

# Socialist Appeal

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THREE (3) CENTS

On Its 22nd Anniversary

## Long Live The Russian Revolution!

Twenty-two years ago this month—it was October by the old Russian calendar—the workers and peasants in the Czar's former empire rose, arms in hand, and put an end to the bloody war. The guns put into their hands to fight the external enemy, the masses turned on the enemy at home.

The Russian Bolsheviks showed by example that it is entirely possible for the millions of suffering men and women who daily are herded for bestial exploitation into factories and mines and mills and fields—and battlefields—to take their fate into their own hands.

This great lesson of the Russian Revolution is more alive in the minds and hearts of mankind today than ever before. It is the specter that haunts the oppressors. It is the hope that animates the oppressed.

### October Is Still Our Guiding Star

The living example of the October revolution cannot be erased from the memory of the toiling masses—not by the defeats sustained by the revolutionaries nor by the victories of capitalist reaction in the intervening years.

For the passage of years has demonstrated still further that the victories of capitalist reaction are altogether hollow. Capitalism itself is no longer viable. It is torn up and devoured by its own contradictions. It can no longer assure security and peace to anyone. Crises and wars, the slow starvation of unemployment or the sudden death of the battlefield—these are the only alternatives capitalism offers mankind. The temporary defeats that the armies of capitalism have administered to the revolutionaries have only succeeded in prolonging the death agonies of capitalism.

### The Fight Against Turncoats

The counter-revolutionary policy of the Kremlin clique has, to be sure, dealt heavy blows against the international working class. In seeking to preserve its own parasitic privileges, the Stalinist bureaucracy has been of the greatest help to the

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## Behind the Lines

By GEORGE STERN

Constantin Smetanin, the new Soviet ambassador to Japan, has arrived in Tokyo. He is expected in the nearest future to open negotiations with the Japanese governments parallel to talks already going on in Moscow between Molotov and the Japanese envoy there.

In Tokyo all the newspapers that reflect the views of the Japanese army command are demanding more and more insistently that Japan take the road of an accord with Russia rather than with the United States.

It has gone so far that Yomiuri Shimbun—one of the most influential Tokyo dailies—already boasts that Russia will be the first nation after Japan to extend recognition to the projected puppet central government in China to be headed by the renegade Wang Ching-wei.

Capt. Alexander Kovalev, the Soviet military attache in Tokyo, was quoted by the Domei News Agency as declaring in an interview that "in so far as China is concerned, there is no reason for dispute between Russia and Japan." He was also stated to have warned Japan against falling for Anglo-American propaganda "designed to drive a wedge between Japan and the Soviet Union." He added, finally, that Smetanin might soon meet at some undisclosed place with Panuchkine, the recently-arrived Soviet ambassador to China.

The Yomiuri Shimbun said bluntly that the Russian-Japanese deal would be based upon So-

viet abandonment of aid to the Chiang Kai-shek government and Japanese non-interference with the Soviet "sphere of influence" in west and northwest China. That region would be made the starting point, the paper added, for a Russian drive toward India.

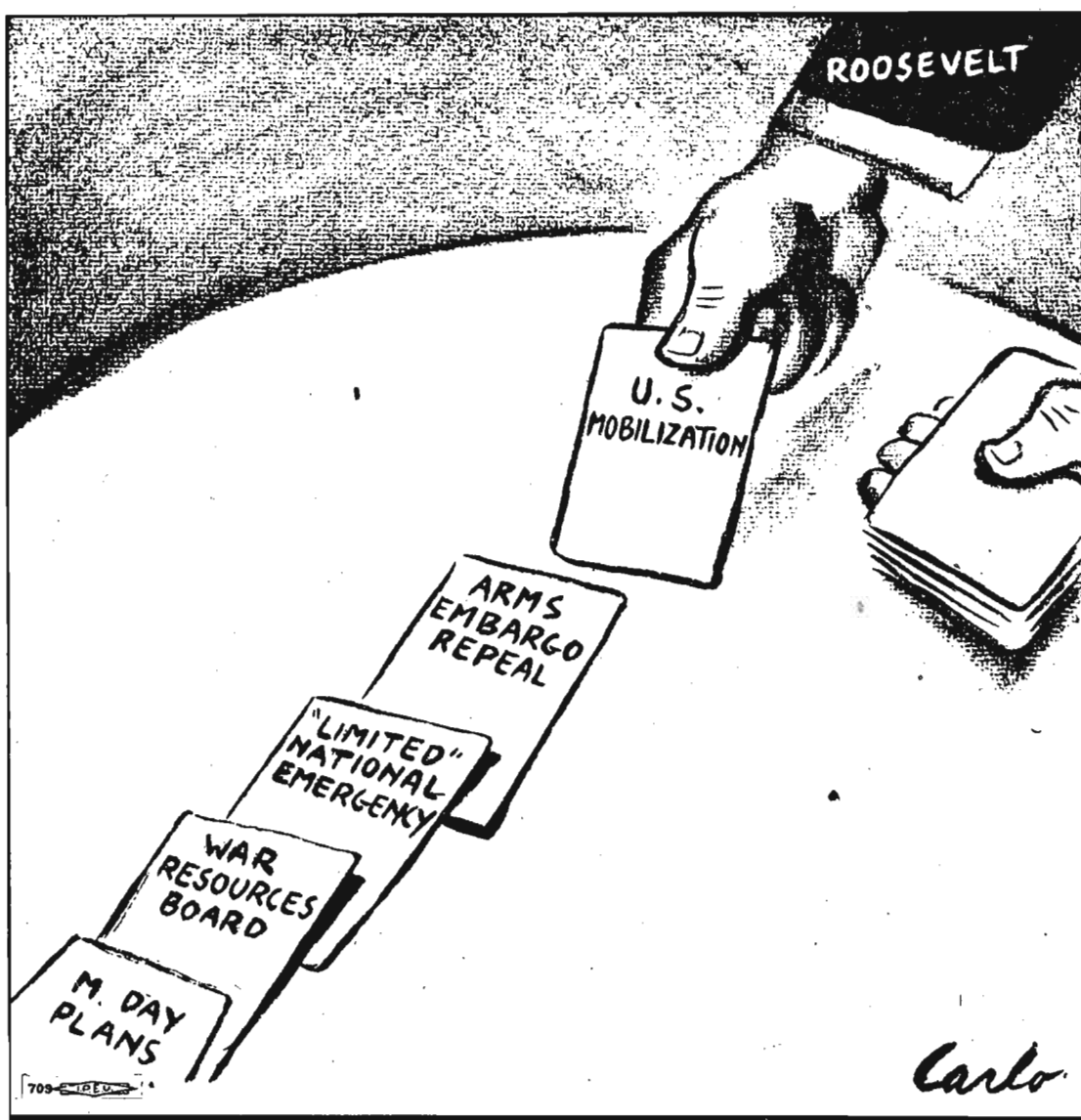
This program, or something very much like it, now has the open approval of the Japanese militarists. Another 180 degree turn to amaze the historians of this twisted era!

Not that the Japanese militarists have abandoned their fundamental hostility to Russia! Not by a long shot. They have either actually concluded that a deal with Stalin would be more profitable right now than a deal with Britain and the U.S.—or else they are trying to raise the Anglo-American ante.

The issue in the Pacific may be forced sooner than many expect. Involvement of the Netherlands in the war would raise at once for Japan the question of the rich Netherlands East Indies at a time when British naval forces in those waters are totally incapable of dealing with Japan. It has long been assumed that the U.S. Navy has been assigned the task of policing the Pacific in precisely such an eventuality.

But it is obvious that it would be more expedient to avoid conflict with Japan at this juncture—if only the Japanese price does not come too high. That is what has yet to be determined. And until it is, the Russo-Japanese rapprochement will hang fire.

## The War Deal



## GOVERNMENT WITNESS ADMITS COACHING BY G-MEN IN TRIAL OF MINNEAPOLIS WPA STRIKERS

Confirms Charge of Defense That Federal Agents Are Behind Frame Up — Sentencing Of 8 Convicted in First Trials Deferred

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)  
MINNEAPOLIS, Nov. 9.—The high-light of the first ten days of testimony in the third trial of WPA workers came suddenly Tuesday morning, when Police Sergeant John J. Finn blurted out the fact that he had been coached in his testimony by G-men.

Flustered on the stand under the probing of defense attorneys, Finn had shot at him the question: "Did you discuss your testimony with anyone?" Finn answered: "I just merely rehearsed—I mean, just went over my testimony with Noonan and J. H. Rice"—two operatives of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Finn's admission caused a buzz in the courtroom. But it merely provided official confirmation of the fact, already known to the labor movement, that the persecution of the WPA workers for their participation in the nationwide WPA strike last summer was being engineered direct from Attorney General Murphy's office in Washington. The G-men are in his department.

Agents-Provocateurs  
Last July, during the strike, it was discovered that the FBI had planted G-men, disguised as strikers, among the pickets, and that these G-men had been present when police, on July 14, fired on pickets, killing one and wounding a score of others.

The 25 workers now on trial were on that picket line at the WPA sewing project, and are being tried, presumably, for having dodged the bullets. Unwittingly the government has itself testified to the widespread strike sentiment among the 1100 workers on the sewing project. Only a handful of them reported to work during the week of the strike, despite all the strikebreaking threats made by Roosevelt, Murphy, Governor Stassen, Mayor Leach, etc.

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## FIRST RETURNS INDICATE LARGE VOTE FOR S.W.P.

