

The Cards Were Stacked All the Time--for War

AN EDITORIAL

In order to force through Congress his "neutrality" legislation lifting the embargo on arms, President Roosevelt perpetrated a fraud on the American people.

A grave accusation? But here are the facts:

How did Roosevelt get a majority in Congress? By promising and appending to the embargo-lifting proposal a provision that neither arms nor anything else would go to belligerents in American ships.

Here are the exact words used by the Democratic leader, Senator Barkley:

"Whether it be wheat, or corn, or tobacco, or shoes, or typewriters, or tanks . . . or anything that can be recalled by mind of man, it cannot be shipped to a belligerent nation or through a danger zone anywhere in the world in an American ship. . . . Because I want no war I am supporting and propose to vote for a measure which involves the greatest sacrifice ever made by any nation in the history of mankind in order to avoid war."

Promise—And Performance

That solemn promise, embodied in the legislation, netted Roosevelt a majority.

Nobody hinted or dreamed of hinting that Roosevelt would not abide by his promise for at least a few weeks. But he didn't.

During the very hours that this promise was being uttered, Administration spokesmen were scheming with the shipping interests to violate it.

Their scheme was—because the promise was so concrete—threadbare in its brazen dishonesty. It merely consisted of transferring the registry of American ships to the "foreign" registry of puppet Panama.

It now comes out that, in the midst of the debate over the neutrality legislation, the Maritime Commission—Roosevelt's appointees—had quietly approved such changes of registry for seventeen tankers and two freighters and, four days before the enactment of the Neutrality Act, had received the application for transfer of registry from the United States Lines, one of the biggest North Atlantic operators.

Behind the Back of Congress

Nobody heard about this at the time. Because if the news had gotten around, Congress would never have dared to lift the embargo. The transfers of registry were "published"—no newspaperman heard about it—in the monthly bulletin of the Bureau of Navigation. The application of the United States Line remained a secret between the Maritime Commission and the shipping company.

Suppose Senator Barkley, in making that solemn promise, had added: "But of course the American ships can change their registry and thus continue to deal with belligerents." Would the government have gotten a majority for lifting the embargo then? Not if the loud outcry from Congressmen who voted it, is any indication—let alone the reaction it would have inspired in the American people.

Yet, last Monday, the Maritime Commission approved the United States Lines application. We challenge anyone to argue that these appointees of Roosevelt could have made this move—as with the previous changes of registry—without an understanding with Roosevelt.

American ships, carrying war materials to England and France, are certain to be torpedoed by German U-boats. That means a series of "incidents," such as happened in 1915 and 1916 under identical conditions, and which enabled Wilson to drag us into war. Everybody understands this. That's why the one popular item in the Neutrality Act was that which barred American shipping from the war zones. And that's why Roosevelt is conniving to violate that provision. For Roosevelt is heading for war as fast as he can drag the American people along.

Waiting for the Storm to Subside

In the face of the widespread protests against the Maritime Commission's action, Roosevelt had to order the Commission to hold up final approval until further investigation. Or, more accurately, until Roosevelt thinks the storm has subsided. For, according to the *New York Times* (Nov. 12) Roosevelt has already "expressed the belief that the transfer would not imperil American neutrality."

Why didn't Roosevelt tell the country about this before the Neutrality Act was voted on? Because he couldn't get the votes if he had told the truth. So he lied. He perpetrated a fraud.

Here is an instructive lesson for the American workers. When Roosevelt swears he is against American entry into the war, there is as much truth in his words as in his promise that American ships would be kept out of war zones. When Roosevelt says he is not planning a war dictatorship, his tongue is in his cheek as it was when he signed the Neutrality Act.

Don't trust a capitalist politician. That's the simple but fundamental lesson to be drawn from Roosevelt's latest maneuver.

The Only Road to Peace

The only way to keep America out of war is to take the control of this country away from the capitalists and their politicians. There's no short-cut to peace and security. There's only the one road. Every strike, every struggle of labor, carried to a successful conclusion, is a step on that road—if we know where we're going.

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LET THE PEOPLE VOTE ON WAR

AUTO BARONS MOBILIZE FASCIST GANGS AGAINST CHRYSLER UNION

S. W. P. Polls Anti-War Vote

Shachtman Receives 2,259 Votes in New York Election

NEW YORK—2,259 first choice votes were cast by Bronx borough workers for Max Shachtman, city council candidate of the Socialist Workers Party.

It was the first time that the S.W.P. had participated in a New York election. Shachtman's campaign was conducted on a program of revolutionary struggle against war, calling upon the class-conscious workers to utilize the city elections to register their opposition to both the "democratic" and the Hitler-Stalin war camps.

