

Bucking the War Censors

As in the last war every important channel of communication from Europe to this country is under the control of the British censorship.

The South African cabinet split, seven for joining Britain in war, five for remaining neutral.

Thus the votes of two cabinet ministers and 14 members of the South African parliament provide the basis for plunging the dominion into war!

Incidentally, although the refusal to permit a general election was reported by the official British news agencies, the American reports completely omitted this crucial detail in the dispatches on this point.

Both the British and the Nazis and the British are playing with methods of propaganda containing enough dynamite to blow up both sides in this gangster war.

British planes dropped leaflets in Germany urging the people to overthrow Hitler in order to make peace.

The Nazis in Berlin let it be known that along the Siegfried line German soldiers have scrawled on the pillboxes facing the French Maginot line: "We won't shoot if you don't!"

(Continued on Page 3)

Behind the Lines

By GEORGE STERN

The opening military phase of the Second World War has begun with preliminary skirmishing that involves Germany alone on the one side and Britain, France, and Poland on the other.

The war will enter its more decisive phase, however, only when the principal "neutrals"—the United States, Russia, Italy, and Japan—are drawn into an ever-widening theater of conflict.

Their participation will determine the course of all the other neutrals, the countries of Latin America, of the Balkans, of Turkey, and the rest of the small states caught in the crossfire of the opposing imperialist camps.

For this isn't a dog-fight. It is capitalist society in convulsion and there isn't a man, woman, or child on the face of the earth who will not be caught in its agony.

The "neutrality" of the major powers still on the sidelines is of course of an illusory character. This country under the Roosevelt War Deal is not neutral in fact and it is only a question of time—and a fairly short time—before the Sixty Families and their tool in the White House throw this country's weight into the actual scales of battle.

Roosevelt's "neutrality" speech showed clearly enough where he stands and the Canadian loophole in the neutrality act proclamation shows the direction in which things are already moving.

The future course of the other three major "neutrals" is by no means so clear. Behind an external appearance of strength, both in resources and strategic position, Stalin sits fearfully, hoping he can back Germany sufficiently to ensure a war of mutual exhaustion among the powers without endangering his own regime.

And those who think Stalin is going to take this opportunity to "deal with Japan" are in for more "surprises"—for Stalin fears a war in the east as much

as a war in the west. He will far more likely agree to a "neutralization" of relations with Japan along the lines already realized with Germany.

If this is so it will correspond thoroughly with Japan's own most ardent desires, for of all the powers in this crisis, Japan was left highest and driest by Stalin's gazelle-like leap into Hitler's bed.

The Japanese know that prospective American entry into the war would bring its own forces face to face with Roosevelt's war fleet if Japan were involved.

Italy likewise sits between the devils on its Alpine frontiers and the British Navy in the deep blue Mediterranean sea.

He will probably try to wait until the balance of strength seems to be turning to the one side or the other before being forced to a decision.

Turkey is not dissimilarly placed. Turkey entered into a mutual assistance pact with Britain during the period when Russia was toying around with Chamberlain and Daladier.

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LET THE PEOPLE VOTE ON WAR

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FOR THE SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE! AN END TO BOSS WAR!

"We'll Repeat Our Performance"--Morgan



The Workers Can Stop the War!

How can the war be stopped? When can it be stopped? Who will stop the war?

How can there be a just and lasting peace?

If civilization is not to be utterly destroyed, tens upon tens of millions of human beings to be killed, cities and farms and factories and homes to be wiped out, the very earth to become a pockmarked desert, this is the supreme task: TO STOP THE WAR.

How can the peoples of Europe stop the war and gain a just and lasting peace?

Will their rulers—the Chamberlains and Hitlers and Daladiers and Smigly-Rydzs—stop the war? These are the ones who made the war, who plunged the people into mass-murder, for the sake of the bosses and exploiters whom these men represent.

What do they and the bosses care about the death of ten or twenty or thirty million workers and farmers? The bosses and the members of the cabinets don't do the dying. They haul in the war profits, and draw down dividends from the colonies and dominions for which they launched the war.

They will never, and can never make a just and lasting peace.

Whichever group of them would win the military campaigns, it would make no difference to the masses of the people. They will hurl the people into battle until one or another side is drained dry.

Stop the war! But there is only one way to stop the war, to gain a just and lasting peace.

The peoples of Europe, the workers and farmers of Poland and Germany and France and England and Italy, can stop the war if they take the decision into their own hands.

Imperialist Europe, the Europe of Hitler and Chamberlain, with all its tyranny and oppression, its insane boundaries drawn at the dictates of general staffs, its forts and tanks and bombers, its mad economic and social and cultural restrictions which strangle the well-being of the people, can never be at peace.

A socialist Europe, ruled by its workers and not by and for bosses, can alone bring a just and lasting peace.

THE SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE! By setting for themselves this goal, and only by winning this goal, the peoples of Europe can stop the war and bring a just and lasting peace.

A Socialist United States of Europe will give the fullest freedom to all the diverse peoples of Europe, and through socialist cooperation and not imperialist exploitation will organize European economy to guarantee the well-being of the peoples, and will thereby assure a peace that will be genuine, secure and free.

This is the answer. This is the task.

STOP THE WAR! FOR THE SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE!

Wall Street Speeds American War Entry

Roosevelt Moves to Outlaw Democracy in War Preparation

GERMANS SHELLING WARSAW . . . EVACUATIONS OF CITY BEGUN . . . OPENING PRICES N. Y. STOCK EXCHANGE . . . U. S. STEEL UP 8 5/8 . . . INTERNATIONAL NICKEL UP 3 3/4 . . . CHEVYLER UP 2 5/8 . . . SOUTH AFRICAN PARLIAMENT VOTES WAR ON GERMANY . . . BETHLEHEM STEEL OPENS UP 9 3/4 . . . ANACONDA COPPER OPENS 38, ONE-THIRD HIGHER THAN LAST NIGHT'S CLOSING . . . GENERAL MOTORS 48 . . . 50 . . . 51 1/2 . . . FRENCH ATTACKING ON MOSELLE . . . WRIGHT AERO 91 . . . 95 . . . 110 . . . 116 . . . WHEAT OATS RYE BARLEY ALL RISE TO LEGAL LIMITS

Thus, the stock tickers, chattering like machine-guns, began to click out the news of ever-mounting profits in blood. It was the wildest market in years, with excited brokers milling around the "war baby" trading posts. The N. Y. Times reported Sept. 5: "Stock prices raced upwards yesterday as investors decided that a European war would help American business. In a turnover of 5,932,150 shares, the heaviest in almost two years, prices on the N. Y. Stock Exchange rose from 5 to 20 points. Bond trading was the heaviest in the history of the Exchange. Essential commodities shot skyward."

"Better" than 1914

When the last war broke out, in 1914, stock prices slumped so badly that the N. Y. Stock Exchange had to be closed for several months. The different reaction this time is partly due to the fact that elaborate measures have been taken to control the liquidation of foreign-owned American securities. The chief reason, however, is that business men, with the experience of the last war behind them, now know that war abroad means from the first huge profits over here. Wall Street has served notice that it has no intention of foregoing those profits, whether it means dragging the country into the war or not.

Signals Go-Ahead The hard-headed gentlemen of Wall Street made it plain, by their frenzied bidding for war stocks, that they regarded neutrality, in the hands of the War (Continued on Page 3)

Minneapolis Unions Rally to Defense of Indicted Strikers

Bail for 103 Workers Totals Half-Million Dollars—Arrested Organize in Jail

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.—The entire labor movement of the Twin Cities has rallied to the defense of the 103 WPA workers who were framed up and indicted for striking against the Roosevelt-Woodrum Starvation Law.

The executive boards of the 125 AFL locals of Minneapolis, with a total membership of more than 60,000 voted unanimously at a special meeting in the Central Labor Union auditorium last Tuesday night to give their complete support to the indicted strikers.

Following on this action the St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly appointed a committee empowered to cooperate in every way with the WPA Defense Committee set up by the Minneapolis unions.

The strikers were indicted by a Federal Grand Jury convened at the order of U.S. Attorney General Murphy, under a section of the Relief Law prohibiting "interference" with WPA project workers.

Over 40 of those indicted have been arrested and are being held on a total of nearly half-million dollars' bail. Among the resolutions adopted unanimously by the Tuesday meeting was one which instructed each union to call a special membership meeting immediately to take up contributions to the WPA Defense Committee. Many locals have already made large contributions.