Election results in the New York City contest for the Council are still unknown. It will be several days before the count is finished. First returns, however, indicate a large anti-war vote. In partial returns from the Bronx, Max Shachtman, SWP candidate, has already polled well over one thousand votes. As soon as the complete figures are available, the Socialist Appeal will publish the full vote received by Max Shachtman, as well as the write-in vote received by George L. Paine in Manhattan.

## CIGAR STRIKERS SPIKE SCABBY 'BACK TO WORK' MOVEMENT

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)  
ALLENTOWN, Pa., Nov. 10.—The strike of more than 650 workers of the General Cigar Co. continued in full swing this week despite the frantic efforts of the factory owners to start a "back to work" movement.

Since the 100 per cent walkout which was called several weeks ago by the Cigar Makers International Union, Local 91, picket lines have managed to curtail production. Frantic efforts of the bosses to hire scabs were met with defeat.

Mr. Josephs, superintendent of the factory to see what they could do to supply workers for production. Josephs told them to use whatever means they wanted and the stooges have been working in the union to start a "back to work" movement. Their first shady maneuver was to send out a postcard to the membership pinning a false statement on the union president, Louis Segeti, saying that the president was for an end to the strike.

The strikers called a showdown on Wednesday night, and by a three to one vote they decided to remain out until victory

is won. The "scabs" in the union were routed.

Josephs also tried to get the local high school superintendent to get him 500 school girls for work in the factory. The school superintendent called up and wrote post cards to hundreds of students until he ran into one girl who knew about the strike. She told him that she wouldn't work as a scab and warned him that many parents will be up in arms against him when their kids bump into the picket line. The school superintendent decided it wasn't safe for him as a strikebreaker and called the whole thing off.

In the meanwhile organizers have met with success in organizing General Cigar Co. factories out of town—Wilkes Barre, Perth Amboy, Kingston, Nanticoke, South River, and Evansville, Indiana. Workers everywhere are urged to aid the strikers by sending funds to the union secretary, Johanna Semon, 408 Allen St., Allentown, Pa. and to boycott cigars made by the General Cigar Co.—"White Owl," "William Penn," "Little Bobbies" and "Robert Burns."

## No Collusion with the War Department!

On the eve of the A.F. of L. and C.I.O. conventions, Assistant Secretary of War Johnson's liaison officers confidentially showed the A.F. of L. and C.I.O. leaders the M-Day plans.

Behind closed doors, the labor leaders protested—in vain—for the M-Day plans mean virtual extinction of the unions when the war starts.

But at the A.F. of L. and C.I.O. conventions they endorsed Roosevelt's fake neutrality program, the first step on the road to war!

Let the A.F. of L. and C.I.O. members know what the government officers said behind those closed doors! No secret diplomacy between the government and labor officials!

## Labor Offered Nothing, Stays Away from Polls In National Elections

### ARREST GROUP ASKING RELIEF FOR NEEDY MAN

Union Rejects "No" Answer of Home Relief Bureau

NEW YORK CITY, Nov. 10.—Charged with disorderly conduct for demanding that David Sporn, a 65 year old starving man be placed on the home relief rolls, seven members of the Unemployed and Project Workers Union, Local 22, were given suspended sentences by Magistrate Andrews in Magistrates Court today.

After the home relief bureau repeatedly turned down Sporn's request for food and rent, a committee from the unemployed union went to the bureau officials. They explained that the man was suffering from a heart ailment, that he had nothing to eat, nowhere to sleep, and needed attention immediately. The bureau officials refused to listen to the case.

The union refused the flat "No" answer of the relief administration. They demanded the Sporn case be heard. The answer of the home relief bureau was arrest for all the union committee. The first arrests in the case brought jail sentences for the union committee.

But the man received no food. The next day one of the local union members saw Sporn searching through the neighborhood garbage cans. Approached by the union member, Sporn admitted ashamedly that he was trying to find a bite to eat.

Again the union committee went to the home relief bureau. A conference with the admini-

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### Vote With Feet as Boss Politicians Avoid Issues of War and Jobs—Results Indicate Advance of Reactionary Forces

Tuesday's election results showed three chief features: (1) The apathy and lack of interest shown by vast sections of the electorate;

(2) The petering out and even collapse of nearly all the local "good government" and reform movements, together with the resurgence of the local machines;

(3) The continuing advance of conservative and reactionary forces, though as yet still in a comparatively cautious manner.

Low as were the registration figures this year compared to the preceding six or seven years, millions even of the registered voters did not bother to go to the polls.

All indications suggest that it was particularly the unemployed and the workers who stayed away.

A drop in the total number of voters is to be expected in those years when posts in the Federal government are not at stake. Nevertheless this is not sufficient to explain the size of the decline this year.

### Avoid Main Issues

The reason is undoubtedly to be found in the fact that many millions of persons realized that the chief problems concerning them received no expression whatever in the contests. The unemployed and the bulk of the workers are occupied above all with two questions: the war, and jobs. On the whole, the political parties bent every effort toward keeping these two paramount issues out of their campaigns. Consequently, millions of voters felt that they had nothing much at stake, and showed their attitude by keeping away from the polls.

In California and Ohio, in contrast to the rest of the country, the problem of jobs and a decent living entered the elections through the appearance of pension plan referendums on the ballot. In these two states, as a result, the voting was extremely

heavy—in California, the largest on record.

Nearly all the "good government" and fusion groups, which only a few years ago were capturing the popular imagination, made a feeble showing. They fell like ten-pins before the well-oiled machines.

### Tammany Sweep

In New York City, Tammany, pronounced dead two years ago by all the "civic leaders," made a clean sweep. Every single candidate favored by the glided lily of civic virtue, Mayor LaGuardia, was defeated.

In Philadelphia, the old-line Republican machine ousted the New Dealish mayor. In Tennessee Boss Crump guided his ship safely to port, as did the Kelly-Nash boys in Chicago. So it was in every important city.

In Reading, Pennsylvania, the Social-Democrats, who are simply Quaker State LaGuardias, were relieved by the Republicans of the comfortable offices which they have been so happy to hold these many years.

This humiliating end of "good government" is in its own way a recognition by the people of what a fraud these movements really are. Advertised as the solution for the ills of society, they show

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### The Anniversary of the Russian Revolution

## Right of Revolutionary Optimism

By LEON TROTSKY

In the weekly of the well-known newspaper *Paris-Soir* of August 31, 1939, an extremely instructive conversation is reported between the French ambassador Coulondre and Hitler on August 25, at the time of their last interview. (The source of the information is undoubtedly Coulondre himself.) Hitler sputters, boasts of the pact which he concluded with Stalin ("a realistic pact") and "regrets" that German and French blood will be spilled.

"But," Coulondre objects, "Stalin displayed great double-dealing. The real victor (in case of war) will be Trotsky. Have you thought this over?"

"I know," Der Fuehrer responds, "but why did France and Britain give Poland complete freedom of action?" etc.

These gentlemen like to give a personal name to the spectre of revolution. But this of course is not the essence of this dramatic conversation, at the very moment when diplomatic relations were ruptured. "War will inevitably provoke revolution"; the representative of imperialist democracy, himself chilled to the marrow, frightens his adversary.

"I know," Hitler responds, as if it were a question decided long ago. "I know." Astonishing dialogue!

Both of them, Coulondre and Hitler, represent the barbarism which advances over Europe. At the same time neither of them doubt that their barbarism will be conquered by socialist revolution. Such is now the awareness of the ruling classes of all the capitalist countries of the world. Their complete demoralization is one of the most important elements in the relation of class forces. The proletariat has a young and still weak revolutionary leadership. But the leadership of the bourgeoisie rots on its feet. At the very outset of the war which they could not avert, these gentlemen are convinced in advance of the collapse of their regime. This fact alone must be for us the source of invincible revolutionary optimism!

## MASS MEETING!

ON THE 22nd ANNIVERSARY OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

## Whither Soviet Russia?

The Meaning of Stalin's Role in the European War

Wednesday Evening, November 15th, 1939, at 8 o'clock

Hear the Answer by

## Sarah Rice and J. P. Cannon

Formerly National Organizer, F.S.U.

National Secretary, S.W.P.

IRVING PLAZA, IRVING PLACE at 15th Street

Socialist Workers Party—4th Int'l.

Admission: 25c

# Long Live the Heroic Achievements of 1917!

## In the Labor Unions

By B. J. WIDICK

Fresh examples of how the labor bureaucracy becomes part and parcel of the war machine appear almost daily.

The Canadian section of the CIO announces its autonomy because it wants a completely free hand to aid the government for Britain.

The Canadian CIO leadership publicly declares it will do its part to help British imperialism keep over five hundred million colonial peoples in virtual slavery.

Chauvinism permeates the labor bureaucracy so deeply that it even wants to discard a semblance of internationalism expressed by the unity of the American and Canadian sections of the CIO.

### Serve Masters

British and French labor leaders are doing their best in the service of their capitalist masters. A special committee headed by Sir Walter Citrine, prominent British faker, and Leon Jouhaux, French sell-out artist, are going to confer monthly to work out a close solidarity of the workers in these two countries behind the war machines.

Mr. William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, doesn't have to perform quite that openly yet for his masters. However, he is doing a fairly good job of warming up.

Naturally, Green would go after the militant workers who are fighting for their elementary rights, namely the autoworkers.

The crime of the CIO autoworkers, according to Green, is that they resorted to slow-down or sit-down strikes in protest against the terrific speed-up in the auto plants.

Of course, the effectiveness of the auto workers' tactics and their solidarity are what Green is really objecting to.

But there is something much more insidious in Green's blast against the auto workers. After all, he always opposed militant action.