How many workers voted for Shachtman as their second, third or fourth choice—four councilmen are to be elected from the cause the rules for counting the Bronx — will not be known, ballots do not provide for counting beyond the first choice votes for those lower down on the list. Shachtman's ballots were distributed after the first choice votes were counted, the second choices on his ballots going practically all to Salvatore Ninno, American Labor Party candidate, who polled 40,000 first choice votes. Ninno was elected.

The Communist Party candidate in the Bronx polled 9,365 first choice votes, all of which went upon distribution to Michael Quill, Stalinist stooge running as an independent.

The final count has not yet been completed. A full story on the elections will appear in the next issue.

Over five thousand workers signed the petitions which secured Shachtman's place on the ballot. The Bronx Branch of the SWP had done its work so well that a Tammany challenge at the Board of Elections failed to dislodge Shachtman from the ballot.

George Lyman Paine, SWP candidate in Manhattan, was ruled off the ballot on a technicality, as were all the Communist Party candidates.

SEVEN TEAMSTERS' UNION LEADERS FRAMED BY F.B.I. IN SIOUX CITY

Progressive Unionists Had Borne Brunt In Organizing Over-the-Road Drivers

SIOUX CITY, Iowa—The war of the FBI against organized labor led to the conviction of seven Teamsters' Union leaders here Nov. 3 by a hand-picked jury, and sentences of two years each in the penitentiary by Federal Judge Scott.

Trade unions throughout the North Central Area provided \$5,000 bonds for each of the defendants, as the labor movement prepared to appeal to the higher courts against the frameup.

That it was a frameup is obvious from the known facts. In July, 1938, a truck was damaged during a Sioux City bakery strike. The union charged the incident had been engineered by the employers to influence public opinion against the strikers. It was a minor incident and, with the successful termination of the strike, was forgotten. Hundreds of such incidents have been passed by like that.

Why the Frameup
But the teamsters' movement has been making extraordinary headway in the North Central Area, organizing the unorganized. The locals in Sioux City, Des Moines and Omaha, Neb., connected with the bakery strike, have been key links in building the new unionism in this twelve-state area, successfully bearing the brunt of the employers' attack. An area contract was recently signed, the single document covering 350,000 over-the-road drivers and helpers with big increases in wages and improvements in working conditions.

So the little incident of the truck was picked up by the Federal Bureau of Investigation—the G-men connected with the U.S.

Behind the Lines

By GEORGE STERN

Adolf Hitler was recently credited with saying: "If you wish to conquer by force, you must be strong. If you seek to conquer by negotiation, you must be stronger."

Because he could not fulfill the conditions of this shrewd maxim of power politics, Stalin has failed in his attempted squeeze play on Finland.

As in the case of his diplomatic failure with Turkey, Stalin's threats have dwindled, for the time being at least, to newspaper bluster in the most approved Hitlerian style.

With the immediate backing of the three Scandinavian countries and the not inconsiderable moral support of Roosevelt, Finland was able to put up more resistance to Stalin than the Baltic states could muster.

The result was a judicious climb-down by the Kremlin. Its demand for a "mutual assistance pact" was dropped as were several of its territorial proposals. But the continued demand for a naval base on the north coast of the Gulf of Finland, presumably at Hangoe, was refused by the Finns.

The negotiations were consequently broken off and the oft-threatened bolts of Stalinist lightning ricocheted harmlessly across the pages of Pravda instead of descending upon the Finns.

In Moscow the correspondents predict a lengthy campaign of pressure, military economic and journalistic, similar in style and tempo to the press wars waged by Germany prior to the absorp-

tion of Austria and Czechoslovakia. Actually, what the Kremlin now waits for is a new turn in events which will enable it to resume its crude sping of Hitlerian diplomatic blackmail without risk of war.

For Stalin, unlike his ally in Berlin, is compelled to shy like a frightened mare from such a risk, even when it comes from so tiny a foe as Finland. His strategy is designed to weaken the other powers to his own level of insecurity in hopes then of becoming relatively strong.

So while the Finnish pot continues to simmer, Stalin may turn his attention once more to the Balkans where the inter-play of British, Italian, and German influences offer a fruitful field for inexpensive intervention.

The only bar here is now the Anglo-Franco-Turkish pact which opens the Dardanelles to the British in case Rumania is attacked. This the Russians were unable to prevent, because the Turks shrewdly withdrew their bets from the Russian board and placed them on the British fleet instead.

But what the Kremlin may try, in collusion with the Reich or without it, is a bloodless advance into the Balkans which will fall just short of forcing Allied intervention. Similarly, the negotiations with Japan are likely to proceed at a faster tempo.

But right now, sitting silent behind the Kremlin walls, Stalin knows he is nothing but a paper-mache Sphinx. He doesn't want to let anybody get near him with a match.

Department of Justice.