The meeting adopted a resolution (Continued on Page 3)

N.Y. ELECTION IS ROSTRUM FOR ANTI-WAR FIGHT

Report Good Returns On House to House Signature Canvass

"The coming New York City councilmanic elections will provide us with a most important rostrum for our fight against the new world war," declared Edward R. Frank, organizer of Local New York of the Socialist Workers Party, in an appeal this week to the party and youth branches to go out and secure the necessary ten thousand signatures for placing two candidates on the ballot.

Endorsing the Local New York decision for the councilmanic campaign, the National Committee of the SWP informed (Continued on Page 3)

Trotsky Statement to Press on Soviet-German Alliance

From many sides I have been asked why I did not express myself sooner on the German-Soviet pact and its consequences. I was prevented by accidental personal circumstances (sickness) and a departure from Mexico City to a village. I thought, moreover, the happenings themselves were so clear that they needed no comment. But it proved to be otherwise: In different countries there are still people in diminishing numbers, it is true—who have the courage to picture the treason of the Kremlin as an act of political virtue. According to those gentlemen Stalin and Hitler have common ends which they are pursuing with methods of secret diplomacy in the interests

of . . . peace and democracy. Is this argument not a repugnant buffoonery?

Since 1933 I have been showing and proving in the world press that Stalin is seeking an understanding with Hitler. In particular, I proved this prognosis in my declarations before the Dewey Commission of Inquiry in Coyoacan in April, 1937 (Case of Leon Trotsky, Harper's and Bros., New York). Now the cynics in the service of the Kremlin are trying to represent the matter as if their program—"alliance of the democracies" and "collective security"—was corroborated; meanwhile, my prognosis was wrong: I predicted, it is alleged, the conclusion of an aggressive military pact, while

Stalin and Hitler completed only a pacifist, humanitarian pact of mutual non-aggression (Hitler is, as known, a strict vegetarian). Isn't it all too clear why Hitler started the attack on Poland immediately after the embrace of Ribbentrop and Molotov? Some of the less intelligent defenders of the Kremlin remembered, unexpectedly, (they did not know it before) that Poland is a "semi-fascist state." It seems, that under the beneficent influence of Stalin, Hitler started a war against "semi-fascism." Or perhaps Hitler only imposed upon the childish confidence of Stalin? If that were so, Stalin could have promptly dispelled the conclusion. But in fact the Supreme Soviet immedi-

ately ratified the pact at the same moment when the German troops crossed the Polish border. Stalin knew very well what he was doing.

In order to attack Poland and to conduct a war against England and France, Hitler needed the friendly "neutrality" of the USSR, plus Soviet raw materials. The political and commercial pacts assure Hitler of both.

At a session of the Supreme Soviet Molotov praised the advantages of a commercial agreement with Germany. There is nothing surprising about it. Germany needs raw materials at any price. When conducting war, expenses are (Continued on Page 4)

By Max Shachtman

Behind the Stalin-Hitler Pact

What It Is and What It Isn't

(Concluded from Last Issue)

Workers Traded for "Alliances"

In Lenin's time, the Soviet government made more than one diplomatic or commercial agreement with capitalist countries. That was unavoidable then, and remains unavoidable so long as a workers' government is surrounded by a hostile world. But if Lenin made a diplomatic agreement with Germany or France, he did not compel the revolutionary movement in those countries to stop fighting its own capitalist class and government.

Stalin changed all that. While he was seeking an alliance with England, France and the United States, especially in the past four years, the Communist Parties in those countries tried with might and main to make an alliance with the home capitalist government and urged the labor movement as a whole to follow suit. Where the Communists had once been the champions of labor's independence and militancy, Stalin converted them into the champions of labor's subordination and docility to capitalism.

In practice, therefore, especially in recent years, "socialism in one country" meant that Stalin traded off Communist Party support to any government, no matter how reactionary, no matter how many millions of colonial slaves it oppressed, so long as it promised to be an "ally" in protecting the Soviet bureaucracy.

In practice, also, Stalin's Russian nationalism meant putting the fate of the Russian Revolution into the hands of cynical imperialist diplomats who pretended for a moment to be friendly, instead of where it belongs—into the hands of the Russian and international working class.

In practice, this working class was confused, demoralized, and driven under the yoke of its enemies.

Stalin's Reactionary Dual Policy

Thus, the interests of the ruling bureaucracy in Russia have come into ever sharper and finally irreconcilable conflict with the interests of the Russian masses, of the Soviet Union itself, and of the international working class. To maintain its increasingly precarious position, this bureaucracy is ready to sacrifice the interests of the Soviet people and of the labor movement throughout the world. And that is how it came to sign the pact with Hitler.

It may be said that the negotiations for the pact with Hitler must have been going on secretly for a long time. That is undoubtedly true. The former head of the Military Intelligence Service of the Soviets in Western Europe, Walter Krivitsky, revealed the fact that some time ago Stalin sent a special emissary, Kandelaki, to Berlin to press Hitler for an alliance. Then how is one to explain the public efforts, made during this same period, to form an alliance with the "democratic" Powers, France and England?

The explanation reveals the reactionary dual policy that Stalin has been pursuing. It has already been pointed out that Stalin fears war. But he fears especially such a war as the Soviet Union and its bureaucracy are involved in, for that would in all likelihood spell his doom.

It would, however, be wrong to jump to the conclusion that Stalin is a real prop of peace. The same reasons that dictate his yearning for peace for Russia, dictate a policy of war-mongering in all the other important countries of the world!

The Practice of "Appeasing" Hitler

The Soviet Union is immediately and directly threatened on two sides: by Japan on the East and by Germany on the West. Neither the Japanese rulers nor Hitler have ever made a secret of their ambition to carve up the Soviet land. By herself, Japan is not so serious a menace to Russia, especially now, when so much of her strength is exerted in maintaining conquered Chinese territory. The principal Soviet enemy thus becomes Hitler. It has therefore been Stalin's policy at bottom, since the Nazis came to power in 1933, to "appease" Hitler, to come to terms with him, to make an alliance with him. Russia would then be in a position to deal comparatively easily with Japan in the East.

If this basic point is borne in mind, much that was obscure in Stalinist policy becomes clear. It will be easier, for example, to understand why the Stalinist press in France, instead of solidarizing itself with the despairing young Jew Herschel Grynszpan who sought to protest Hitlerite anti-Semitism by shooting Von Rath, denounced him as a Nazi or Trotskyist spy! To understand the shameful silence from Soviet officialdom on the occasion of Hitler's barbarous pogroms against the Jews. To understand why Jewish refugees could find no haven in the Soviet Union. To understand what Walter Duranty meant when he cabled the *New York Times* that after all, Stalin has killed off as many Jews as Hitler did. To understand why Litvinov was purged (how could a sensitive "Aryan" like von Ribbentrop shake hands with a Jewish Foreign Commissar?). And perhaps even to understand why the leader of the Spanish Communist Party, General Miaja, joined the notorious Madrid Defense Junta which graciously handed over power to Franco's Hitler-supported troops!

Policy Breeds Contradictions

The concentration on making a deal with Hitler has frequently been interrupted, so to say, for two reasons: one, by the hope of making an alliance with the "democracies" to squeeze Hitler into a corner and prevent him from assaulting Russia; and two, by the hope that the negotiations with the "democracies" would frighten Hitler into speeding up an agreement with Stalin.

The first hope, illusory and utopian from the beginning,

was completely shattered at Munich. The "democratic" imperialists showed that they would much rather give Hitler free rein in his drive to the East, that is, against Russia, than they would make an alliance with Russia to smash Hitler and Mussolini. Especially when they reflected that after Fascism cracked up in Germany and Italy, revolutions would break out and spread rapidly to France, England and God knows where else!

Stalin therefore had to come to terms with Hitler. And Hitler chose the moment for springing the announcement of the pact which would give him the best position in starting his next conquest, Poland.

But though he capitulated to Hitler, it does not follow that Stalin would object violently to having another World War explode, with the "democracies" fighting the "fascist aggressors" and the Soviet Union staying out of the war as long as possible. Quite the contrary! Stalin continues to drive in just that direction. Although he has made his peace with Hitler for a short time, as we shall see later on, he continues to instigate a war in which he will not participate. As said above, while he is a "pacifist-out-of-fear" at home, he is a warmonger abroad.