Green's criticism of the auto workers in reality is a bid to the American war machine for becoming "the outstanding labor leader in war time." That is, Green says in so many words, if you played ball with us we guarantee there won't be any strikes. We'll keep labor pacified. The CIO leaders won't.

The whole purpose of the Green statement is to express his willingness to be the agent of the bosses and the military machine during war-time.

These examples serve to indicate what revolutionists mean when they classify the labor bureaucracy as agents of the capitalist class.

### But Not the Workers

The attitude of the rank and file, however, is different.

The attitude of the rank and file on the question of war is not given any vocal expression because of the censorship and persecution.

A hint of how the British workers are reacting is contained in a brief dispatch telling the story of a young worker who was called before a special court after refusing to be drafted.

"I am a slave of the capitalist system. It is their war, not the workers. I refuse to shoot down my fellow workers, even though you line me up against a wall and shoot me," the worker declared. How many other unknown heroes of the proletariat are there in England, France and Canada? They are the real voice of the proletariat. The labor bureaucrats merely repeat their master's voice.

### Chicago Holds Anniversary Meet On the Revolution

CHICAGO—Nearly 250 people attended the 2nd anniversary of the October Revolution meeting held here last week by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young People's Socialist League (Fourth International).

Albert Goldman, labor attorney, and B. J. Widick, organizer of the Chicago SWP, were speakers. The movie, "Ten Days That Shook the World," completed the program.

## The Russian Revolution Paved The Way for the World October

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imperialist masters of the world.

But the working class has seen treachery within its ranks before. Labor has seen the huge machine of the German social democracy drag the workers into the last war and smash the German revolution. The treachery of the German social democracy—and of the French and British, now being repeated—flowed from the same source as that of the Stalinist bureaucracy: having arrogated to themselves special privileges, not shared by the workers, they sought to preserve those privileges by conniving with the capitalists against the workers.

Shall we despair because there are traitors in our ranks? The Russian Revolution answers that question too! While faint-hearted pessimists despaired as the Second International joined the war-makers, the Bolsheviks, under Lenin and Trotsky, wasted no time in bewailing what had happened. Three years after the black day on which the German social democrats voted for war credits, the Bolsheviks were able to achieve the October revolution, and thereby proved that the forces of the working class are strong enough to overcome even the blackest treachery within its own ranks. The betrayal perpetrated by the social democracy was answered in the only way it could be answered—by the launching of the Third International.

### Why the Bureaucracy Triumphed

Today the Third International is as treacherous as the Second International. It is a mere appendage of the Stalin bureaucracy, a corrupt tool of its foreign policy. That foreign policy consists of an uninterrupted series of betrayals of the independent interests of the international working class. Whichever imperialist power it suits Stalin to curry favor with at any given moment, that power has delivered to it, bound hand and foot, as many workers as the Communist International can delude. Yesterday Daladier and Chamberlain were the beneficiaries; today it is Hitler.

But they lie—the social democrats, the "liberals", the reformists of every stripe—who say that the treachery of the Soviet bureaucracy is an outgrowth of the doctrines of Lenin and Trotsky. The responsibility for the degeneration of the first workers' state rests first of all upon the reformists who, as lackeys of the capitalists, destroyed the German, Austrian and Hungarian revolutions and left the Soviet state isolated amid capitalist encirclement. The reformists seek to justify their treachery by pointing to the treachery of the Stalinists; but to every thinking worker—especially today! when the Second International is repeating its treacherous role of 1914-1918!—there is no choice between the reformists and the Stalinists.

Hemmed in by the capitalist world, deprived of systematic access to the technology of the advanced countries, the first Soviet state, built upon the meager resources of backward Russia, fell victim to degeneration. A bureaucracy rose and triumphed, thanks to the passivity into which the Soviet masses had fallen after their heroic efforts of 1914-1923. Lenin and Trotsky foresaw this danger, fought against it, and explained its causes.

### Revolution to End Bureaucracy

The Kremlin bureaucracy, like the social democratic and all other bureaucracies, more than anything else in the world fears a workers' revolution in the advanced countries. For such a revolution will awaken the Soviet masses, give them outside support, provide the Soviet Union with the economic collaboration it needs, and thereby put an end to the Kremlin bureaucracy.

The international revolution will put an end to all bureaucracies by putting an end to all special privilege. For the existence of all bureaucracies flows from the scarcity of goods, which makes control and consumption of them a privilege. Science and technology have provided the foundations for an economy of plenty. The forces are at hand which make possible abundant satisfaction of the needs of humanity. What stands in the way are the old, obsolete forms of property relations, and the ruling classes who are their beneficiaries. What is needed is a world revolution that will throw on the garbage heap of history these strangulating obstacles to human progress.

### Assets of Russian Revolution

In our struggle for world revolution, we have at our disposal the invaluable assets bequeathed to us by the Russian Revolution. The Bolsheviks marked out the road for us! And, not least among the assets they have left us, are the conquests of the October Revolution that still remain in the Soviet Union.

State property, the indispensable condition for building socialism, still remains in the Soviet Union in spite of all Stalin's undermining of the conquests of the October Revolution. Even if Stalin were finally to succeed in destroying the nationalized property, the record of the accomplishments of nationalized means of production would remain as irrefutable proof of the superiority of that form of production over capitalist anarchy. Fortunately Stalin has not yet succeeded. That asset of world revolution remains.

Capitalism during the course of this war or after will undoubtedly seek to overthrow the Kremlin oligarchy in order to reintroduce capitalism and divide the Soviet territories into capitalist colonies. The world working class will defend that asset of world revolution as part of its struggle against capitalist reaction. It is our task to destroy the Kremlin clique, for that is what defense of the remaining conquests of the October Revolution means. The only real way to defend the Soviet Revolution is to make the world revolution.

### The Trail Has Been Blazed!

There were few voices raised at first against the First World War: Lenin and Liebknecht, Trotsky and Luxemburg and so few others! But their voices became the voices of the great masses who, by the Russian Revolution and its reverberations, put an end to the war. So today there are few enough voices raised against the Second World War. But those voices begin where the revolutionists of 1917 left off. We shall complete what they began. We shall do it in the spirit of the Russian Bolsheviks who carried out the first successful workers' revolution. Long live the Russian Revolution! It has blazed the trail to the world revolution!

## Labor and The Second World War

By J. R. Johnson

VI

### The Treachery of the Stalinist Bureaucracy

In the early years the Soviet government maintained a truly Marxist policy, building up the internal economy and working with the Communist International for the world revolution.

But the bureaucracy quickly became so satisfied with its position, so anxious to avoid the international complications of a revolution, and, as is the way of bureaucracies, so short-sighted and cowardly, that it missed opportunity after opportunity to assist the workers in the overthrow of their own capitalists. The Communist International assumed the leadership of the revolutionary movement in nearly every country, and the Communist leaders took their guidance from Moscow. But in Germany in 1923, in China in 1925-1927, Stalin and his bureaucrats, at the critical periods, restrained instead of encouraging the workers. The climax came in Germany in 1933, when the bureaucracy, after three years of vacillation, once more gave the signal for retreat. Always obedient, the German Communist Party, without even a show of resistance, allowed Hitler to take power.

### The Stalinists Embrace "Democracy"

Every defeat of the workers weakened the Russian workers in their struggle against the bureaucracy. And every defeat of the workers weakened Soviet Russia in the struggle against its unsleeping enemy, world imperialism. After the German defeat, Stalin began to look for salvation by an alliance with either fascist Germany or the "democracies," soliciting now one and now the other. His policy in face of the workers' revolutions in China and Germany had forced him into this position, and there was no escape. But to further his ends he committed yet another terrible crime against the working class. Seeking an alliance with France and Britain, he converted the Communist International into an agency for the support of the "democracies" against fascism. For five years the whole force of the Stalinist International, supported by the resources of the Soviet state, was directed to making the workers support one group of imperialists against the other, condemnation of which distinguishes the revolutionary movement from all others.

The Stalinists could not stop at words. To secure his alliance with the "democracies," Stalin and his Communist parties perpetrated some of the most cynical betrayals in history. In France in 1936 the workers seized the factories. Stalin used the Communist Party to stifle the movement for the sake of his alliance with French "democracy."

The most powerful revolution of modern times broke out in Spain a few months later. Stalin's Communist Party and the agents of the GPU hounded down, murdered and imprisoned thousands who were leading the struggle for socialism. The Spanish revolution, he insisted, was a revolution for "democracy" and no more. Had either of these revolutions followed their normal development, the result would have been such a resurgence of working class militancy all over Europe and elsewhere that we would have been saved the second world war. In France in particular the workers turned to the Communist Party, thinking it was the party of revolution. The French capitalists were helpless. But it was Stalin's Communist Party that saved French capitalism.

### Stalin Seeks A New Ally

Capitalists do not deal in gratitude. At Munich the "democracies" made obvious their international policy for years past: to encourage an attack on Soviet Russia by Hitler. Stalin turned hastily and negotiated again with Hitler, this time secretly, and got his alliance. The revolutionary workers had been deflected from their real enemy, the enemy at home, for five years. The incipient French revolution, the triumphant Spanish revolution, had been destroyed by Stalin's agents, all for the sake of his alliance with "democracy" in the cause of peace. Then suddenly the workers were told that peace and "democracy" were best served by the pact between Stalin and the most powerful fascist state in Europe. Hitler, given the green light by Stalin, marched. At that moment of desperate crisis the revolutionary workers in Europe, stunned by the pact, were thrown into helpless confusion and the imperialists slid them smoothly into war.