Anti-Labor Police

What was the FBI doing in the case anyway? After the notorious Palmer days of the post-war persecutions of labor, the FBI was "reformed" under Attorney General Stone. He promised that the FBI would not be used against labor. The FBI appeared in no labor cases—until suddenly, during the last few months, a series of cases has revealed that "New Deal" Attorney General Murphy has gone back to the days of the Palmer raids for his model. In the Minneapolis WPA trials, in persecutions of the teamsters in Washington, D.C., in a series of cases being cooked up against building trades unions all over the country, the FBI has appeared as the persecuting agency.

Wherever they can turn a case into one for Federal jurisdiction, the FBI is moving in. The allegedly damaged truck had crossed the state line, and that was enough excuse for the FBI to take over the case.

Walter Stultz, president of General Drivers Local 554 of Omaha; Louis Miller, 554 organizer; Jack Malone, Howard Fouts and Ralph Johnson, union officers and organizers of Drivers Local 383 of Sioux City; Francis Quinn, officer of Drivers Local 90 of Des Moines, and Earl Carpenter, former officer of Local 554, were the victims in this case.

Labor Defense Organized
A statewide Labor Defense Conference of unions and friends of labor has been called for Des Moines, Dec. 3, according to the Des Moines Federationist. Organizing the protest against "the use of the Federal Department of Justice as a union-busting instrument" and repeal of the Iowa Criminal Syndicalism law will be the aims of the Conference.

TROTSKY SEC'Y ESCAPES GANG

MEXICO CITY, Nov. 9—One of Leon Trotsky's secretaries, a refugee from Hitler's persecutions, narrowly escaped violence at the hands of Stalinist hoodlums at a mass meeting called in honor of the October Revolution when he was recognized by a Mrs. Alice G. Harris, ostensibly an American tourist but also an avowed partisan of Stalin and the Moscow Trials.

Mrs. Harris had succeeded in gaining an interview with Trotsky two months ago through a letter of introduction given her under misapprehension as to her true political beliefs by a person completely worthy of the confidence of the Fourth International.

During the interview Mrs. Harris declared that Trotsky was guilty of everything Prosecutor Vyshinsky had accused him in the Moscow Trials including that of being in league with Hitler. (This was before the Stalin-Hitler pact.)

At the mass meeting, which was packed with Stalinists, she attempted to incite physical action against the secretary whom she had recognized. But her Spanish was so mixed with English that the Stalinists could not understand her, giving the secretary time to make his way through an exit.

One Man Doesn't Hate War — DuPont

Business is booming—for the chemical corporations, backbone of modern war preparations.

Eighty-six and a half millions of profits in the first nine months of the year!

That's 53% higher profits than last year. That's because war preparations this year were stepped up that much above last year's.

Nearly half the total profits in the industry went to the giant which dominates the field—DuPont—something over forty millions. The other powder and chemical companies had to be content with smaller pickings, but pretty good pickings at that. It's a nice thing for the fat cats, this war.

EAST INDIAN TO SPEAK AT DEFENSE MEET

All Khan, leader of the India Welfare League; Theodore Bekos, a refugee from Greece; Milton Winston, labor lawyer; and J. R. Johnson, Negro author, will be the four guest speakers at an open meeting of the American Labor Aid, to be held Friday, November 17, at 8:15 p.m. at the Cultural Center, 125 W. 33rd Street, Room 201, in Manhattan.

Mr. Khan, who was recently arrested as a result of his activities on behalf of Hindu aliens, will review his case and its implications. Mr. Bekos will give an account of refugee work in Greece similar to that done in this country by the American Labor Aid. Mr. Winston, who has acted as attorney for the A.L.A. in many of its cases, will tell of the many arrests made in connection with anti-Coughlin activities, and how the cases were fought.

Mr. Johnson, author of the recently published "Why Negroes Should Oppose the War," as well as many other books and pamphlets, will outline a program of action by which the Negro can fight for social and political equality.

The American Labor Aid is the successor to the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees. Its purpose is to give aid to working-class prisoners, both in this country and abroad.

G. Smith-Coughlin Enlisted in Drive to Smash Auto Union

Strikebreaking Mohawk Valley Formula Is Coupled with State Aims to Starve Men Into Submission; Workers Plan Resistance

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

DETROIT, Nov. 13—The Chrysler corporation is opening all the sewers of reaction to smash the union of the 55,000 automobile workers they have locked out of the plants.

The rats are out in the open, from Gerald K. Smith, the ranting fascist spiegle down to Pat McCartney, goon and gunman of the Martin rump union and probably stool-pigeon of the corporation. They are well-heeled with company cash and company blackjacks.

After five weeks of hedging and stalling in conference rooms, the fact now sticks out like a big sore thumb that the merry-go-round ride the corporation has been giving the UAW-CIO is part of the deliberate strike-breaking Mohawk Valley formula.