That explains the seemingly contradictory statements of the various Communist Parties on the subject of the Hitler-Stalin pact which have proved so puzzling to many. The American, British and French Communist Parties, while enthusiastically endorsing Stalin's appeasement policy towards Hitler, demand in the same breath that Chamberlain, Daladier and Roosevelt "resist the aggressor"—that is, go to war against Hitler. The two confusing and apparently conflicting positions form a harmonious unit, however, once we understand the basic consideration of the desperate Soviet bureaucracy:

Keep ourselves in the saddle, preserve ourselves by hook or crook, and everything else—the labor movement, the Communist International, the colonial peoples, the twaddle about "democracy" and "peace"—can go hang!

Hitler Gave Away Nothing

Will the bureaucracy succeed in keeping itself in the Soviet saddle? Not the slightest hesitation need be felt in replying categorically: NO! The only point to be resolved is this: the abominable Stalinist clique will be crushed at a later stage by Hitlerism, in which case, a new era of reaction will open up from which the world may not emerge for a long, long time; or it will be swept into the discard by a resurrected revolutionary movement of workers and peasants inside the Soviet Union itself. All our hopes and all our energies must be directed towards the latter solution of the mortal crisis the Russian Revolution is experiencing.

Will Hitler really attack the Soviet Union? Whoever examines the situation intelligently must reply, Yes! The feeble Stalinist arguments that the "pact has weakened the Axis" are so much nonsense, and dangerous nonsense at that.

What Stalin gave away in the pact we have already seen. What did Hitler abandon? His designs upon Russia, especially on the granary of the Ukraine and the mineral riches of the Urals? Not for a moment! His idea of immediately attacking the Soviet Union? He didn't have to give up that idea, for the simple reason that he did not contemplate such an attack at this time. His objective, for the time being, is more modest—the conquest of Poland—and Stalin gave him invaluable aid in achieving his goal.

He did abandon Japan, of that there is no doubt. And the Stalinist press presents this as a tremendous victory. But it is, as usual, only duping itself and its followers. Hitler abandoned a very much weakened Japan, which had already served his purposes for the current stage of developments. Hitler abandoned Japan for the time being, and only for the time being, in exchange for a much solid ally.

Hitler Understands Stalinism

And he did abandon the so-called "Anti-Comintern Pact." Small consolation! The "fight against the Communist International" was as much a fraud with Hitler as the "fight for democracy" was with Stalin. HITLER HAS KNOWN FOR YEARS THAT STALIN HIMSELF LIQUIDATED THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL. Hitler has known for years that the Stalin-controlled International is about as revolutionary, as much a threat to capitalist society, as the Salvation Army. The Hitlerites know what Stalinism represents; they know where the real threat of working-class revolution comes from.

The Berlin correspondent of the *New York Times*, Otto D. Tolischus, who knows what the Nazis are thinking, wrote an extremely significant comment on Hitlerite reactions to the pact. Speaking of the "revolutionary" change that has taken place in Soviet affairs, he said on August 27, 1939: "Such a revolution within Bolshevism is precisely what the Germans assume as a basis for their calculations. Stalin, they hold, has turned Right and international Bolshevism has become national Bolshevism, which eliminates the menace of an international Communism backed by Moscow. If that is true, the dead Marshal Tukhachevsky has triumphed over George Dimitroff with the paradoxical result that the Communist parties in various other countries have been left high and dry. However, according to the German view, they have been regarded in Moscow as 'Trotskyists' anyhow, as revealed during the Spanish conflict, which is regarded here as a turning point in Bolshevist developments. They are, therefore, expected to adopt Leon Trotsky as their leader and perhaps even to start a revolutionary campaign against 'Stalinism' within Russia which would complete the revolutionary circle."

Seen with a somewhat distorted vision, the report is nonetheless substantially correct.

Both Stalin and Hitler Fear Revolutionists

It is not the discredited pawn of Stalinist diplomacy, the Communist International, that Fascism fears. As the banner-bearer of the working-class revolution, of the revolution for socialism, it sees the "Trotskyists"—the Fourth International. And it is right, for the Fourth International is the mortal, implacable foe of Fascism, of imperialism in general, of capitalist oppression and as their foe it shall triumph!

That is why the Socialist Workers Party summons every militant worker who is conscious of his class interests, who is imbued with the real spirit of internationalism, to rally to its great banner and to fight in the great cause. Our call is addressed in particular to the rank and file of the Communist Party and the Young Communist League and their sympathizers.

The Soviet Union is not relieved of the threat of attack; that threat is aggravated. Hitler had a non-aggression pact with Poland not so long ago. But as soon as he had that country well encircled, he denounced the pact on one pretense or another and prepared to absorb the country into Greater Germany. Stalin's policy facilitates the coming attack upon Russia because, by giving Hitler a free hand through Poland, he grants him a highly important strategic base of operations against the Soviet Union. Tomorrow or the next day, Hitler will seek to repay Stalin for the pact in even more ringing coin than he is repaying Poland. Every worker, every Communist worker, must understand that.

Every worker must be also clearly aware now of the monstrous crime that was perpetrated by Stalin in his series of "trials" and purges. How many thousands of revolutionists did he send to their deaths in the last few years on the charge of being "Trotskyist agents of Hitler"! We called the trials frame-ups, and now, by signing the pact with Hitler, Stalin draws the black pencil of emphasis under our charge. While he was framing up and assassinating all opponents, all critics—past, present or potential—with the accusation of "Hitlerite agents" he was busily engaged in becoming the principal agent of Hitler! The Moscow Trials, the horrible purges, the nightmare of terror—these were all part of the preparations for an alliance with Adolph Hitler and his bandits.

Together with Ribbentrop, Molotov and Stalin signed the death-warrant of the Communist Parties. Stalin long ago drained the revolutionary blood out of them. Now he is smashing them bodily. Their organizational disintegration is taking place at a terrific rate before our very eyes.

The Road of Struggle Is Open!

Where will those sincere and devoted workers go who are now abandoning the Communist Parties by the thousands in England, France and the United States?

We know where the bureaucrats will go. They will remain the paid lackeys and scribblers of the Kremlin despot, or they will become full-fledged servants of their own imperialist overlords.

But the Communist workers? Will they go over to capitalism? Will they become the dupes of that fantastic fraud known in capitalist society as "democracy"? Will they abandon the class struggle entirely, and become docile serfs of the rulers of industry and finance, willing cannon-fodder of the coming war?

The Stalinist party is through, and nobody will mourn at its burial. Nobody will try to defend the Stalinist pact in a serious trade union, in a Jewish organization, or for that matter wherever intelligent workers are assembled. What then?

We say: there is a need, greater than ever today, to struggle against reaction, against the capitalist offensive, for socialism and freedom, for peace and plenty. There is a road to struggle, too. That road was broadly marked out by the great teachers of the working-class movement, Marx and Lenin. That road the workers must take if they are to survive as human beings, if they are to rise to new heights of human dignity.

That road is the revolutionary struggle for socialism!

Our Road Leads to Socialism!

All the professional "democrats" and the "social democrats" and the "liberal intellectuals" who only yesterday approved the Moscow frame-ups or covered them up, and who presented Stalin as a noble, worthy ally of the Great Democracies, are turning tail now and scurrying off like rats. Now they no longer declare that "Soviet democracy" and bourgeois democracy are practically the same thing and make natural allies; now they expound the new wisdom that "communism" and "fascism" are the same thing and make natural allies.

Their conclusion? Their road? On to a new War to Make the World Safe for Democracy? On to the trenches! Long live the divine goal of modern humanity—the battlefield graveyard!

Our road was never theirs. Our road leads to the great socialist society. Our methods are the methods of militant and uncompromising class struggle against all exploitation and iniquity. Stalin has succeeded only in—discrediting Stalinism. The banner of revolutionary struggle, of the Fourth International, continues to fly without a shameful spot upon it.

On to the victory of socialism and freedom!

(The End)

WORKERS' FORUM

Spanish Civil War Veteran Appeals To C. P. Members

Dear Editor:

I am sending this letter to you and to the editors of other labor periodicals because I want to present my case, which I believe is typical of many in the labor movement today, before as wide an audience as possible. I hope in this way to help crystallize the discontent which is now widespread among the rank and file of the Communist Party, and so help in bringing these people into the struggle which now must be waged with utmost intensity against the second imperialist world war.

Up until May, when I resigned from the Communist Party, I had been a Stalinist sympathizer for five years and a party member for two, including one year in Spain with the Fifteenth International Brigade. For a long time I had tried to regard the "Democratic Front" policy as merely a temporary tactic. But my experiences in Spain convinced me that this policy resulted from something far deeper and more organic than mere tactical considerations.