In the United States the Stalinists, hoping to include Roosevelt with Chamberlain and Daladier in the alliance with Stalin, lay on their bellies for five years licking the dust of Roosevelt's boots. They clamored in favor of the New Deal. They rooted for every move Roosevelt made toward war. They opposed the Ludlow amendment. They were ready to shed the blood of millions of American workers to defeat fascism in Germany. Came the Stalin-Hitler Pact. The American Stalinists turned about face, and today they are as active for Hitler's victory as yesterday they were for his defeat, are busy whipping up workers everywhere in the "democracies" to oppose the war—to make things as easy as possible for Hitler, Stalin's ally. But if Stalin is forced to an alliance with Britain tomorrow, venal robots as they are, the Stalinists will once more clamor for a holy war of "democracy" against fascism. Long over are the days when they were leading the revo-

## WORKERS' FORUM

### COMPLAINS ABOUT APPEAL ARTICLES

Dear Comrade Editor,

I am writing you to protest certain errors made in the Appeal.

First, the issue of Tuesday, Oct. 24. The headline reads: 1. J.L. Lewis Opens Drive in CIO to "Clean House" of Stalinists. 2. Strikes First Blow by Removing CP Clique From Strategic Posts. 3. Lewis Crusade Spells End of Stalinist Union-Wreckers in CIO. This sounds as though the SWP approves of Lewis' actions in clamping down on the CP. All of our comments are directed against the CP, calling them cliques, union-wreckers, etc. We know this is true, but nevertheless, we don't approve of Lewis' bureaucratic actions against the CP. Our positions always was and should be that when the CP is to be kicked out, the militant, progressive union men will do that job.

Now for a little constructive criticism. Much too often the

front page carries news that concerns New York mainly or altogether. Now we realize that NY has the biggest section of the party and sells the majority of the Appeals. But that hampers the rest of the party. So I thought of this idea to handle the situation. Make the front page full of national news, all headlines denouncing the war and the warmakers. But on the fourth page also have headlines that concern New York and include specific NY news. For instance, the Appeal of Oct. 27 carries the headline Shachtman On New York Ballot, Boss Politicians Drop Challenge. What significance has that outside of NY? But it is very important that NY have that headline. If it were on the fourth page the comrades could hold the paper with the fourth page facing the public.

To sum up, let our paper have two front pages.

Comradely,  
J. D.

## An Unusual Opportunity Offered Workers in Marxist School Courses

The Fall Term of the MARXIST SCHOOL, which begins on Monday, Nov. 20, offers the prospective student a splendid opportunity to get the Marxist viewpoint on a number of the important problems of the day.

Do you want to find out about America's role in the war? James Burnham and Dwight Macdonald will give you the inside information in a course on "THE WAR DEAL IN ACTION". In the intimate style of their columns in the Socialist Appeal, they will discuss with you the Administration's drive to get the U.S. into the war, Neutrality legislation, M-Day plans, the latest financial and industrial trends in relation to the war, etc.

Have you ever been puzzled over why Marxists condemn some wars and justify others, what defeatism and defensism are, how the social conquests of the U.S.S.R. can be defended in the present conflict, what Marx, Lenin, Luxemburg, Kautsky, etc., thought on the war problem? Max Shachtman will tell you. In a course on "SOCIALISM AND WAR" he will consider the war problem in its historic and theoretic aspects.

For the trade unionist the course to be given by E. R. Frank on "ORGANIZING LABOR" is all-important. The lectures will deal with the tremendous events in recent labor history. E. R. Frank as a participator in the great organizing drives in auto is well qualified to give first-hand accounts of the great strike struggles and close-ups of the leading personalities involved.

We believe J. R. Johnson to be the foremost authority on the Negro question in the labor movement. Author of a number of books and pamphlets on the subject, he now gives a course on "THE DESTINY OF THE NEGRO" for the Marxist School in which the chief solutions advanced for the Negro problem will be examined.

Have you ever taken a course in economics and been disappointed because what you learnt had no apparent relation to the everyday world about you? We are sure Frank Demby's course on "HOW CAPITALISM OPERATES TODAY" will not disappoint you in this manner. For this course takes as its starting point the everyday realities. How does a Fascist economy function, what is the relation between war and inflation, what is wrong with the farmer? The lectures will apply key concepts of Marxian economics to these and other questions.

We urge all students to register at once. Registration can be made at the Labor Bookshop, 116 University Place, New York City, between 1 and 6 p.m. or by writing to the same address in care of the Marxist School. All courses consist of 6 sessions and cost one dollar per course. Some scholarships are available for unemployed.

The following is the schedule of courses:

- I. HOW CAPITALISM OPERATES TODAY  
Mondays, 7:15 p.m.-8:40 p.m.
- II. SOCIALISM AND WAR  
Mondays, 8:50 p.m.-10:15 p.m.
- III. THE DESTINY OF THE NEGRO  
Tuesdays, 7:15 p.m.-8:40 p.m.
- IV. ELEMENTS OF SOCIALISM  
Tuesdays, 8:50 p.m.-10:15 p.m.
- V. ORGANIZING LABOR  
Wednesdays, 7:15 p.m.-8:40 p.m.
- VI. THE WAR DEAL IN ACTION  
Wednesdays, 8:50 p.m.-10:15 p.m.

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### ANNOUNCEMENT

NEW YORK—The Greeks had a word for it—Olympics. The YP-SL's have a word for it, too—Anti-War Olympiad—the first in the series.

What are we talking about? It's the November 12th fracas which will include—

1. A heated football fracas between the Erber Ebullient Ends starring Bone-crusher Ernie, the terror of the Trembling Terpsichoreans and Gould's Burlesque Bolsheviks, featuring the setbacks and wrong ends of Bolshevik football.

2. A Penta- and Decathlon, including the "Reactionary foot race" and a special relay, the nature of which cannot be divulged at the present time.

Time: Nov. 12, 11:00 a.m.  
Place: Entrance to Alley Pond, State Park, Queens, N. Y.  
Bus Q43 goes to entrance.

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# THE NEGRO QUESTION

By J. R. JOHNSON

## The Greatest Event in History

A revolution is the greatest event in the history of any society, and the Russian Revolution is the greatest of all revolutions. By this uprising, the workers and peasants of Russia shattered the capitalist system on one-sixth of the world's surface and took the road to socialism. On November 8, 1917, the night after the seizure of power, Lenin rose to address the memorable words, "We shall now begin the construction of the socialist order." On that same night and from that same platform, was sounded the call for the world revolution, uttered many times before, but now, because it came from the leaders of the first workers' state in history, reverberating across the oceans and mountains from continent to continent. It was heard in Central Europe and in Central Asia, by millions of Indians and Chinese, heard too by the most oppressed people in the world, the Negroes in Africa, in the West Indies, and in the United States of America.

A few days ago the revolution achieved its twenty-second anniversary. Broken and besmirched, attacked from without and betrayed from within, yet it lives. From the great peaks scaled in its early years, it has fallen far. But it remains a basis and a banner, a banner torn and bedraggled, stained with crimes and blood, carried by treacherous hands, but still a symbol of the greatest effort yet made by downtrodden humanity to rid the world of economic exploitation and political tyranny. To rid the world, not only Russia. Today Negroes, weighed down by still heavier burdens than those they carried on November 7, 1917 must celebrate that never-to-be-forgotten anniversary, must reflect on what the Russian Revolution has meant and still means, to them and to all mankind.

## It Shook the Foundations of Imperialism

Twenty-two years ago the great majority of Negroes in Africa and their brothers and sisters in America were little more than slaves, nourishing that hope of freedom which is unquenchable in the hearts of men, but feeding it on the illusions and misconceptions and impotence bred of white domination and the steel walls of imperialist slavery. But the Russian Revolution in 1917 razed to the ground one great fortress of world imperialism, and so shook the whole structure that today, twenty-two years after, it still rocks on its foundations. In the years that followed 1917, the Communist International carried the great message of the world revolution and the example of Russia to the millions of Negroes throughout the world. Negroes for the first time understood that for them, as for all the exploited and oppressed, there was a road out and upward, understood that they were not alone, that in France and in Britain, in Belgium and in America, all over the world, there were millions of workers and peasants whose enemy was their enemy, whose aim was their aim, whose destiny was their destiny, not only to destroy tyrants and oppressors, but to destroy the system which gave them birth, not only to overthrow imperialism but to create the socialist society.

The Russian Revolution, the Communist International that grew out of it, by precept of brilliant propaganda and fearless agitation, by example of heroic struggle and self-sacrifice, taught the lessons of imperialist barbarism, of the necessity for proletarian revolutions in the imperialist nations, and national independence in the colonial countries; preached and practiced the unity of all the oppressed, irrespective of religion or race, indefatigably pointed to the two roads that lay before all mankind—imperialist war and capitalist reaction, or victorious socialism in Europe and America and the independence of Asia and Africa.