HOODLUMS RAID C.P. MEETING IN DETROIT

Cops Arrive Just in Time to Be Late; Workers Slugged

DETROIT—Following closely on the heels of official announcements by the Department of Justice that "patriotic" citizens keep a steady vigilance on "subversive" groups, bands of American Legionnaires, aided by the Veterans of Foreign Wars and goons from the Homer Martin auto workers union, descended on a meeting of the Communist Party in this city last Friday night, Nov. 10, severely injuring seven workers and sending at least two persons to the hospital in a critical condition.

The Stalinist meeting had been called at Finnish Hall to hear William Z. Foster speak on the twenty-second anniversary of the Russian Revolution. Soon after the meeting began, fifty American Legion pickets appeared outside the hall carrying signs declaring, "Save America—Liquidate the Reds," "Send These Bolsheviks Back to Russia," and similar anti-labor slogans.

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Curran Approves Fink Schools for Seamen

A long step in the regimentation of merchant marine seamen and the crushing of their independent union organization was taken by Roosevelt's Maritime Commission this week. "Training bases" are to be established by the Maritime Commission and operated by the Coast Guard with the aim of supplanting the union halls and providing docile scab labor for the shipowners. Roosevelt has long been known to favor this plan and his formal approval is merely a matter of time.

These "training bases" have been in operation for two years but they have suffered from one defect—an unofficial boycott on the part of bona fide seamen. That did not prevent bases from supplying scab labor, along with the rats recruited from Commission Fink halls, to break the recent tanker strike for Standard Oil on the East Coast.

The Curran leadership of the NMU have become the open agency of the fink commission in herding unemployed and hungry seamen, beached by the so-called Neutrality Bill, into the Coast Guard camps. The camps hold out the temptation of three square meals a day and \$36 per month and Curran counts on the empty bellies of the seamen overcoming their firm support of independent unionism.

Open announcements and appeals for registration in the "training bases" are daily made over the "mike" at the NMU hall. Seamen are "urged to spend the winter in comfortable surroundings." Curran has completely forgotten the demand he made at the November 8th Joint Membership Meeting for WPA jobs for seamen. The Pilot, official organ of the NMU, has re-

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Full-page company ads have been appearing in local papers over the weekend blasting the union with all the open-shop arguments Chrysler's publicity agents could dig out of the files.

Pamphlet Attacks Union
A large pamphlet reprinting all the yellow scab arguments against the Chrysler workers from the editorials appearing in the boss press nationally, has been mailed to all business and professional men. Loaded with ballyhoo about alleged "slow-downs," about "sovietization" plans of the auto union to take control of production, the obvious purpose of the pamphlet is to whip up a lynch spirit of so-called "public sentiment" against the auto workers.

The corporation puts the squeeze on the Chrysler dealers who are frightened to death by hard-boiled threats and a statement appears in the press dripping with company slime against the union men. The unorganized dealers, at the mercy of the corporation, are made to appear as the indignant "public" suffering from union "terrorism."

A Mrs. Shindler is dragged out of her rat-hole to appear on the Dodge picket line calling on Chrysler workers to return to work. This Mrs. Shindler is probably on the payroll of the corporation for the specific job of organizing a "back-to-work" movement by inciting the wives of Chrysler workers against the union.

Social Security Denied
While the corporation concentrates on propaganda, the state administration uses more forceful methods to starve the workers into submission. With the exception of one vote—that of the President of the Michigan Federation of Labor, John Reid—the State Social Security Board refuses to grant a dime's worth of compensation to the 55,000 Chrysler workers. On the spurious grounds that the Chrysler workers are involved in a "labor dispute" their rightful compensation is denied. Just how this squares with granting 10,000 Briggs workers unemployment insurance—locked out just as the Chrysler workers—is not made clear. But this Board needn't explain such "small" points—after all Chrysler's millions are involved, and that should be reason enough.

Hand in hand with the Security Board, the welfare authorities are joining in to make the securing of relief tough for the Chrysler workers. They are undoubtedly recommending some of Governor Dickenson's knee-action to the Good Lord as a substitute for potatoes and beans.

Howls for "Strong-Arm"
Not everybody agrees with Dickenson. The strong-arm poli-

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In the Labor Unions

By B. J. WIDICK

The importance of labor unity is emphasized every time any kind of a meeting between CIO and AFL officials is reported in the press by the prominence given to those reports.

And when President Roosevelt's conference with John L. Lewis and William Green was announced it naturally was given widest publicity. For this was a very important meeting.

Each week that brings Roosevelt's determination to participate in the second world war to a stronger conviction, also emphasizes that the continued rivalry and struggle between the labor organizations disrupts the plans of the war machine. This has often been explained in previous columns in the Socialist Appeal.

Since "unofficial" intervention by Roosevelt through Madame Perkins brought no results, Roosevelt took the bull by the horns and summoned Lewis and Green to a conference.

Will Lewis Agree?