Bureaucratic Control

In Spain I suffered with the rest of the rank and file from the arbitrary and dictatorial attitude of the Communist Party bureaucracy toward the ranks. I discovered that most of the officers, both military and political, were appointed from above with no interests in view except those of the Communist Party bureaucracy—and seldom for their military ability. The democratic and revolutionary way of the ranks electing their own officers was never so much as considered by these bureaucrats. Like the rest of the rank and file I suffered from the never-explained annoyance of censored mail in which objects of value, food, cigarettes, or clothing seemed to be the chief objectives of the Communist Party censors. This was not of great importance to me, but I could not help observing the disheartening effect it had upon the morale of many of my comrades in arms, especially in view of the privileges which were enjoyed by the officers as a whole.

Upon my return from Spain, I found out that Miaja, the general who shot down my fellow soldiers in the streets of Madrid in March of this year was, as I had suspected, a member of the Communist Party. He has not yet been expelled. I learned too that Stalin had been selling oil and grain to Italy throughout the entire war. These goods, particularly oil, were forwarded to General Franco for the use of the fascist army in Spain.

Read Marx

Disturbed by these terrible contradictions I went to the works of Marx and Lenin for clarification and guidance, and read what the Communist Party seems to have completely forgotten—the corroding effect of reformism on the working class and the inevitability of war under capitalism. How do these facts fit into People's Frontism and Collective Security? These policies were clearly opposed to the basic teachings

of Marx and Lenin. So in May I mailed my Party book back to 13th Street.

Now the complete reversal of the entire line of the Third International as a result of the Hitler-Stalin pact and the unanimous acclaim given this pact by the Browders without the slightest consultation or discussion with the ranks prior to the pact, show for even the blind to see that the Comintern is nothing more than an instrument of Stalin's foreign policy with no reason for existence except the justification of anything Stalin does. Remember in the *Daily Worker*, especially in Harry Gannes' column, the heated denials that a Soviet-Nazi pact was so much as contemplated. But after a day of stunned silence on the part of the *Daily Worker* this same Harry Gannes was applauding the pact just as enthusiastically as he had hissed it a few days before.

Browder first attempted to justify the Stalin-Hitler pact on the basis of an "escape clause" which turned out to be non-existent. Then the non-existence of an "escape clause" was applauded as "strengthening" the pact. And now a few days after the signing of the pact as a "blow for peace" where is the goddess of peace? Flat on her back. Shipments of cotton and gasoline—from the Soviet Union are now arriving in Nazi Germany as a result of Stalin's signature.

Comrades in the Communist Party, now you can see the whole rottenness of the Stalin bureaucracy. It is time to leave this party and to build a new revolutionary force.

Veterans of the Spanish Civil War, can't you see that the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade is an outfit controlled by the Stalinists? It's time to form your own organization, free from ex-commissars and Albatross generals. An independent Spanish Civil War Veterans' Organization will enable us to help lead the workers of the United States in the struggle against imperialist war.

The blood of our comrades stains the hands of Stalin. It is time to end the last vestige of his influence in the labor movement.

Sept. 6, 1939

PETER STURGBON

BY THEIR OWN WORDS

SHALL YOU KNOW THEM

Dear Editor:

I would like to call to the attention of the Appeal readers the following quote from Molotov's speech on the Stalin-Hitler Pact (printed in the *Daily Worker*, Sept. 2, page 9): "Only the instigators of a general European war can be displeased by this state of affairs (the Stalin-Hitler Pact), those who under the mask of pacifism would like to ignite a general conflagration in Europe."

Those who have been the loudest proponents for the past three years of a war of the "democracies" to fight the "fascist aggressors" ("under the mask of pacifism") have been . . . the Stalinist parties. We wonder if these parties understand that Molotov—and Stalin—now call them "instigators of a general European war"?

Fraternally
J.H.N.

Rochester, N.Y.

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Socialist Workers Party
116 University Place, N.Y.C.

Dear Friends:

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

Name

Address

Stop Fascism In America!

Will Father Coughlin Become Dictator of the United States?

By JOSEPH HANSEN
(TENTH INSTALLMENT)

What is a corporate state?

According to the Fascist and Nazi "theoreticians" it is a state in which both capitalists and workers "submerge" their conflicting interests and submit to the will of the "state" as embodied in the person of the dictator.

This pretty theory has not yet been put into practice in either Germany or Italy. In each of these countries the dictator is an agent of the capitalists and all of his actions have been directed against the workers.

Corporate State means in practice the ABSOLUTE RULE OF THE CAPITALISTS.

Father Coughlin, the *Radio Priest*, wants a state in America like the corporate state of Mussolini and the corporate state of Hitler.

"Today the outposts of Germany are the frontiers of our civilization." (Broadcast, March 24, 1935.)

Father Coughlin, the *Radio Priest*, wishes to import the Middle Ages to modern United States. In issue after issue of *Social Justice*, he praises dictator-ridden Portugal to the heavens and holds it up as a model state. Portugal, he explains, was once governed under "Christian principles," that is, the principles of the Roman Catholic Church.

This happy land of feudal barons and miserable serfs was disrupted by the French revolution of 1789—but now thanks to Dictator Salazar, "the world's outstanding Christian statesman . . . who has founded the new Portuguese State, as a firm bulwark against Bolshevism, upon principles of Christian Social Justice" (*Social Justice*, June 5, 1939, p. 24.) the old state of affairs has been restored. Happy Portugal! To wipe out even the capitalist revolution that overthrew feudalism!

"What Portugal has accomplished America can accomplish, particularly since we have plenty available." (Discourse of May 22, 1939. Quoted in *Social Justice*, June 5, 1939, p. 7.)

"If we would find a near parallel to Salazar's Portugal we must go to the high middle ages: the Christian monarch, hierarchy, property resting on social sanctions, custom, duties and social justice. But in the Middle Ages we had unity of religion, a totalitarian religion."

Small wonder that Father Coughlin, the *Radio Priest*, has never been excommunicated from the Roman Catholic Church!

The *Radio Priest's* public program leaves an odor in its wake astonishingly like that of the public programs of *Il Duce* and *Der Fuehrer* before they reached power.

The *Radio Priest* attacks "loan capital," the "international bankers," the "non-religious Jews," the "Bolshevik" leaders of the trade unions. He advocates the government taking over the trade unions (interview published in the *Detroit Times*, October 10, 1934.) He attacks the "reds," the "socialists," who he says are not at all different from Roosevelt and democratic capitalism. He attacks "majority rule." He advocates a "just living annual wage," "monetary reforms," "labor's right to organize," "broadened basis of taxation on capacity to pay," "lower taxes," "conscription of wealth in event of war," and preservation of PRIVATE PROPERTY.

Would the *Radio Priest* keep his promises if he gained power?

Let his own words satisfy that question with all the finality of a funeral knell:

"Practically all the sixteen principles of social justice are being put into practice in Italy and Germany." (*Social Justice*, February 13, 1939, p. 7.)

Coughlin Favors War and the Army

Now that the great wave of Roosevelt's popularity has subsided and the people fear that Roosevelt is preparing to enter the war, the *Radio Priest* turns out golden phrases against the war beast.

But these dabs of anti-war paint don't hide the cloven hoof of his real program.

Coughlin favors a war machine and the declaration of war.

"A policy of decent preparedness must prevail. Our people must be protected even at the cost of our lives from unjust aggressors. This shall always be the policy of every American citizen who is ready to lay down his life in a war of self-defense." (Discourse entitled, "The Next War." (Father Coughlin's Radio Discourses, 1931-1932, p. 129.)

That is the professional war-monger's propaganda without so much as a covering fig-leaf. No ruler of a nation ever began a war without telling the suckers that it was in "self-defense" and that the enemy was the "aggressor."

"In no sense, my fellow Americans, do I wish to be accused of being a pacifist. To quote Gerald W. Johnson, who wrote in *Harper's Magazine* last November: 'I took no part in the 'No More War' demonstrations of a few years ago.' (Discourse entitled, "The Next War," Father Coughlin's Radio Discourses, 1931-1932, p. 138.)

"Social Justice" by that or any other American name it chooses would not be different in its essentials from Fascism in Italy or Nazism in Germany.

If the *Radio Priest* gains power in the United States, his military expenditures will make Roosevelt's multi-billion dollar army look like a troop of Boy Scouts playing cops and robbers. *Stop Fascism in America!*

The postcard campaign against Fascism has started. Many people have written to the Chief of Police and the Mayor of New York "demanding" that the police force because of its rank partiality and favoritism toward the Coughlinites be "purged;" and that the "democratic officials" strip the Coughlin movement of "every last vestige of power." (See *The Nation*, July 22, 1939.)