## A Blow at Colonial Exploitation

There are Negroes who have seen and still see little for their people in the propagation of revolutionary doctrines. They are either selfish or ignorant—selfish because they are anxious only to preserve and extend the mean profits and paltry prestige they have managed to scrape together for themselves; or they are ignorant, not with the ignorance of the masses, which comes from lack of opportunity and which the great school of the class struggle can correct, but learnedly ignorant through too complete an acceptance of imperialist education which is designed to blind and not to open the eyes of the masses, to perpetuate and not to destroy the imperialist system. Let those Negroes who talk so superficially about "Reds" explain why the British government, when Anthony Eden visited Moscow in 1935, demanded as the first condition of British friendship with Russia the discontinuance of revolutionary propaganda in India, in the West Indies, and in Africa. These British imperialists, with the experience of three centuries, know the condition of the people they so mercilessly exploit. They felt and still feel the shock of the Russian Revolution, at home in Britain, and in every corner of their empire. They know that, in Africa for instance, there has arisen no threat to their power during the three hundred years it has lasted, so strong as that represented by a few thousand copies of a Bolshevik paper circulating among the Negroes, and a few men working devotedly to build a Bolshevik party. They can foresee the overwhelming power of the Negro masses when mobilized behind such a party. They know what this revolution will mean to their power and their profits and their privileges. They therefore curse the Russian Revolution and the day it was born.

No Southern capitalist or plantation owner celebrates the anniversary of the Russian Revolution. Should a Negro in the South walk down a public street carrying a banner marked "Long Live the Russian Revolution," he might be lynched before he had gone fifty yards. And why? Because it stands for the destruction of the rotting capitalist system, with its unnecessary poverty and degradation, its imperialist war and its fascist dictatorships, its class domination and racial persecution. Every Negro with an ounce of political understanding or a spark of revolt against oppression will recognize the significance and celebrate the anniversary of the October Revolution in Russia.

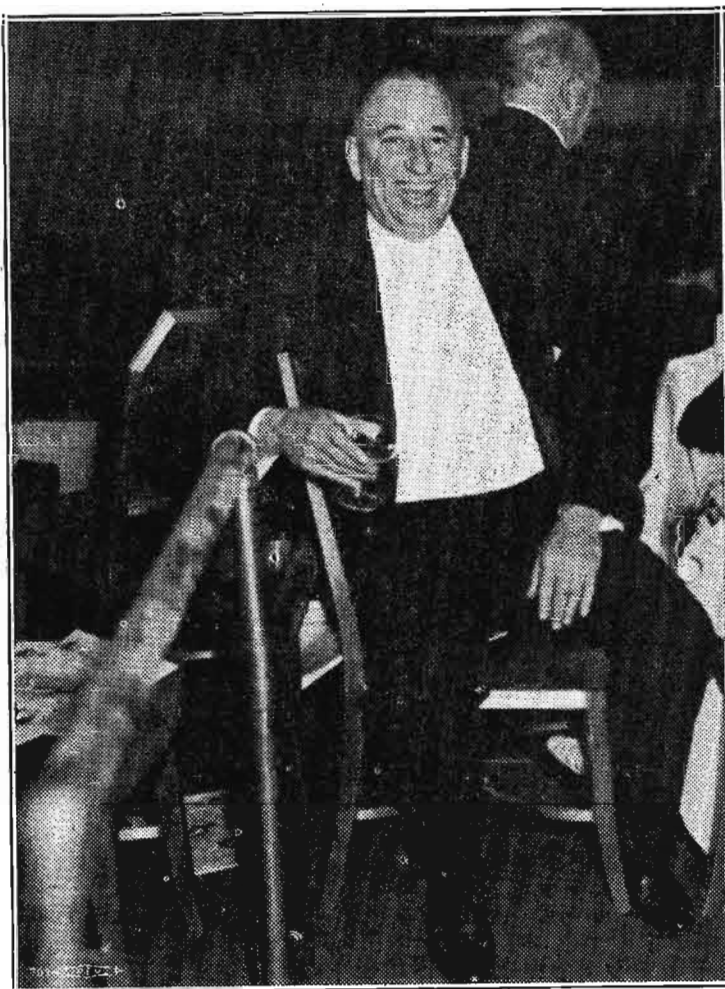
## The Fourth International Carries On

True, we have seen the revolution outraged and degraded. We have seen, rising out of the ruins of Bolshevism in Russia, the monstrosity of Stalinism. We have seen the Communist International change from the valiant defender of the international working class into the mere tool of Stalin's foreign policy. The development and decline of the Russian Revolution are described elsewhere in this issue, and in many of our books and pamphlets. But the principles of the world revolution, which first assumed flesh and blood in 1917, still remain. Today a new international, the Fourth, maintains the tradition and works for the goal. Though we condemn and ceaselessly expose Stalin and all his works, we celebrate the Russian anniversary and we call upon the Negroes and all workers to celebrate with us.

By a curious trick of fortune, Leon Trotsky, whose name is inseparably associated with Lenin's as the leadership that guided the revolution to success, was born on November 7th, the anniversary of the revolution. This year he celebrates his sixtieth birthday. History is the struggle of economic and social forces expressing themselves in the words and actions of men. And sometimes the life of a single individual epitomizes the history of a movement. Second only to Lenin, Trotsky was at the head of the Russian Revolution during the great days of October, the war of intervention, the founding of the Soviet state, and the organization of the Communist International. But with the decline of the revolution, he found himself leading the opposition to the bureaucracy of Stalin. He was driven out of Russia and exiled to Turkey. His children and family have been systematically exterminated. He has been slandered as no other man in history has been slandered. He has been driven from country to country and for years has been guarded night and day to save him from Stalin's assassins. All for one reason only. Because he remains today as he has always been, the enemy of capitalist society, the organizer and theoretician of the world revolution, and the unsparring opponent of the bureaucracy which has betrayed the great revolution; concerned not with personal revenge nor the lust for power but with the liberation of the workers and farmers in all countries from capitalist chains and slavery.

He has written little specifically on the Negro question, as he has written little, for instance, on the Indian question. The circumstances of his life and the necessities of the struggle have compelled him to devote most of his attention to the great centers of proletarian

## HAVING A GOOD TIME!



Walter B. Chrysler—sipping champagne. Workers in his auto plants are striking to maintain decent living standards—against inhuman speed-up, and for union conditions.

## GOLDMAN ENDS G-MAN COACHED SUCCESSFUL SPEAKING TOUR IN WPA TRIAL

At the conclusion of a speaking tour for the Socialist Workers Party that took him throughout the eastern and Middle Western states, Albert Goldman, well-known labor attorney, declared that his lectures on the European war, the first stages of which he personally experienced in France early this fall, had been received with the greatest interest by hundreds of workers.

Goldman, whose tour began on the east coast and wound up in the Twin Cities, stated that his largest meetings had been in Minneapolis and at the University of Minnesota.

**Speaks to Negroes**  
His most interesting lecture, Goldman related, took place in the Negro district of Chicago, where a large body of Negro sympathizers of the Socialist Workers Party turned out to hear him.

Speaking on the attitude of the French workers to the war, Goldman pointed out at his lectures that although the workers hated the idea of going off to the trenches in the service of their imperialism, they saw no way out of their dilemma because both the Socialist and Communist parties had no program for fighting against the war. The working class parties, Goldman explained at his meetings, far from fighting against the war, were divided among themselves as to which imperialist camp to support.

Goldman dealt at length with the program of the French Communist party, tracing its gyrations from Popular Frontism to support of the Stalin-Hitler alliance.

**Great Interest**  
Great interest was manifested at each of his meetings, Goldman stated, when he called upon the workers to learn the tragic lessons of their European brothers. "I called upon the advance guard of the American workers to do in this country what the German, French and English workers failed to do," Goldman went on. "I called upon them to

(Continued from Page 1)  
The government is seeking to prove that only a fraction of the workers came to work because the rest were intimidated by the picket line. "Interfering with" WPA workers is a crime under the Roosevelt-Woodrum Relief Law. The evidence has actually indicated something quite different—that the overwhelming majority of the WPA workers, acting of their own free will, simply refused to work for the scab wages and conditions embodied in the new relief bill just passed there.

U.S. District Attorney Anderson indicated he will call more than 150 witnesses, and it therefore appears that a month will pass before the government concludes its case. The feeling was growing among labor leaders that Anderson is seeking to pad the case with such a mountain of "evidence" that the cost of an appeal would be almost prohibitive to organized labor. In case of appeal, the defense must pay for the printing of a transcript of all testimony.

**Sentence Deferred**  
On Saturday, Federal Judge Joyce announced he "was deferring indefinitely" the sentencing of the eight workers convicted in the first two trials. The judge stated he would postpone sentence at least until he receives reports from probation officers and possibly until all WPA strike defendants have been tried.

The judge's action was taken to indicate some hesitation in government circles concerning next moves. The fight that Minnesota labor is putting up, and the support it is receiving throughout the country, has the government worried.

## FIGHT AGAINST THE WAR;

organize themselves against the war and to join the Socialist Workers Party, the party of proletarian revolution."

tarian revolution in Europe. But he has always seen and taught that the struggle in the last analysis is one, that the blows he gave and directed at world imperialism in any country, weakened the whole system and thereby facilitated the victory of Indians in India and Negroes in Africa and America. If today the Socialist Workers Party has placed work among the American Negroes as one of the most important tasks before it, and has a clear program and policy on the problems of the Negro, it owes much to his insistence on the importance of the Negro to the American revolution, his sympathy with their oppression, his boundless faith in their power to struggle, their will to conquer, their capacity to aid in the creation of the socialist society. Negroes will join with us in celebrating his anniversary and to wish him and his wife Natalia, his devoted helper, many years of life and health to continue their work, of such importance to us today and to the generations yet to come.

