tolerate for long alien groups advocating foreign 'isms'; and he denounced those "attempting to advocate changes in our form of government and our methods of procedure thereunder." "Such groups", he declared, "are led by slackers".

Latest scare-raiser is no less a person than Attorney General Murphy. On August 31 he declared at Washington: "There will be no repetition of the situation in 1917 when a democracy was unprepared to meet the espionage problem."

Roosevelt's right-hand man has no doubt that 1939 is another 1917. This week he is flying to Los Angeles where he and Edgar B. Hoover of the FBI will meet in a conference

"presumably" to discuss the menace. Murphy announced that offices would be opened up not only all over America, but in Puerto Rico, Hawaii, the Panama Canal Zone and Alaska. Wherever the American flag flies you must prepare yourself as a sheep for the slaughter or you will be called "alien," "slacker," "red," or "spy."

War Deal

Roosevelt, however, has one little anti-war bone sticking in his throat. The Neutrality Law, banning the sale of arms (though not of other war materials) to belligerents still makes it a little difficult for Roosevelt, Morgan and Dupont to keep in step with the British war-mongers. Roosevelt therefore, on August 29, seconded the stand of Louis Johnson, assistant Secretary of War, who had charged that the maintenance of the embargo on arms shipments "discriminated in favor of Germany", and was "very nearly equivalent to presenting Germany with an Atlantic fleet".

But Roosevelt and Johnson don't want to provide England and France with any "equivalent". They are getting ready

CONFUSION WORSE CONFOUNDED—STARRING I. BEGUN

Place: Hotel Center. Time: Tuesday night. Business: "explanation" of the Hitler-Stalin pact.

Isadore Begun, Stalinist candidate for the City Council from the Bronx, is answering some questions.

QUESTION: Why was the "escape clause" absent?

ANSWER: THE PACT IS STRONGER WITHOUT THE "ESCAPE CLAUSE". (four—applaud the answer).

QUESTION: Doesn't the trade pact help Germany by providing Hitler with raw materials for war purposes?

ANSWER: No. Since there is a labor shortage in Germany, that means that every machine sent to Russia will prevent them from making a machine-gun for themselves. (No applause).

to place the American fleet and the American people at the disposal of Britain and France to help them in the protection of "their" empires and to keep the Latin American and Chinese markets away from Japan, Germany and Italy. Roosevelt cannot save American capitalism by the New Deal in time of peace so he will try by the old deal of war. He will succeed in neither.

I Am No Longer A Member of the Stalinist Party

This is to inform my friends and comrades in the labor movement that I have severed connections with the Communist Party. I am utilizing the press of the Fourth International to publish my reasons for this action because there is no other way of making my case known to the public. I am not a "Trotskyist" nor have I joined the Socialist Workers Party, as I have not yet studied their program sufficiently to consider the serious step of affiliation.

I joined the Communist Party in 1936. I was very active in the Unemployed Councils, later in the City Projects Council, and held various posts in different locals.

Was Wounded in Spain

On May 14, 1937, I left for Spain to serve in the Abraham Lincoln Battalion of the 15th Brigade. I served on the Aragon, Levante, and Ebro fronts. I was wounded at Teruel and spent approximately four months in the hospital. Altogether I served nineteen months fighting General Franco's fascist troops.

In Spain I began to wonder about the sincerity of the Communist leadership which came from the United States. The business of officers being appointed in the United States was particularly difficult to understand if the Communist Party really trusted its rank and file. Many of these officers were corrupt to the marrow. In many cases they robbed the rank and file at every opportunity. When packages for us came from home they divided them among themselves.

While the ranks suffered equally with the Spanish workers—poor rations, filth, deprivation—the officers of the army and particularly officers who were members of the Communist Party enjoyed the very best kind of food, wine and meat, and innumerable special privileges. With my comrades I wondered why both letters we wrote and letters we received from our folks at home, dealing with non-military subjects, were rigorously censored and anything enclosed, such as money, confiscated.

Returns—And Finds Party Changed

Upon my return to the United States I was shocked at the deep and fundamental changes in the position of the Communist Party especially in regard to the unemployed. There had not been a picket line at 70 Columbus Ave. for six months. There was a steady policy of retreat. Where a few years ago the dismissal of 11,000 from relief was sufficient cause for a giant demonstration, now nation-wide cuts aroused only a postcard protest.

In 1936 the Communist Party was still officially opposed to Roosevelt—a few years before it had classified him as a fascist—but now it unconditionally supported his every act.

The Communist Party had thrown the hammer and sickle out of the window while I was fighting the fascists in Spain, and had put up a fountain pen and a postcard in its place.

Tries to Argue for Militancy

Still believing that the Communist Party was a democratic organization, I attempted to discuss these changes in policy with my friends. There was nothing disloyal in our discussions. We were anxious to see that the Communist Party grew and that its political line represented the interests of the working class.

What was my amazement to be charged with being a "Trotskyist"! Outside of official party literature I did not have the slightest idea of what a "Trotskyist" was—true I had heard about them in connection with the demonstration at Madison Square Garden on February 20, but I had not even read their press.

The idea proposed at that time by the "Trotskyists", of Labor Defense Guards seemed to me very good, especially after my experience in Spain. I thought that the Communist Party should defend itself against the numerous Coughlin attacks by organizing such guards. But nothing was done by the party leadership about forming such guards; in fact they opposed the idea and appealed to the police and the Mayor for help, both of whom have proved themselves sympathetic to the Coughlinites.

Besides being charged with the sin of "Trotskyism" I was accused of being a "saboteur," and a "fascist" . . . all for discussing the changes in the party position! To top these charges, they attempted to blacken and assassinate my character.

No opportunity was given me to defend myself. I was grilled as if I were a convict under the third degree and then the whole case was "referred."

I decided to make a thorough investigation of the "Trotskyist" movement in which I was accused of holding membership.

My experience shows clearly that there is not the slightest democracy inside the Communist Party. The rank and file is stifled by a self-perpetuating bureaucracy that decides all questions and decides them only in its own interests and the interests of Stalin. No one is allowed even to discuss their decisions.

But no party can represent the interests of the working class unless the rank and file exercise full democratic rights and is allowed to express its opinion and let its weight be felt in formulating policies and decisions.

The Third International is dead! I have severed all connections with it. I call on all my friends and comrades to do likewise.

New York City,
 August 16, 1939

Socialist Appeal
 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.

Name

Address

City

HENRY H. THOMAS