(Continued in Next Issue)

Wall Street, Roosevelt Speed U. S. War Entry

Canada Exemption Is War Move—Profiteers Have Gala Day on Stock-Market

(Continued from Page 1)

Deal, as so much applesauce. The stock ticker clicked out a sour obbligato to the President's pious phrases in his Neutrality Proclamation.

The President made no secret of his extreme reluctance to cut off England and France from access to American munitions. He took advantage of the legal technicality that Canada and South Africa had not yet formally declared war against Germany to exempt those British dominions from the embargo.

Before his signature was dry on the document, South Africa had voted to enter the war. But Canada is still not formally at war, and so American war materials can still reach the battle fields of Europe via the Canadian border. After that, the War Deal will have to search for other loopholes in what Administration spokesmen sneeringly refer to as "the so-called Neutrality Act."

"Free Expression"

The Neutrality Proclamation is more or less the routine sort of thing, with one exception: it states that its provisions are made "without interfering with the free expression of opinion or sympathy" by any American citizen. This unusual proviso reveals what is meant by "free expression" the President's eagerness to clear the path for the whip-

ping-up of a war spirit. Just days of the report that in the next few days the President will announce certain measures "for curbing foreign propaganda in the United States, particularly that aimed at our system of government and glorifying nazism, communism, or other forms of dictatorship." Another report, in the *N. Y. Times*, Sept. 6, is even more explicit:

"Without waiting to call Congress into special session, Mr. Roosevelt plans to move to tighten control over Communist and pro-dictatorship propaganda in the United States."

Mass Picketing Barred

Already the Department of Justice has begun an anti-espionage campaign and has sent one hundred G-men into New York City. Mayor LaGuardia has put his police on a "war footing" and is banning mass picket lines on the grounds that police now had "more important duties" than supervising demonstrations. The first application of this rule was made against a Coughlinite demonstration at WMCA radio station on September 4, probably in order to establish the "impartiality" of the police when in the next days they apply the restriction to the labor movement.

Bucking the War Censors

(Continued from Page 1)

This slogan, here daringly used by the German General Staff to help keep the western front quiet until Poland is conquered, will one day, on the lips of millions of soldiers bring this war to an end and lead to the destruction of all the general staffs of the warmakers.

In the last war American loans to the western powers played a prime role in this country's entry into the war. Those loans were handled here by the house of J. P. Morgan and Co. Coming back from Europe last week, Morgan parried comment on reports that his firm would again be named official agents for the British government in this country and then added: "It would be a natural thing, if they wanted an American agent, that they would call upon us to repeat our performance."

That "performance" led this country into war. Are we going to let Morgan and the rest of the 60 Families repeat it?

Censorship blankets all the news from Europe, but even the *New York Times* admits that the cloud of controlled news is thicker over the so-called "democracies" than the hated totalitarians.

Referring to the "irritating delays" out of the western capitals, as well as out of Moscow, the *Times* surprisingly adds: "In Rome and Berlin more favorable conditions exist at this writing, since there is as yet no prior censorship of outgoing news dispatches."

Chamberlain and Daladier are over-taking and surpassing Dictator Hitler at a dizzy pace indeed!

While newspaper headlines screamed about the torpedoing, shelling, and even the gassing of the liner *Athena*, it was privately admitted by naval and other authorities in this country that German responsibility for the sinking of the ship was most unlikely. Likeliest opinion: that the ship hit a misplaced British mine. Not at all unlikely, the British admiralty sank the ship itself to win a major success in propaganda aimed at winning this country over to early entry into the war.

Who Is Winston Churchill?

By SHERMAN STANLEY

Winston Churchill is the newly-appointed First Lord of the Admiralty—the head of the British Navy.

Winston Churchill is one of the new members of the Chamberlain cabinet.

Winston Churchill is the man scheduled to be the next Prime Minister of England, replacing the decrepit Chamberlain.

HIGHLIGHTS OF CAREER

But there is much more in the record of this man. We list below four of the highlights of his career:

(1) He was the man who organized the notorious Dardanelles or Gallipoli campaign conducted by the British Army in the First World War.

In this campaign—which military authorities recognize as the most bloody, inefficient and treacherous campaign in military history—over 1,000,000 were slaughtered by the Turkish Troops. Practically all of these men were Hindu and Moslem troops recruited in India. The peninsula of Gallipoli was drenched in the blood of British colonial slaves, who died in a futile attempt to take Constantinople (Istanbul).

ANTI-SOVIET

(2) Winston Churchill was later Lloyd George's Secretary of War. He was the man who sent a military expedition into Russia to help the White Guard armies in the struggle against the newly-born Soviet Union. He was in the vanguard of the imperialist invasion of workers' Russia.

(3) Winston Churchill was the man who led

this "Slave" Constitution aimed at centralizing all of India under military control, but granted certain limited concessions in the parliamentary field to the native people. Churchill opposed the slightest concession to the Indian people. He wanted full military dictatorship over India, with absolutely no concessions.

(4) Winston Churchill was the man who led England's most extreme war mongers against the Chamberlain "Appeasement" (remember that?) policy. He wanted war, immediate war, brutal and final war.

WHAT WAR IS ABOUT

Winston Churchill is a super-imperialist, a super-labor hater, a super-reactionary.

The fact that this man is conducting the war for the British is proof in itself what the war is all about.

It is an imperialist war for colonies, for the right to exploit colonial peoples.

It is not a war in the interests of workers or of the colonial people.

We can rest assured that every Indian worker and peasant, every colonial slave in the British Empire knows what lies behind this war. The appointment of Winston Churchill helps strip away all illusions. Winston Churchill is the most hated imperialist in the entire British Empire. This war is hated by 500,000,000 people in the British Empire. They will use it as an opportunity to strike heavy blows against British imperialism and for freedom, the fight against the New Constitution for In-

N.Y. ELECTION IS ROSTRUM FOR ANTI-WAR FIGHT

SWP National Committee Emphasizes Value of Campaign

(Continued from Page 1)

ed the local organization that "The National Committee considers the placing of our two councilmanic candidates on the ballot and the securing of the necessary signatures, as the foremost task of the New York organization in the anti-war campaign, and that all energy be concentrated on it until completed."

Max Shachtman is the candidate for the Bronx and George Lyman Paine for Manhattan, running on a platform of irreconcilable opposition to war and fascism and support for independent labor political action.

Canvassers Get Results

The downtown branch reports an intensive campaign of house to house canvassing for signatures. Returns from the canvassers are highly encouraging. They are met with sympathy and cordiality wherever they ask for signatures. A copy of the *Socialist Appeal* left after securing a signature makes a prospective subscriber out of the signer.

Bronx party and youth members have not only canvassed from house to house, but have set up benches on busy corners where anti-war and anti-Coughlin pamphlets and copies of the *Socialist Appeal* and the *New Internationalist* are displayed. Appropriate banners are placed back of the benches, and a group of canvassers stand at the bench shouting anti-war and anti-fascist slogans.

The canvassers ask all who stop to sign the petitions for the Socialist Workers Party candidates. With this effective method they have averaged a signature a minute at a bench.

The Upper West Side and East Side branches also report good results with nominating petitions.

The City Office ask all sympathizers to volunteer for canvassing.

OVERHEARD AT THE HEARINGS OF THE DIES COMMITTEE

Earl Browder has been having some heart-to-heart talks with the Dies Committee. The high point of his testimony so far came when Chairman Dies asked him what he would do about C.P. members who criticized the Stalin-Hitler pact.

"That would demonstrate a most serious lack of understanding of political considerations," replied the Kansas sage, "because the national interests of America have been helped by the Nazi-Soviet pact, which is good for the Party and for the United States."

"And it would be good for expulsion?" asked Dies.

"Certainly," said Browder.

Which country would you support, he was later asked, if America went to war with Russia? Such an "unhappy" state of events, he replied solemnly, could only come about if the Trotskyites seized control of the Soviet Union. In that case, he would favor war against Russia.

It is worth noting, by the way, that Browder, who has tirelessly denounced as stool pigeons all ex-radicals who have testified before the Dies Committee, made his appearance there voluntarily, without being served a subpoena, at his own request. Browder seems to be hard up for audiences these days.

YPSL Notice

Y.P.S.L. Sacrifice membership meeting Saturday, September 9 at 8 P.M. at Irving Plaza. Nathan Gould will report on the War and the Y.P.S.L. Fall program of songs, dances and entertainment will follow. Party members and other friends and sympathizers of the League are invited.