This joint anniversary bears for all Negroes a special significance at this time. It comes at a moment when the imperialist barbarians are engaged once more in their periodical orgies of destruction and slaughter, when the masters of Russia have allied themselves with the imperialist criminals, when hopes of liberation seem faint and distant. But in the early days of 1917 just such a pall seemed to rest on the poor and oppressed in all countries everywhere. Yet that gloom was the prelude to such an uprising of the masses as had never been seen before. Negroes were unprepared then. Today, thanks to the Russian Revolution, they and all others who suffer with them can see more clearly. Knowledge is power. Let us celebrate these anniversaries, not only in memory of the great deeds that have been done but of the still greater tasks that face us in the days that are ahead. Negroes more than all others have nothing to lose but their chains. They more than all others will play their part in the destruction of capitalist society for they have most to

# The Needle in the Haystack—Or The War Aims of the British Capitalist

Lord Halifax was selected to make the long awaited statement on British war aims, and the choice is not without political significance. Like all the recent rulers of England, a country with a long-established political system and a mature ruling class, Halifax conforms to some special national characteristic. Ramsay Macdonald was par excellence the labor leader kissing the hem of the aristocracy's garment. Baldwin was the jolly country squire. Neville Chamberlain is the business man (he was prepared to bargain away everything, except of course, the British Empire). War-monger Churchill (the English Roosevelt) was brought into the Cabinet only when war began, and over the radio he tells the British public stirring tales of the U-boats sunk by the British navy.

Halifax is preeminently the churchman. Unlike some other British magnates, Halifax believes in God like hell, and is a pillar of the Church of England. He is also a pillar of the British Empire, and he defends them both. For ordinary men this might present some difficulty. Not for Halifax. For him God, the Church of England, and the British Empire are all one, one in three and three in one.

This war-aims business is "damned awkward, don't you know." So the Cabinet put up Halifax to deal with it.

"What is the real purpose of our struggle?" Halifax admits

that people in many quarters are asking that the allies should define "with greater precision what are sometimes called war aims."

"Sometimes." Halifax obviously does not like the term war aims. God forbid. It sounds as if the British were actually fighting for something. The British are fighting, according to Halifax, for nothing. They are fighting for what the Church of England fights for: "In defense of freedom . . . We are fighting for peace . . . security . . . against the substitution of brute force for law . . . sanctity of treaties . . . disregard for the pledged word." Almost the ten commandments complete.

**SERMONS ON DEMOCRACY**

Britain, says Halifax, does not wish to interfere in Germany's affairs. "But when the challenge in the sphere of international relations is sharpened, as today in Germany, by the denial to men and women of elementary human rights . . . then, what then? Is he for a 'democratic' Germany? This sanctimonious scoundrel hasn't even the nerve to go that far. "Democratic" Germany means workers' political parties and agitation for socialism, and God knows what else. Halifax takes refuge in the liturgy of his beloved Church: "We are therefore fighting to maintain the rule of law and the quality of mercy in dealings between man and man . . ." For many reasons the word "democracy" is anathema. For Mussolini, whom the British are courting, Carol of Rumania, Franco, Metaxas of Greece, would not at all mind being included as fighters for "the rule of law" and the "quality of mercy." But if Halifax talked about war for "democracy" in Germany, he would have these hoped-for allies after him like a pack of hounds. So that the sermons on democracy are kept strictly for home consumption. Also, India is having a lot to say about "democracy." Halifax does not want to have to explain why he is fighting to give democracy to 60 million Germans while at the same time he fights to keep it from 375 million Indians. No. This war for "democracy" business is not for international broadcasts. It served in 1914, but you have to go easy on it today.

## Labor Offered Nothing, Stays Away from Polls In Tuesday's Elections

(Continued from Page 1)  
nothing but a few pious speeches when they get into office. Their attraction wears off, and no one pays them any more attention.

**New Deal Gone**

Insofar as general trends could be observed, conservatism and reaction made undoubted gains. Here, too, this result can be attributed to the wearing thin of the liberal, progressive and pseudo-radical disguises of the servants of capitalism. Nothing is left of the New Deal in reality, and less and less of it remains in the minds of those who once were fooled by it. Under such circumstances, with no outlet to the left, more openly conservative candidates could get into office by machine methods.

The defeat of the pension plans in both Ohio and California was reaction's most dramatic and notable victory. "Thirty dollars every Thursday" lost in California by approximately a million votes, far greater than any commentator had predicted.

This defeat seems to have resulted from the following causes: In the first place, the pension plans, especially the California plan, were so full of economic holes that, in spite of the legitimacy and progressive nature of their aims, their opponents had a substantial basis in fact for propaganda against them.

Secondly, the official leadership of both the Ohio and California movements was in the hands, to a considerable extent, of shady promoters who taught their followers to put all faith in the promises of politicians of the two major boss parties. The politicians, after being themselves elected last year by pension votes, light-heartedly broke their promises, as they always do.

This was most plainly illustrated by Governor Olson of California who, after allowing himself to be regarded as the Messiah of the pension movement, made a vicious attack against it on the eve of the election.

Third, the labor movement in both states, though more or less supporting the pension movement, was ambiguous and half-hearted in its attitude, and made no effort to take the leadership away from the charlatans and, by putting the plans on a sound basis and conducting a vigorous struggle, to transform the movement into a serious popular offensive.

**Some Exceptions**  
The only important partial exceptions shown to the general trend of the elections might seem to have occurred in Detroit, Bridgeport and in connection with the American Labor Party in New York City. These seeming exceptions, however, only reinforce the observations already made.

In Detroit, the conservative, anti-CIO Republican Mayor Reading was defeated by the Democratic candidate. Reading, however, was also in his own way one of the "good government" reformers, and he trod the same plank as LaGuardia's candidates and Mayor Stump of Reading. Auto unionists' resentment probably figured in increasing the victory of Jeffries—Mayor Reading's opponent—but Jeffries was at great pains to repudiate any suggestion that he was a "labor candidate."

**A. L. P. Vote**  
In New York City, the American Labor Party polled what looks at first like the very low total of about 240,000. However, when analyzed, this turns out to be a slightly higher percentage of the entire city vote than a year ago. This vote was secured in the face of the de facto split in the party between the Hillman-Waldman clique and the Stalinists, and in spite of the shameful failure of the party to measure up to the demands of the national and international crisis.

The split and the character of its present leaders put the ALP in a position where it may well be wiped altogether off the political map tomorrow. But that it did not lose ground in the face of the local obstacles and the national trend indicates that the workers in New York—as elsewhere—would be more than ready to rally to a party genuinely their own and controlled by themselves, which would put forward a bold and uncompromising workers' program.

**Gets Food**  
The action of the union has already brought partial success. David Sporn was granted a food allotment by the home relief bureau. His rent, however, still has not been granted, and the union committee intends to continue the vigorous fight it has put up until the rent is paid.

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The old war-horse, Jasper MacLevy, pulled through in Bridgeport, but with a somewhat diminished majority for his private "socialist" party. What got him by seems to be the fact that he has built up a pretty slick machine of his own, but also the fact that, whatever his numerous faults, he still has guts enough to run on a ticket that calls itself Socialist—and a good many workers, if given the chance, will vote for the idea of socialism even when that idea has so weak an embodiment in life as Mayor MacLevy's sewers.

**What about peace?** He is fighting for peace, he says. But how do we know that we will not have to fight for it again? We fought for it the last time and didn't get it. Halifax takes care of that:

"With this purpose in view we shall use all our influence, when the time comes, in the building of a new world in which the nations will not permit insane armed rivalry to deny their hopes of fuller life, and future confidence not be forever overborne by grim foreboding of disaster."

As the poet says, "But who is this and what is here?" We seem to have met this gentleman before. Indeed we have. He is our old friend, "the war to end war," but dressed up in clerical coat, collar turned back, and uttering the meaningless mousings of an Oxford cleric. As is fitting, For Halifax is vice-chancellor of Oxford University, joint stronghold of British capital and British piety.

What is this new international order going to look like? Halifax does not know and says so. "We have no idea what the shape of the post-war world will be." All

## MINN'SOTA LABOR GETTING TOO HOT FOR GOVERNMENT

Labor, organ of the 21 railroad unions, predicted in its Nov. 7 issue that the present trial of WPA workers in Minneapolis would be the last, although over 100 other defendants are awaiting trial. The great fight that Minnesota labor is putting up is apparently getting too hot for the government.

"It was reported on the highest authority," states Labor, "that these would be the last relievers to go on trial. . . . Organized labor in Minnesota, which is backing the strikers with all its resources, will appeal the convictions of the men already tried. That will place the matter in the hands of Solicitor General Jackson, and if he doesn't move for dismissal of the cases careful observers in Washington will be greatly surprised. . . ."

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he knows is that his precious British empire will be there. For the rest, "we shall see."

But after all, there is a war on. They are fighting about something. Colonies? The Baltic states? Road to India? The markets of Eastern Europe? Italy's claims on France? Near East? Middle East? Far East? Not a word. He does say earlier that the British hope "as far as we can, to repair the damage wrought by Germany upon her weaker neighbors."

That is the straw by which the Poles and the Czechs are to save themselves from drowning. Halifax is concerned about the British Empire. For the rest, "as far as we can."

**SHORT ON CONCRETE, SHORT ON ABSTRACT**  
But if he is short on the concrete, he is long on the abstract. "Acquiescence is dishonor . . . my own conscience . . . supreme dishonour. . . ." Two lines lower, "supreme dishonour," and two lines lower, "The supreme dishonour of the German Government is now open to the world." So now Hitler knows, the dishonorable rascal.

As he goes on, Parson Halifax becomes inspired: "human equality, self-respect and mutual tolerance." He hopes that after the war the British will be "better equipped in spirit" for the new life; "in this matter, as indeed in all life, it is finally the spiritual side that counts." He actually refers to the doctrine of the atonement. "To many it seems strange that we should look to force with all its suffering to bring redemption." And again, "annihilation of spiritual values" and "those hours in which we strengthen ourselves to take up high resolutions. . . ."