Proposals from the War Department to the CIO and the AFL on the role of unions in war time had been studied by the labor chieftains. A general picture of these proposals is given by Robert Bendiner in the current issue of The Nation.

"In the M-Day preview now showing before an exclusive audience of trade union executives, the program for labor is reliably held to look something like this: First an emergency period will be proclaimed, even before the declaration of war, during which the President will suspend the provisions of the Walsh-Healy Act, which requires the maintenance of specific labor standards in the manufacture of products bought by the federal government. During this period, and subsequently, the Employment Service, now removed from the jurisdiction of the Labor Department and placed under the supervision of Paul V. McNutt, will become a key agency, geared to distribute and furnish adequate supplies of skilled labor to all war industries and to prevent its diversion into armed forces."

War Dictatorship

Outright capitulation to these totalitarian — and shocking although not surprising — proposals of the War Department would sound the death knell of union independence, and expose Lewis and Green beyond all repair.

However, already a section of the AFL and the CIO leaders have accepted in principle the ideas of the militarists. The blast of the Navy Department against the CIO reflects its aggravation at the resistance it has thus far met from part of the top CIO circle.

Is it a wonder that Lewis entered the White House with trepidation? And that he was very silent after the conference, in marked contrast to his bombastic utterances after the conference last Spring with Roosevelt and Green?

Roosevelt talked cold turkey to the labor leaders at the conference last week. Last Spring he tried to use a big stick but it didn't have much weight behind it. For that was in the pre-war period. Now Lewis and Green understand, if they had any doubts, the deadly seriousness of the Roosevelt demand for labor unity behind his war program.

Clubbing was not necessary for Green. He has indicated often enough that he is ready to serve as an agent of the war machine at any time. But Lewis has been a bad actor, as his Labor Day speech indicated. Lewis is more subject to rank and file pressure. His coolness and reluctance to the Roosevelt program has been obvious.

Now comes the big test. Will Lewis try to outdo Green? Seek to utilize the plans of the War Department to establish himself as the chief lieutenant of the Army within the labor movement? Or can the ranks of the CIO put on more pressure and force Lewis to resist the reactionary proposals of Roosevelt. Can the CIO call for labor unity against the war program, instead of being forced into a unity behind the program? This is the vital issue before the American labor movement today.

The future of the labor movement rests on its accepting the road of struggle against the Roosevelt war plans, uniting behind a program of militant action to preserve its liberties, advance its organization, and obtain its rights in collective bargaining.

Labor and The Second World War

By J. R. Johnson

VII

The failures of Russia, the degradation of Russia, are in the last analysis due to the failure of the workers of the world to establish socialism. Had countries like France, Britain, Germany, and the United States followed the road to collective ownership and planned economy, what they would have done in twenty years would not only have lifted the workers and the entire population of these countries to undreamt of heights of social well-being and equality. It would have prevented the emergence of such a hydra-headed monster as the Stalinist bureaucracy and its corrupt spawn, the Browders, the Fosters, the Fords, and their kindred throughout the world.

Those who have studied the true causes of the rise and decline of Soviet Russia know that its history is an argument not against, but for socialism, an indictment not of collective ownership and planned economy but of the chaos of capitalism. It is capitalism that, using the cowardice and selfishness of the Stalinist bureaucrats, has managed to stave off victorious revolution and slowly drags the Soviet Union down into the blood and muck of world imperialism.

Without the socialist revolution in one or more of the advanced countries, Soviet Russia is doomed. That is the key to the understanding of Soviet Russia, yesterday, today, and tomorrow. No wonder that Lenin in the five years of his working life as ruler of the country publicly repeated this profound truth little less than fifty times.

Against War Means For Socialism

From all the above it follows that the struggle against war is the struggle against capitalism for the socialist society. The workers must fight against their own capitalists at every turn—in the factories, in the legislatures, against the WPA cuts, against the anti-alien bills, against the armament budgets whether large or small, against Roosevelt's foreign policy, against his ceaseless propaganda that America must prepare for a war in defense of "peace" and "democracy." Any concession to the capitalists on any front means just so much more freedom for them in their relentless drive to war. If war does come, the word will go forth that we must have "national unity" against aggressor. Then more than ever it will be necessary to continue resistance, legal and illegal.

The masses may be swept into the war. But those who recognize the true nature of imperialist war, though they may have to submit for a period, must never for a moment relax their opposition, but continue to seek ways and means of influencing the masses against the war. For history shows us that though the people, under the stimulus of fright, propaganda, and mass hysteria, may enter a war, the strain that it imposes upon them is such that revulsion soon begins. This can culminate, as it has culminated before, in a determination to sweep away those responsible for the slaughter, the suffering, the privation. In their recognition of the real enemy at home, they forget the supposed enemy abroad. That is what we must work for.