Subscribe to the SOCIALIST APPEAL

MINNEAPOLIS UNIONS RALLY TO DEFENSE OF INDICTED STRIKERS

(Continued from Page 1)

lution, to be introduced at the coming convention of the Minnesota Federation of Labor, for a one-day general strike in protest against the arrests.

Miles Dunne, secretary of the Teamsters Joint Council, speaking at the meeting, told of the use of FBI agents in the government's attempt to break the strike. He suggested that unionists give appropriate greetings to FBI agents and stool pigeons who from now on will be infesting all labor meetings. He told the delegates that there was nothing in the constitution which gave Roosevelt the right to forbid WPA workers from striking, and showed that the effort to smash the Minneapolis strike was an attempt to lower the living standards of

workers all over the country.

Tom Mooney visited the jailed strikers before addressing the Labor Day picnic here last Sunday. Commenting on his speech the Northwest Organizer, Teamsters Joint Council organ stated:

"While lashing out at the outrageous injustice done the WPA strikers, Mooney concentrated his attack on Linus Glotzbach, WPA administrator and U.S. Attorney Anderson, claiming that they were cracking down on the unemployed in order to embarrass Roosevelt."

"He sought to absolve the President from responsibility for the recent attacks on the unemployed, overlooking the fact that Roosevelt himself had proposed the slash on WPA, has defended the cut from the prevailing wage to the 'security' wage, and helped smash the strike by his treacherous statement that 'you can't strike against the government.'"

"While denouncing Glotzbach as a 'Garnocrat' and an enemy of the New Deal, Mooney failed to mention that President Roosevelt personally elevated Glotzbach to regional WPA director for his work in cracking down on the WPA strike in Minnesota."

The arrested strikers are organized in the jail. The first thing they did was to elect Max Geldman, leader of Federal Workers Section of General Drivers Local 544, as their Jail Union steward. The encouraging solidarity of the labor movement has kept the morale of the jailed strikers high.

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A REQUEST

All available copies of Vol. 3 No. 9 of this year's *Appeal* are needed for purposes of binding.

We would appreciate it if appeal readers would send in as many copies of this issue as they may have available.

THE NEGRO QUESTION

"LABOR WITH A WHITE SKIN CANNOT EMANCIPATE ITSELF WHERE LABOR WITH A BLACK SKIN IS BRANDED"—KARL MARX.

By J. R. JOHNSON

The Negro and War

II

Before Hitler marched into Poland, a great many people kept hoping against hope that a war would not take place after all. That is merely behaving like the ostrich and pretending that something isn't there, because with our heads dug into the ground, we cannot see it. Now, today, they keep hoping that America will not go in. They trust Roosevelt when he says he will try to keep America out. These people are blind to the signs of the times. Every move that Roosevelt makes is towards dragging America in.

Take the question of armaments. During the last five years, every great country doubled and trebled its armaments. Guns and more guns, battleships, submarines and airplanes; soldiers and more soldiers. Whereas in 1932, Great Britain spent 426 millions of dollars on armaments, in 1938 she spent 1065 millions. Hitler made Germany into one large armament industry. Both armed for the war they knew was coming. But the *United States did the same*. In 1932 Roosevelt asked Congress for 667 millions of dollars but in 1938 he asked for and got 1065 millions, nearly twice as much, and in 1939 he got two billions. Why? He and Congress, like the other war-mongers in Europe, know that today no country can attack America. But Roosevelt and the American capitalists are not going to keep out when the other imperialist countries are fighting to divide Asia and Africa and the markets in Latin-America. They have to be in, to share in the division. So that when we turn a deaf ear to all Roosevelt's spectacular appeals for peace, and pay attention, not to what he is saying but to what he is doing, we can see that like the rest he is hiding his actions for war behind a mass of words for peace. Remember that Wilson played the same trick in 1917.

Negroes Wanted—To Die

Roosevelt is preparing to go in. The dirty bloody work is going to be done, and as usual whenever dirty work has to be done, the Negroes are going to be called upon to do the dirtiest part of it. Whenever blood is to be shed, the rulers of this country see to it that the Negroes shed theirs. That is a privilege and an honor of which they never deprive the Negro. They take away his vote, give him the worst jobs, shove him into the dirtiest slums, kick him out of restaurants, lynch him. But when they want people to die for "democracy", to dig trenches in France, to build roads, to clean latrines, while enemy bombers rain their bombs, then they are sure to come looking for Negroes. There the rulers of this country are perfectly willing to see that Negroes have their full rights.

But 1939 is not 1914. Today hundreds of thousands of Negroes are saying to themselves:

"Why should I shed my blood for Roosevelt's America, for Cotton Ed Smith and Senator Bilbo, for the whole Jim Crow, Negro-hating South, for the low-paid, dirty jobs for which Negroes have to fight, for the few dollars of relief and the insults, discrimination, police brutality and perpetual poverty to which Negroes are condemned even in the more liberal North.

"And in any case, Negro or not, for what is Roosevelt preparing to drag this country into a war? Why should any poor worker shed his blood? The white man who works in the factory or in the hotel with me, despises me because I am a Negro. But he is very little better off than I am. Since the crisis he and I have often stood outside the relief bureau together, we have fought side by side in the CIO unions, and he is beginning to see that he and I are fellow workers first, last, and all the time. Before we are ready to die for our country, we should have a country to live for. And what part of this country is ours? We produce and for centuries we have produced the wealth of this country. But what do we get in return? And Negroes in particular."

When the ordinary working Negro asks these questions, what can the war-mongers say to him? Nothing. Nothing but lies and empty promises of better treatment in the future. And that is why the Republican Party and the Democratic Party and the Communist Party make special appeals to the Negro on every conceivable topic, but keep far away from the war question.

(Continued in Next Issue)

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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.

Iron Rations

New York City has the highest relief standards in the country, over eight times as high as those of the lowest state. New York's relievers get just about as much—or rather, as little—to eat as the Nazi regime today allows its people as their wartime rations. Specifically:

GERMANS	N. Y. RELIEFERS
Meat: 25 ounces a week.	Meat: 20 to 32 ounces a week.
Dairy Products, oils and fats: 2 ounces a day.	Dairy Products, etc.: 2 ounces a day.
Sugar: 10 ounces a week.	Sugar: 10 to 14 ounces a week.
Milk: less than 1/2 pint a day.	Milk: 1 pint a day.
Coffee: 2 ounces a week.	Coffee: 4 ounces a week.
Breakfast Foods: 5 ounces a week.	Breakfast Foods: 20 to 32 ounces a week.

We are indebted for this damning parallel to the *N. Y. Post*, which also finds the parallel damning, but in another way. The *Post*, which is ardently pro-war, presents these figures as proof of the horrors of Hitlerism. "Look!" it exclaims in effect. "See how badly off the Germans are! They only get as much to eat as our own unemployed do!" But we think the moral should be stood on its head: the jobless in the richest nation in the world are already living on the wartime diet of blockaded Germany.

Hearst Magazines, Inc., reported net profits for the first half of 1939 were \$1,488,877, compared with \$1,235,883 for the comparable 1938 period. There's gold in that there swill.

John L. Lewis

In our last issue, we quoted part of the war-mongering speech which John L. Lewis delivered to last Fall's CIO convention in Pittsburgh. On Labor Day, Lewis delivered an address in Ogden, Utah. The differences between the two speeches should be carefully noted.

At Pittsburgh Lewis had said almost nothing about strikes, unemployment, wage standards and such matters, and had waxed eloquent on the beauties of the New Deal and the glories of the coming crusade for democracy. This emphasis was just reversed in the Labor Day speech. In his most blistering style he accused the political leaders of the nation—and he made no distinction between the "Tories" and the Administration—of "incompetence," "callous indifference" and "cold brutality" toward labor and the unemployed.

And he came out against American participation in the war:

"Labor in America wants no war nor any part of war! Labor wants the right to work and live—not the privilege of dying by gunshot or poison gas to sustain the mental errors of current statesmen. Countries in the Western hemisphere are self-contained and have no need to participate in the festering intrigues and ancient political quarrels of Europe. . . . The country is being told of the statesmen and national leaders who are spending sleepless nights in worry over the situation in Europe. In every way how much better it would be if some statesmen would spend a few nights in devising a way for one-fourth of America's workers to get a job at a wage that would keep them alive!"