These, according to Halifax, are the war aims of the British Government. This is the bilge that Halifax has the nerve to read in a broadcast to the world as the reply of the British Government to the question people "in many quarters" are asking.

Who chooses to say he believes this, can do so. There may be workers backward enough to be taken in by this sermon. We doubt it. But all American proponents of a war for "democracy," like the New Leader and others, when they say they believe it, they lie in their dirty throats and the words should choke them. Halifax is fighting for the land and the factories of Britain, for the 100 billion dollars of investments abroad, for the right to exploit 500 million starving colonials, to crush the German challenge to Britain's imperial supremacy. We can judge of the corruption and rottenness of the British system by the supreme inanity of the defense its rulers make for it. But, as the example of India shows today, and as the British workers will show tomorrow, people aren't swallowing that sort of dope any more. The war aims of the British bourgeoisie now face the class aims of the British proletariat and their millions of allies.

**AGAIN—"THE WAR TO END WAR"**  
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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.

**The Munich Bomb**

German anti-fascists planted that bomb that nearly got Hitler. We can dismiss the Nazi claim that the British did it. That's merely a lame way to avoid admitting that, after six years of Nazi terror, there are still plenty of people—especially among the thirteen million workers who voted for the workers' parties in the last election Hitler permitted—who are ready to dare anything in the struggle against fascism.

We can likewise dismiss the Stalinist alibi, which is simply a word for word repetition of the Nazi bunk. Harry Gannes, foreign editor of the Stalinist Daily Worker, writes, Nov. 10: "The bombings indicate that the Chamberlain-Churchill oppressors of the British people have instructed their Nazi agents within Germany to conduct war for the Anglo-French side by means of terrorism." Leave out the clumsily-added word "Nazi," and you have a carbon-copy of Goebbels' press release. That's how far the Stalinist scribblers are going to buttress Stalin's alliance with Hitler!

Anti-fascists planted that bomb. For the imperialist rulers, in their wars against each other, don't kill each other. They only kill the millions of worker-soldiers. They yelled, "Hang the Kaiser," but they didn't, and it was the German workers who made him flee, and not the Allies. In fact, as we now know, the Allies and the Central powers had a "gentleman's agreement" during the last war not to bomb each others general headquarters—that would interfere with the war!

Too bad that bomb missed Hitler—how many millions of workers, in Germany and out, felt that!

It's certainly too bad that Hitler hasn't been done away with. But could a bomb do that? Could that bomb, if it had killed every last Nazi official who had been in the room that night, put an end to Hitlerism?

No. If Mussolini, Franco, Salazar or Portugal, Metaxas of Greece, Carol of Rumania, were all bombed to smithereens tomorrow morning, the reactionary regimes in those countries would still remain in power. The dead fascist fuhrers would be replaced by others, and the bombings would be used—as Hitler is in fact now doing—to justify redoubled persecutions of anti-fascists.

We honor the bravery of terrorists, and we'll join in their defense against capitalist persecution. But they pursue a futile course, which serves no progressive goal.

That daring and heroism should be geared to the real job: the education and the organization of the working class for the revolutionary struggle against fascism and capitalism. Only the masses can overthrow reaction—the masses, led by a revolutionary party. There are no shortcuts on the road to freedom.

**Is It A Victory?**

Two and one-half years ago Girdler's gunmen and vigilante mobs, assisted by the National Guard of Pennsylvania and Ohio, smashed the "little steel" strike.

5,000 union men were victimized because of their participation in the strike.

Their case was sent to the labor board and a victory recorded. The labor board ordered the men reinstated and "back" wages of \$7,500,000 paid them. But Girdler refused to acquiesce and the case went to the courts.

Now after two and one-half years of stalling from one government body to another, the case finally bolted its way into the courts. To all intents and purposes, the decision of the Third Circuit Court, upholding the verdict of the National Labor Relations Board is a victory for the union.

A victory, except for one little but—  
The 5,000 men will not return to work tomorrow. Nor will they receive their "back" wages. The company still has the right and has served notice of exercising that right, of appealing the decision to a higher court.

Thus while moralizing editors and columnists will beat the drums for the "fair," "just," and "equitable" processes of the American courts where poor and rich alike can get a square deal, the steel workers of Pennsylvania and Ohio remain just as they were when the strike was crushed. Without jobs, and on the border of starvation.

The steel workers slugged, fired and victimized by "little steel" have learned this bitter lesson, a lesson pounded into their homes and lives for two and a half years:

There is no victory for workers except the victory they win through their own independent action on the picket lines.

There is no democracy except the democracy wrested from the rulers of industry and the government by unions and militancy.

**FBI In Action**

Attorney-General Frank Murphy was passed off as a Great Liberal when he took office, just as Roosevelt has been since he became President. Social Democrats, Stalinists, all the varieties of liberals, hailed Murphy as a great Friend of Labor.

In more recent times, Murphy's F.B.I.—the "G-Men"—has been painted up as pretty as you please. Murphy, and after him all his supporters, have sworn the most solemn oaths that he had not the remotest intention of engaging in heresy-hunting, much less in anti-labor activities. As for the G-men, all they would do in the recent world-war situation would be to hunt down foreign spies.

The two latest exploits of the F.B.I. give the lie to all the oaths and promises. As American participation in the war draws closer, all the agencies of the government are being mobilized to clamp down on labor, to coordinate the labor movement under the domination of the military machine, to keep it docile, and make it swallow the war and the war-mongers without a murmur. The F.B.I. has become one of the main instruments in this dirty work. Examples: Minneapolis and Omaha.

In Minneapolis, aided by agents-provocateur, the F.B.I. proceeded to frame-up 150 WPA workers, whose terrible crime was their refusal to accept without protest and struggle the WPA cuts. The Murphy-Roosevelt-F.B.I. combination proved to be more vindictive and more antagonistic to labor and the labor movement than even the local Minneapolis Republican administration. Three trials have already been held and the defendants to the penitentiary.

The government may be your employer in the most direct sense of the word, as in the case of WPA, but you can't strike against the government. That's the decree of Hitler; that's the decree of Roosevelt. And the F.B.I. is there to see that it is carried out—or else.

The second exploit of the F.B.I. occurs in Omaha, Nebr. This open-shop state has a growing thorn in its side: the militant teamsters' union of Omaha. This union has, by its aggressive actions, endeared itself to workers throughout that area by its successful campaign to increase the wages and improve the working conditions of the drivers. Every reactionary, every Chamber of Commerce man, hates the very mention of its name. The bosses have not been able to make a dent in it, much less to break it, and it wasn't for lack of trying.

So the good old G-men, the unterrified heroes of the F.B.I., are brought into the picture. For fifteen months, the F.B.I. has been at work on breaking that union. Finally, they have brought eight of the union leaders to trial on as hacked-up frame-up as you would expect from small-town dicks.

What does labor have to say about our Democratic administration, with its Democratic Attorney-General, and his Democratic G-Men?

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**ARRESTED WHEN THEY DEMANDED FOOD FOR A HUNGRY MAN**



Seven of the above, members of the Unemployed and Project Workers Union, Local 22, were found guilty in a boss court, and given suspended sentences. Their crime? They wouldn't take "No" for an answer when they asked the Relief Bureau to provide David Sporn with food and shelter. Full story appears elsewhere.

**The Workers of England Oppose the Boss War—II**

By BRITANNICUS

On October 12 occurred the first by-election of the war, in the Clarkmannan and East Sterling constituency of Glasgow.

For many years Clarkmannan has been represented in Parliament by a Labour member. When the seat fell vacant a few weeks ago, the Labour Party, in accordance with the election truce concluded when the war began, nominated Arthur Woodburn, who would automatically receive the support of the Conservative and Liberal vote in the constituency. An unpleasant surprise, however, awaited the Labour Party and the Government when the No Conscription League and the Scottish Anti-War Council nominated Andrew Stewart to contest the election.

Stewart ran on a straightforward pacifist platform. His election manifesto read, in part: "I beg the electors to vote for me as the symbol of the vast and unheard mass of people who desire Peace, and who, if they raise their voices, can sweep the war-mongers from power. Stop the War! End Conscription! Plan for a real Peace! . . . We are raising the standard of a new crusade for Peace and Freedom. With war there can only come a colossal loss of life and the perfection of the Fascist regime in this country."

**A SIGNIFICANT ANTI-WAR VOTE**  
Stewart received the support not only of the organizations which nominated him, but also of a considerable section of the local Labour Party, and the Scottish Socialist Party, in addition to several Labour members of Parliament who oppose the war. The Independent Labour Party gave him critical support, pointing out that as a pacifist candidate his policy conflicted with theirs in many respects but that, as a working class candidate opposed to the Government and the war, the workers should vote for him. In its statement on the election, the ILP declares that it "refuses to support any capitalist government in any war whatever. . . . The conflicting interests of British imperialism and aggressive German Nazism have provoked a second world war. . . . The quarrel between two capitalist States is not a workers' quarrel."

In the circumstances it was inevitable that Stewart should be defeated. But the figures of the voting are instructive: Woodburn got 15 thousand odd votes, thanks to the support of the Conservatives and Liberals, while Stewart polled just over 1,000. A thousand workers of Glasgow dared to vote against the war, barely a month after it started, and in the face of an unparalleled barrage of propaganda not alone by the Government but by their traditional labor leaders. Equally significant: in the previous election, the total number of voters had been 35,000; in the present one only 16,000 voted. The ominous silence of 19,000 workers thunders in mute condemnation of the imperialist war.