The revolutionary fighter against imperialist war must remember that it was not the statesmen who brought the last war to a conclusion. It was the revolutionary workers of Russia who, by the Russian revolution of 1917, made the first great break in the war. And the German workers, by their revolution against the Kaiser and his government, brought the 1914-1918 war to an end.

The Sham Fighters Against War

If the workers do not succeed in stopping Roosevelt from dragging us into the war, who will do it? Many so-called anti-war groups and persons tell the masses it is they who will. Test them all by their stand on the capitalist system. If they are not fighting to overthrow it, they belong to capitalist society and are in the camp of the enemy. Isolationists like Senator Borah fill the public press. But it is the finance-capitalists like Morgan who decide, and when they give the word and Roosevelt drags the people in, Borah will not call upon the workers to stop Roosevelt. He and his kind will say, "My country, right or wrong," and support the war with the rest.

The labor leaders like Lewis and Green follow Roosevelt like the trained lap-dogs that they are. In Germany, in Britain, in France, when the last war came these pampered, well fed, capitalist-aping lackeys called the workers to the colors. And in 1939 as in 1914 they have shown once more that as long as they can sit in the offices, draw their fat salaries, visit the best hotels in the company of "good society," they have no quarrel with capitalism and will support their imperialist masters in whatever way they are told to. Look for a moment at their record.

In 1918-1920 the capitalist system was rocking in Europe. The capitalists, utterly discredited, were hated by millions of workers and farmers in every country. All that was needed was resolute leadership. But these labor leaders, who had talked about socialism for twenty years or more, went to the rescue of capitalism and, having the confidence of the workers, preserved instead of overturning the system. The capitalists left them in control for a time and, when the revolutionary energy of the workers had been dissipated, rewarded the social-democrats with the fascist terror. Against fascism as against war the labor leaders were helpless, and for the same reason. Well paid and comfortable under the capitalist system, they work to preserve it, with the resulting ruin of both them and the workers who follow them. In America as elsewhere the social-democrat leaders support capitalism. They must be bracketed with the imperialist war-mongers and fought on the war issue without quarter.

(Continued in Next Issue)

The Last Time the Stalinists Peddled That "Radical" Line, The Nazis Took Power . . .

By GEORGE CLARKE

When a medicine man "makes a pitch," as they say in the circus vernacular, his one hope is that the crowd has changed from the day before. After all, the poor sucker who purchased a bottle of colored water to cure diabetes or an Indian herb to cure a skin infection, is not likely to give the fakir a friendly reception, certainly he won't bite the second time.

But when the greatest medicine man in the history of our times, the Stalinist leadership, brazenly set up shop at the same old stand for a second time, a lot of people either through ignorance or through design pass off his wares as the real article. And the commodity being peddled here is not some harmless patent medicine, but a poisonous policy that has delivered the workers into capitalist slavery on every continent of this planet.

We are not addressing ourselves here to the officials and leaders of the Communist Party. They know better. They not only know what the policy was before this recent turn and before that change of line, but they know what the policy of the Communist International was under Lenin and Trotsky, when the International was revolutionary. These Stalinist officials are cynical and corrupt. They are bought off at so much a week and they know how to serve the boss. They try to alibi a defeat into a glorious victory; they seek to make the foulest of treachery look like heroic revolutionary action. We won't waste our time with the pitchman, but we'd like to talk to his audience.

Thousands of revolutionary workers in their Communist Party sincerely believe that after Molotov's speech in Moscow and Browder's speech in Boston, the Communist International has made a genuine turn toward a revolutionary policy. They believe that now the Communists will wage an uncompromising

struggle against capitalism and for socialism.

THE "NEW LINE" IS OLD STUFF

What most of the new followers of the Communist Party do not know is that the current wares of Stalinism were peddled once before to the workers of Europe and America—with fatal consequences.

The year 1929 marked a complete gyration in the line of the Stalinist International. Capitalism, they announced, had entered its "third period," and was breathing its last gasp. The workers were engaged in a vast "revolutionary upsurge." The task of the Communist Parties was set forth as the conquest of power.

Germany, it was declared, was at the very center of this revolutionary struggle. An official resolution declared that "of exceptional importance to the fate of the revolution in Europe and the whole world is the revolutionary upsurge in Germany."

And that was a true enough statement. The new economic crisis that broke loose in 1929 hit Germany most of all. German economy had never fully recovered from the depression it had sunk into following the war. Millions were unemployed. The middle class was discontented and restive. Cabinets were made and remade in quick order. The labor organizations, the Social Democratic and the Communist parties, piled up huge votes running into six and seven millions each for the workers' parties. Each election saw a greater swing to the left. It was true—there was a revolutionary situation in Germany. How did the Stalinist party meet this situation?

WHAT STALIN DID TO THE GERMAN WORKERS

The fate of the German workers was clearly in the hands of the Communist Party. No class conscious worker expected anything but compromise, betrayal

and defeat from the Social Democratic Party.