These remarks against the War Deal reflect primarily Lewis' response to the growing disillusion with Roosevelt of the CIO ranks. (The Soviet-Nazi Pact is probably a second factor. Lewis, a realist where his own interests are concerned, is evidently getting out from under the collapsing line of his C.P. allies.)

But in what direction is his quest for a new political base taking Lewis? In the same speech, in Republican terminology he denounced "thoughtless and badly executed experimentation" as largely responsible for the present situation, viewed with alarm the national debt, which "has already reached such proportions that it may never be liquidated by orthodox methods," and even grumbled like an old-fashioned protectionist about Secretary Hull's reciprocal trade agreements. Lewis in the Republican camp may seem fantastic to those who not so long ago hailed him as the savior of American labor. But Lewis has never been either a savior or a Moses. He has always been little more than an exceptionally shrewd and forceful old-style "labor leader."

A speech on a ceremonial occasion by the head of the CIO is no substitute for the necessary concrete program of the CIO against the War Deal. The CIO, the unions of the most decisive section of the American working class, have it in their power to deliver tremendous blows against the war-makers. The forthcoming convention of the CIO, if the ranks throughout the country see to it, can adopt a program and shove it down the throat of every Congressman at the special session which Roosevelt is planning to call for his war plans.

A job for every worker, and to provide it—all war funds to the unemployed! Down with the war! Let the people vote on it! Stop Roosevelt's war plans—defeat his attempt to abolish the embargo provisions of the Neutrality Act! These are among the most important planks in the program which the CIO should adopt—and which the CIO convention will adopt if the CIO membership makes its wishes known.

President William Green of the American Federation of Labor called upon the German workers to refuse to support war preparations "and the war drive which is now being made by their Nazi leaders." Now, Bill, if you'd practice at home what you preach abroad, we'll get places in the struggle against war, and apropos, we'll dislodge the bosses off our backs.

Judas Goats

Even sheep in the stockyards do not willingly go to the slaughter. They herd together for mutual protection when the gates are opened to the chutes leading to the killing pens. Every one who has ever worked in the Chicago stockyards knows what a "Judas Goat" is. Patriarchal, experienced old goats are put in with the sheep. These goats are trained, when the gates open, to walk down the chute to the killing pens. The sheep follow and, one by one, have their throats cut. The Judas Goat goes back to lead another herd down the fatal runway. There are goats in the stockyards who have led literally millions of sheep to their death.

There are also Judas Goats in the world of men, leaders of the workingclass who have led and are leading millions of workers to their deaths on the battlefields of imperialist war. Like their stockyard prototypes, these human Judas Goats don't get killed themselves.

Such were, in the last war, the French Socialists Cachin and Guesde, the British Socialist Hyndman, the Russians Kropotkin and Plekhanov, the American Gompers, the Germans Ebert and Scheidemann and Kautsky. Such are, in this war, Thorez and Cachin and Jouhaux and Citrine (the latter three did it in 1914 too) and practically the entire top leadership of the French and English trade union movements. And over here, in this pre-war period, we have our own Judas Goats—the Browders and Hathaways of the Communist Party, the Lees and Waldmans of the Social Democratic Federation, the editors of the liberal weeklies, the Browns and Lassers and LaGuardias and Marcantonios and—the greatest Judas Goat of all—Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

Says that Moral Re-Armament man, Frank Buchman: "A wave of selfishness sweeping through our nation and every other nation would be the permanent answer to war." Well, who will be the first to become unselfish? We'll give you odds, though, that it will be the workers who will be asked to be unselfish.

Not Enough

Delegates to the National Council of Methodist Youth adopted a resolution September 4 declaring they would "refuse to support or participate in any war in which the United States may engage."

We congratulate these young men and women and we respect their determination to stand by their decision despite the hounding to which they will be subjected.

The fight against war, however, cannot be separated from the fight against capitalism. Capitalism breeds war as its natural progeny. Only those who understand this and who join in the irreconcilable class struggle against capitalism, will remain anti-war fighters to the end.

It Won't Take Three Years to Drive The U. S. Into the War This Time

New Deal Transformed into War Deal as the Representatives of Big Business Openly Take over the Reins of Government and Prepare the Rule of War-time Dictatorship

By DWIGHT MACDONALD

It took almost three years for the United States to get into the last war. It seems safe to predict, that, if the present war lasts that long, we will be in it before it celebrates its first anniversary. Already the stage is set, and the Administration is waiting impatiently in the wings for its entrance cue. Social Security cards have been turned over to the War Department, to be used when the appointed time comes as a handy index of the nation's man-power, complete with names and addresses. The Treasury Department, according to the *N. Y. Herald-Tribune* for August 31, has made all arrangements to print a new issue of Liberty Bonds. The Department of Justice has already begun an anti-espionage campaign. "There will be no repetition of the situation in 1917, when a democracy was unprepared to meet the espionage problem," says Attorney-General Murphy. The War Resources Board, headed by Chairman Stettinius of U.S. Steel, has been set up to rule American economic life with dictatorial powers the day war is declared. The Administration is already working on plans to curb war profiteering and to lay in stocks of necessary war materials not produced in this country, such as tin, manganese, and rubber.

A paragraph buried deep in the *N. Y. Times* of September 2 reveals what is behind all this activity:

"President Roosevelt has been telling friends recently that the United States must be far better prepared for an emergency, if one comes, than it was in 1917, and the feverish activity among departments concerned with military, naval and industrial preparedness continued today. On several occasions lately, the President has pointed out the lapse of time between this country's declaration of war in 1917 and the departure of the first troop ships for Europe."

The actual outbreak of war has enormously speeded up the process of transforming the New Deal into the War Deal. By now, the vital departments in Washington are dominated by the trusted agents of the big bourgeoisie. These men are mostly assistant secretaries of this or that, members of the "Little Cabinet". There is Louis Johnson in the War Department, creator of the War Industries Board, hardboiled reactionary Legionnaire and friend of big business. There is Sumner Welles in the State Department, wealthy and aristocratic career diplomat, who has more or less openly shoved aside his chief, the mild, idealistic Cor-

dell Hull. There is John W. Hanes in the Treasury Department, who made a fortune in Wall Street before he came to the Treasury last year, and who was in complete charge of the department until Secretary Morgenthau got back from his vacation a few days ago.

Messrs. Hull and Morgenthau are generally considered the extreme right wing of the Cabinet, but they are real liberals compared to Messrs. Johnson, Hanes and Welles. Not that it would make much difference since, in time of war, all secondary distinctions of "conservative" and "liberal" drop away and only the primary label, "bourgeoisie", remains.

"DOLLAR-A-YEAR" MEN AGAIN

Morgenthau's first act on getting back from abroad for example, was to appoint three special assistants. They are: W. R. Burgess, vice-chairman of the great National City Bank of New York; Tom K. Smith, a St. Louis banker; and Earle Baillie, partner in the powerful private banking firm of J. & W. Seligman. Baillie was a Treasury official for a few weeks several years ago, until he resigned because of the New Deal's "radicalism". Now he gladly returns "to serve his country" at \$1 a year.

Like their predecessors in the last war, these dollar-a-year men—and the imminence of our entry into the war is marked by their reappearance—are willing to give up high-salaried posts in order to protect their general class interests. In war, the supreme crisis of capitalism, the government becomes openly and without any fooling around what Marx called it: "the executive committee of the bourgeoisie". And just as Earl Baillie would expect no pay for serving on the board of U. S. Steel, Inc., so he expects no pay for his services on the board of U.S.A., Inc.

A glimpse of what is happening in the upper reaches of the War Deal was provided in a recent column by Arthur Krock, chief political writer for the *N. Y. Times*. Mr. Krock, whose son Tommy lately returned from fighting for Franco in Spain, is a bitter reactionary. As the New Deal has been transformed into the War Deal, his attitude has changed accordingly, from hostility to suspicion to cautious approbation and now to something very close to enthusiasm.

"Lately," he writes, "the President has been receiving, more and more, counselors of whom E. R. Stettinius Jr., U.S. Steel head, is a type. They have been calling at his request to discuss problems concerned with national security and de-

fense. In any scheme of national unity such men must have that continuous access to Mr. Roosevelt which for some time has been confined to members of the one New Deal group which is always urging him to 'fight' one economic, social or political class on behalf of another.

"Ever since the threat of European war became acute, some observers profess to have noted a growing coolness at the White House toward this type of Presidential adviser, beginning with a rebuff of their protest against the Stettinius board. These observers say that consultants on the President's radio speech last night did not include those makers of acid phrases, those buglers of class battle, whose contributions have often been found in White House oratory, but were headed by Secretary of State Hull and Under-Secretary Welles, very differently disposed counsellors indeed."