We have mentioned the No Conscription League as supporting Stewart in the by-election. This is one of three sizable organizations, each of considerable size, which are conducting an anti-war struggle in England today. Founded a few months before the war to combat the conscription bill introduced at that time by the Government, the N.C.L. has recently been reorganized and has changed its name to the Labour Rights League. It is a broad united front of labor and pacifist organizations and individuals. As such its program is necessarily somewhat vague and timid, and in no sense revolutionary.

Nevertheless, in spite of this, its characterization of the present war is clear and as far as it goes correct: "The N.C.L." wrote its organizer, W. H. Morris, a few days before war was declared, "insists upon the fundamental fact that the war for which military and industrial conscription is desired by the British ruling class will not be a war of democracy against fascism, but another imperialist struggle similar to the Great War which broke out in 1914."

In the weeks preceding the outbreak of war, the N.C.L. grew by leaps and bounds. Morris, writing on the eve of war, thus sums up its strength: "Within the last few weeks our individual membership has risen from 4,500 to over 5,000, and we have now 111 branches formed and in course of formation, together with 7 area committees for co-ordinating branch activities in London, Yorkshire, Lancashire, Glasgow, etc. Our affiliations include 327 Women's Cooperative Guilds, 15 Cooperative Parties, Education Committees and Men's Guilds, 46 Trades Councils and Trade Union Branches, 50 Labour Parties and Women's Sections, 41 I.L.P. Branches, 13 Youth Organizations, 66 Peace Pledge Union Branches, 23 other pacifist organizations, 8 Scottish Socialist Party Branches, and 6 miscellaneous socialist organizations, making a total of 595 affiliated bodies." During the first week of the war, it was announced at the Glasgow conference, the membership had grown so fast that it was a problem to find meeting-places large enough.

**REVOLUTIONISTS ALSO UNITE ACTIVITIES**  
More important because of its clear revolutionary program, though as yet not so strong in numbers, is the Socialist Anti-War Front. Founded just over a year ago at the time of the Munich crisis, the SAWF is a united-front of socialist and revolutionary organizations with a firm basis in the mass movement of the Labour Party and the trade unions.

The original manifesto of the SAWF at the time of Munich was supported by delegates representing the Divisional Labour Parties, the Coop Party, Trade Unions, the ILP, the ILP Guild of Youth, the Labour League of Youth, and the two Trotskyist organizations, the Revolutionary Socialist League and the Militant Labour League. This long and explicit manifesto stated, in part: "History has thrust responsibilities on the workers of the world. Collaboration with capitalism, support for imperialist war, means the abandonment of the Socialist struggle and the victory of the forces of reaction and barbarism. The only road for the workers is the road of revolutionary struggle against capitalism,

for socialism and peace."

In August, just before the present war started, the SAWF issued a militant manifesto declaring: "International Socialism is the only way by which war can be ended and the threat of Fascist domination dispelled. Therefore the Socialist Anti-War Front sees opposition to capitalist war as a part of the worker's fight for political and economic power. The struggle for peace cannot be separated from the struggle for socialism."

The Socialist Anti-War Front seeks to extend the scope of its activities in these critical days. The centers for opposition to war measures being the unions, the trades councils and the shop committees, it is particularly to such bodies that we appeal for support to rally the maximum resistance to threatened encroachments upon conditions, rights and liberties; to strengthen the fighting front of the organized workers; to strengthen the weapons of class struggle as the surest way to Socialism and peace."

**WORKERS NOT AS DOG AS IN 1914**

The chief strength of the SAWF is in the local Labour Parties and trade union branches where it seeks to give expression and leadership to the ever increasing opposition of the rank and file to the betrayal of the reformist leadership. Linking up the sporadic opposition to the economic effects of the war, which we described briefly in our last article, with the general revolutionary struggle against war and capitalism, the SAWF at once combats the sabotage of the criminal leadership and gives clear perspectives to the isolated economic struggles of the workers. It holds regular, well-advertised meetings on such subjects as "Totalitarian War," "Stalin's Foreign Policy," "Conscription and the Worker," etc. These meetings are well attended and the response of the workers is enthusiastic.

Everything indicates that in this war the workers will not submit as long and as docilely as they did in the last to the ruthless repression of the Government and to the servile and shameful betrayal of their own leaders. Already in the Labour Party the opposition is seething. In his "Socialist Diary" in the New Leader for October 13, Fenner Brockway reports a meeting recently held between Arthur Greenwood, deputy leader of the Labour Party, and a number of Labour MP's and candidates at which the policy of the Labour Executive was discussed. Greenwood's statement that the "nation was never so united" was greeted with derision. Among 15 speakers, only one supported him. Brockway's informant considered that a split in the Labour Party was inevitable.

**American Labor Aid**  
125 West 33 Street  
New York City  
Dear Friend:  
I PLEDGE MYSELF to contribute \$ . . . . . to the defense of Frank Watson, imprisoned by Canada's government for the crime of speaking out as a worker against the war of imperialism.

**The Stalinist Turn and the Lewis Purge**

AN EDITORIAL

The "new" Stalinist line will find early application in the trade unions, particularly the CIO, and affords new alibi for the purge of Stalinists now in preparation by the Lewis machine.

As far as the workers are concerned, the Stalinists will become neither more progressive nor less reactionary. The leopard cannot change its spots. But the new pseudo-revolutionary line of this reactionary force will serve as a very convenient pretext for the purging operations of the Lewis bureaucracy.

For the first time since the inception of the CIO, the Stalinists are travelling in a different political direction from that of the Lewis, Murray, Hillman leadership. Support of the Roosevelt administration was the cement that bound the two bureaucracies together. In essence this was a support of Wall St. imperialism made palatable to workers by New Deal reforms.

**Use Workers as Pawns**

The line of the Kremlin agents within the trade unions yesterday—up to the change in line—was determined by the desire of Stalinism to demonstrate to Roosevelt their eligibility for the job of his watchdog over American labor. Roosevelt was thereby expected to understand the advantages of an alliance with the Kremlin rulers. And Stalinism served Roosevelt as a brake upon the natural militancy of the workers, binding them hand and foot to the War Deal.

Now that Stalin has switched his system of international alliances and is openly playing the game of Hitler, the forces under Stalinist influence in the trade unions and elsewhere will be called upon to bring pressure upon the Allies and American imperialism to come to terms with Hitler. The workers are to be used as pawns in this game. In the United States, Stalinism will attempt to stampee the labor movement into wild, adventurist actions—dooming it to certain defeat—in order to embarrass Roosevelt.

The new line of Stalinism will bring them into sharp conflict with the Lewis bureaucracy of the CIO. The Lewis bureaucracy cannot and will not tolerate any frontal assault on the Roosevelt administration within its unions, even if this assault is of the spurious Stalinist variety. The Lewis publicity agents will brand the Stalinist union officials as "reds" and "revolutionists," not because the characterization is accurate, but because it will help them smear all progressives and militants with the odious stigma of Stalinism, which has rightly come to mean the unscrupulous foreign agency of the Kremlin.

**Who Must Conduct the Purge?**

Progressives cannot give any possible support to the disorganizing actions of the Stalinists within the unions, actions which will create havoc within the unions and weaken them before the class enemy. For the health of the trade unions, for their progress along progressive lines, the purge of the Stalinist disease is a vital and imperative necessity.

Purging the Stalinists, however, is a job that cannot be farmed out to the Lewis bureaucracy. The workers alone can eliminate the evil of Stalinism from the trade unions. And the rank and file will not be helped to understand this evil by the witch-hunting, red-baiting drive certain to be carried through by Lewis and his cronies.

To permit Lewis to purge the CIO unions of elected officials, the democratically elected representatives of local and international unions, would be equivalent to sanctioning a dictatorship over the trade unions. We are no more inclined to sanction a dictatorship of the agents of Wall St. over the trade unions than we are to sanction one by the agents of the Kremlin. Both of them, whether separately, or united as they were over the past four year period, can have only a pernicious influence on the development of the labor movement.

**For Democracy in the Unions!**

What is involved in the present and coming struggle within the CIO is not the replacing, discharging or transference of this or that appointed Stalinist official. These incompetents and disorganizers were usually saddled on the workers in flagrant disregard of their desires or their needs. If Lewis now wishes to dismantle his machine of appointees or to rebuild it with more loyal funkies—that is his concern. Progressives and class conscious workers have long fought for the democratic method of electing union officials. The struggle for this principle will continue regardless of the change of appointees in the CIO.

Where the Lewis machine, the agency of American imperialism in the labor movement, invades democratic rights where they do exist, to oust elected officials on the charge of Stalinism, progressives have no other choice but that of open resistance. In this struggle they will find a way to make it clear beyond question that what they are defending is the democratic rights of the rank and file, and not the alien political interests of the Stalinist bureaucrats.

We repeat: only the conscious revolt of the rank and file for clean, democratic and militant unionism can eradicate the curse of Stalinism from the trade unions without bringing forth another evil no less dangerous and no less obnoxious.

No support to the dictatorial methods of Lewis! No support to his bureaucratic purge! For the purge of Stalinism from the trade unions by the conscious democratic movement of the rank and file!

**Revolutionary Greetings to Comrade Trotsky**

Revolutionary greetings to our comrade-in-arms on his 60th birthday!  
We are proud to celebrate this anniversary in a life so rich in service to the workers of the world. A life dedicated to the great cause of human emancipation from capitalist barbarism.  
On your 60th birthday and on the 22nd anniversary of the Red October, we are confident of the coming victory of the World October!