But still millions of workers followed the Social Democratic Party. Their party numbered a million members. The trade unions under their control almost 7,000,000 votes in the elections. Before the workers could establish their own rule in Germany, it was indispensable that the influence of these corrupt leaders over the labor movement be broken.

The issue was at hand. German labor was menaced with destruction by the rising fascist hordes of Hitlerism. The workers clamored for unity and for a struggle to the death against this menace. The Social Democratic leaders had nothing to offer but the pious hope that "Germany was not Italy" and an armful of resolutions "deploring" and "viewing with alarm."

The Communist leaders had the magnificent opportunity to force the bureaucrats of the labor unions and the Social Democrats to the wall with a concrete program for united action against the fascist gangs. The course of this struggle on the immediate issues would have soon brought the whole labor movement squarely before the issue of who was to rule in Germany. It would have smashed the Fascists like an eggshell—as Goebbels later admitted could have been done without difficulty.

But the Communist leaders did nothing of the kind. Everything they did was designed to divide the workers, to pit communist workers against social democratic workers. In no case to unite communist and social democratic workers against the fascists.

They began with the insane theory that social - democracy was the twin-brother of fascism. From that it followed that the main enemy of the workers was not the fascists but the social democrats. They pronounced Trotsky's program of united front "counter - revolutionary," and expelled from the party anyone who advocated it.

THE "UNITED FRONT ONLY FROM BELOW"

In the trade unions, the workers were abandoned to the tender mercies of the bureaucrats. All of the militants were withdrawn into a pure "revolutionary" trade union organization dominated by the Communist Party. The inevitable result was the division of the labor movement, the Social Democracy dominating the trade unions and therefore the employed workers in the factories. Only the unemployed followed the Communist Party.

On the streets and in the actions against the Brown Shirts, the movement was divided as with a knife. The social democratic workers were called upon to quit their organizations and join a "red united front from below." (Dimitrov now revives this slogan.) Naturally they did nothing of the kind although they would have eagerly entered a common front that respected their organizations. Then, as if deliberately intended to enhance the distrust and suspicion of social democratic workers in Communist leadership, the Stalinist gang joined with the fascists in 1931 in Prussia in what came to be known as the infamous "red referendum" to oust the social democratic Prussian government.

While the Fascists grew in numbers and in boldness, the Stalinists continued to play into their hands by their divisive tactics of "Social fascism." The Social Democratic leaders could hamstring the struggle of the workers against fascism by citing the record of the Communists. And the record was rotten. In the Reichstag, Remmele, the Communist fraction leader, made his notorious speech: "We are not afraid of the fascist gentlemen. They will shoot their bolt quicker than any other government." Let the fascist take power, we will come next! This was how the loud "revolutionary" line of Stalin worked out in practice.

Disoriented by the tactics of Stalinism, the workers remained passive and quiescent in face of the fascist threat. Hitler's Brown Shirts grew in strength, unopposed, like a snowball rolling downhill. They became more arrogant, more ruthless. Until on a fateful day in January 1933, Hindenburg—the hero of the social democrats—called Hitler to the chancellery.

The Fascists had arrived. This was the last chance for the "revolutionary" action the Stalinists had prated so loudly about. Soon the fascists would ride over the skulls and bones of the German workers. But the Stalinists lifted not a finger of resistance! The leaders had their passports. The workers were abandoned to the fate of concentration camps. The Communist Party collapsed like a house of cards.

WORKERS' FORUM

"LONG LIVE TROTSKY," SAID GERMAN WORKERS

Dear comrade: There is a typographical error on the front page of the November 3rd issue of the Socialist Appeal (Vol. III No. 84) which could have political significance.

In the story, "The Flame of Revolution Still Burns in Germany," which quotes the Sept. 24 report of the Berlin correspondent of the Paris Temps as to the underground revolutionary activity current in the blacked-out cities of Germany, the red-bordered placard found by the Nazi police on numerous walls in the old Communist sections of Berlin is quoted by the Socialist Appeal as reading: "Down with Hitler and Stalin!"

The slogan as reported by the Paris Temps actually read: "Down with Hitler and Stalin! Long Live Trotsky!"

As the readers of the Socialist Appeal will readily grasp, there is more than a slight difference in the two slogans.

Comradely,
JOSEPH HANSEN

POLISH EX-STALINISTS CONTINUE PREVIOUS LINE

It is terribly sad to see the Polish - American workers, who followed Stalin's American agents until the invasion of Poland, flee from Stalinism directly to capitalist reaction. Instead of calling on the proletariat to bring about the international revolution, which would bring federated socialist republics in Europe, among them the Socialist Republic of Poland, they are crying: Revenge on Stalin, support the Allies, no class struggle now, we want to build a strong Polish State, and after that we shall talk about class struggle.