Even before America's entry into war, then, Wall Street has quite openly taken charge of the government. From that fact alone, even if we did not know the contents of the dictatorial Industrial Mobilization Plan, we know what "democracy" we are going to get in the "war for democracy."

Irish Show Hostility To British Rulers

Irish Republican Army men stripped two British soldiers of their uniforms and shot another in a fight, in Belfast, Ireland, in a wave of anti-British incidents throughout Ireland this week.

The Irish people's hostility to British imperialism made impossible any other course than a declaration of Irish neutrality in the war by the De Valera, but President De Valera's hounding of Irish revolutionists continued.

Under the "Offenses Against the State Act" passed early this year, the I.R.A. has been declared an illegal organization and this was supplemented last week by a De Valera proclamation setting up special courts to deal with persons arrested under the Act, and establishing "internment camps" in which suspected persons may be detained while the Act remains in force.

Army officers of not less rank than that of Commandant are among those who will constitute the special courts.

More than forty I.R.A. men were arrested by the Irish Government in the latest incidents.

Trotsky Statement to the Press On the German-Russian Alliance

(Continued from Page 1)

not counted. Usurers, speculators and marauders always thrive on war. The Kremlin supplied petroleum for the Italian campaign against Abyssinia. In Spain the Kremlin charged a double price for the bad arms which it supplied. Now the Kremlin is expecting to get a good price from Hitler for Soviet raw materials. The lackeys of the Comintern even here are not ashamed to defend the Kremlin's actions. Every honest worker must clench his fist at this policy!

A Capitulation to Fascism

Abasing themselves to the depths of cynicism, the defenders of the Kremlin see the great merit of Stalin in that he is not directly attacking Poland. In this circumstance also they discovered the refutation of my prognosis. But in reality I never predicted that Stalin would conclude an aggressive pact with Hitler. Stalin above all is afraid of war. His policy of capitulation towards Japan in recent years testifies to this. Stalin cannot make a war with discontented workers and peasants and with a decapitated Red Army. I said it many times in the last years and I repeat it again. The German-Soviet Pact is a capitulation of Stalin before fascist imperialism with the end of preserving the Soviet oligarchy.

In all the pacifist masquerades organized by the Comintern Hitler was proclaimed the chief, if not the only aggressor; on the contrary, Poland was for them an innocent lamb. Now when Hitler passed from words to deeds and started the aggression against Poland, Moscow passed to deeds, too . . . and is helping Hitler. These are the simple facts. It is impossible to escape from them with rotten sophistry.

The defenders of the Kremlin are referring to the fact that Poland refused to permit the Soviet Army to enter its territory. We do not know the course of the secret negotiations. We may admit that Poland incorrectly appraised its own interests when it refused the direct help of the Red Army. But does, from the Polish refusal to permit foreign armies on her

territory, follow the right of the Kremlin to help Germany's invasion of Poland?

The Kremlin's advocates refer finally to the fact that the German-Soviet pact broke up the "axis," having isolated Japan. In reality the USSR took Japan's place in the structure of the axis. The help of the distant Mikado to the military operations of Hitler in Europe would have an almost illusory character. On the contrary, the help of Stalin has a deep, real value. It is not surprising that Hitler preferred the friendship of Stalin to the friendship of the Mikado. Is it possible that "pacifists," "democrats" and "socialists" can talk without blushing about this new diplomatic combination?

Ignore Needs of Working Class

And about the workingclass these gentlemen do not think at all. Meanwhile, the chaos provoked by the zig-zags of the Comintern in the minds of the workers is one of the chief conditions for fascist victories. It is necessary to penetrate for a moment into the psychology of a revolutionary German worker, who, in danger of his life, is leading the illegal struggle against National Socialism and suddenly sees that the Kremlin, which commands great resources, not only does not fight Hitler, but on the contrary, concludes an advantageous business deal on the arena of international robbery. Has the German worker not the right to split in the faces of his teachers of yesterday?

Without any doubt the workers will do it. The only "merit" of the German-Soviet pact is that in unveiling the truth it broke the backbone of the Comintern. From all countries, particularly from France and the United States, come testimonies of a sharp crisis in the ranks of the Comintern, of departures of the imperialist patriots on the one hand, and of the internationalists on the other. No force in the world can stop this decomposition. The world proletariat will step over the treason of the Kremlin and also the cadaver of the Comintern.

L. Trotsky
September 4, 1939
Coyoacan, DF

Their Government By James Burnham

The most vicious and the most dangerous lie about the war, so far as this country is concerned, is that it is being fought "for democracy" by England and France. I am not going to repeat now the facts about the "democratic" British and French Empires which, for the benefit of a handful of industrialists and bankers in London and Paris, hold in abject slavery six times as many human beings as Hitler rules. I am thinking about a far broader and more startling irony in this lie of a new war for democracy.

Not merely is it absolutely false that this is a war for democracy. The truth, the ironic truth, is that this war which began a week ago is the war to end democracy—as democracy has been known in the modern world—for all time. Not to end it for the period of the war (as the dreamers suppose), but forever.

Bourgeois Democracy: Road's End

Even under the barrage of minute-by-minute events that swamp our nerves and feelings, it is worth a pause to reflect under a wider perspective on the close of a great political era: the era which witnessed the development of bourgeois democracy, the form of government which for some hundreds of years the most advanced statesmen and philosophers thought to be the ultimate achievement of political man.

For the democracy which has ended is not, of course, democracy "in general" or "in the abstract," but one particular, concrete form of democracy: namely, parliamentary democracy based upon capitalist property relations.

In 16th century England, bourgeois democracy began its stirring career. There parliament, in alliance with the King, fought the feudal lords; and, later, in the 17th century, breaking from the King, achieved supremacy through Cromwell's revolution. Parliamentary democracy was transferred to the United States, where it flourished. In France, it was established by the great revolution. In the 19th century it spread for a while until it seemed destined to supplant all other governmental systems; but long before its goal was reached, there could be seen the shadow of its early doom.

Bourgeois democracy was the form of government best suited to the young, vigorous and expanding capitalist nations. It permitted the maximum of freedom for the bourgeoisie: allowing them to throw off the shackles of feudalism, and at the same time to hold the masses in check. As capitalism reached imperialist maturity and old age, however, bourgeois democracy became a luxury that had to be discarded. After the final decline of capitalism, democracy could be afforded only by the rich, fat empires which could feed their democracy at home from the spoils of the colonies. The impoverished, desperate nations had to throw it aside, one after another.

Now, with the new war, it topples from the last remaining pedestals.

Fascism and Democracy Become Twins

The war has already, in a week, bridged the pretended "ultimate gulf" between fascist and democratic imperialism. The political and social regimes of Germany, France and England become identical in all essential aspects, merged into the war dictatorships. "Regimentation," censorship, abrogation of all civil and democratic rights, wiping out of all opposition. . . . Where is the meaningful difference?

Exactly the same thing will happen in the United States as it nears and enters the war. Indeed, complete plans for the totalitarian war dictatorship are all in readiness.

But when the war is over, we are told, England and France and the United States will immediately return to their old democratic selves. Vain hope, vain and impossible! There can be no return.

There is no imperialist solution for this war. Whatever its outcome in a military sense, the social and economic chaos which has led to and, far more, will result from the war is of so colossal and profound a character that a recovery of "normal conditions," stability, security, is unthinkable. The problems and conflicts of the post-war crises will be even more shattering than those of the war itself. To suppose that these could be handled by the old-style bourgeois parliamentary governments is really laughable if it were not so fatal an illusion.

The Future of Democracy

Bourgeois democracy goes, and will not return. But the fate of democracy, of freedom and self-rule for the masses of the people, is not bound up with bourgeois parliamentary government. Indeed, bourgeois democracy was never more than a deception of the masses, the way in which the bourgeoisie enforced its rule over the people.

The end of bourgeois democracy means simply and clearly that the fate and future of democracy is bound up indissolubly with the overthrow of the rule of the bourgeoisie—who can no longer rule by democratic means, of their imperialism, of their war, and with the victory of the masses in the socialist revolution against the war. The only kind of democracy possible in the future is socialist democracy.

A war for democracy is well worth fighting! But it is not the war of Chamberlain, Hitler, Daladier and Roosevelt. The only war for democracy is the struggle against their war. Let this be remembered in the midst of the lies of the days to come!

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