We heard these identical words after the last World War. Marshal Pilsudski talked like that. Hungary to the independence of their nation, the Polish masses believed him.

Poland is a poor country. Over 90% of its population eked out a living from primitive agriculture. To make the story short, the whole burden of building a great military machine was thrown on the shoulders of the agricultural and industrial proletariat, over whom there ruled a semi-dictatorship of clergy, landed aristocracy and police. And at the end of this road . . . the domination of Poland by Hitler.

The Polish army officers are now imprisoned in Rumania. The French and British imperialists don't want them freed, for the Polish army officers, if at liberty, might expose the treacherous failure of the Anglo-French to fulfill their promises to Poland. The Anglo-French are spreading false rumors about the imprisoned Polish officials, and have organized a puppet Polish government in Paris. Some eighty millions of Polish gold were transported before the collapse and are in the hands of the British and French governments. Those imprisoned cannot defend themselves, so the imperialists and their reactionary, clerical agents have an easy job of it.

It is not my intention to defend the Polish army officers, but even they are not reactionary enough for the Anglo-French. Certainly, when workers give help to the Polish "government" in Paris, they are not promoting the cause of the labor movement. Yet that is just what the ex-Stalinists are doing. The degenerate top agents of the Kremlin—Browder, Foster, Radwanski, Gebert, Kowalski, etc.—so poisoned the minds of these workers that they cannot distinguish right from wrong, a bourgeois interest from the interests of the working class. When listing the crimes of the Stalinists, this one should not be forgotten.

S. Dziengielewski
Dickinson City, Pa.



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.

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.
- ALL CLASSES WILL BE HELD AT THE WORKERS CULTURAL CENTER, ROOM 201, 125 WEST 33rd ST., N. Y. C.

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Bundle payments for the Socialist Appeal have been slow in recent weeks with several of the large cities. It is imperative that the various agents and Party units proceed very quickly to make substantial payments on their bundle accounts, or the Socialist Appeal will find itself in a most difficult and acute situation.

The Management has exercised unusual leniency with several of the delinquent accounts on these matters, but a public admonition is hereby given that, unless payments are forthcoming from those delinquent accounts, their bundles will be cut off. The units need not be named here, since they have been advised by mail of the situation.

The Philadelphia organization is now making special efforts for Socialist Appeal circulation and to liquidate its bills. The Flint Branch, F. Dart, Agent, has moved nicely recently in circulating the paper, and now that several of its members are employed again, expects to be able to increase the circulation. The Los Angeles organization recently cut its bundle order, but nevertheless improvement can be registered, because both the circulation of the Socialist Appeal and The New International are now on a much sounder and surer basis.

Minneapolis and St. Paul are making another drive to obtain new subscriptions and renewals, realizing that building the circulation of the press is a most important task at the present time. In Youngstown, Socialist Appeal sales recently have not been so good, largely because, the comrades write, the headlines in the recent issues dealt with problems in local areas. However, Comrade

inists had prated so loudly about. Soon the fascists would ride over the skulls and bones of the German workers. But the Stalinists lifted not a finger of resistance! The leaders had their passports. The workers were abandoned to the fate of concentration camps. The Communist Party collapsed like a house of cards.

The cold fact was that Stalin had helped Hitler to power. As Trotsky put it: "Stalin held the stirrup for Hitler to mount the white horse."

Now the medicine man is back again with the same kind of poison in his bottle. Yesterday's poison with a revolutionary label on the bottle gave the German workers the worst reaction history has ever known. Today's poison, label the same, will give the workers, if they swallow it, reaction on a world scale.

Dawes writes that they will still be able to dispose of their order of 100.

The Chicago organization is following up all contacts for contributions to the press.

The recently organized Ann Arbor unit has placed an order for 20 copies regularly of the paper.

The Columbus unit of the Y.P.S.L. is now making renewed efforts for the magazine and the Socialist Appeal and hopes to assist in improving the precarious position of the press.

Subscriptions were slow in recent days, 16 new subscriptions having reached the New York office and 7 renewals as follows:

	Re-	New
	new	new
New York City	4	—
New Haven	2	1
Minneapolis	1	2
Los Angeles	2	—
Chicago	1	—
Cleveland	1	—
Glen Ellyn, Ill.	1	—
Wellesley, Mass.	1	—
Rochester	1	—
Evansville	1	—
Houston	1	—
Ann Arbor	1	—
St. Louis	1	—
Pittsburg	1	—
St. Paul	1	—
Total	16	7

In New York City, particularly in the Bronx, the comrades are confident of increasing the circulation of the Socialist Appeal. The membership of the Bronx Branch all entered very actively into the recent election campaign for councilman and distributed and sold the paper widely. The vote for Max Shachtman for councilman is indicative of their efforts, and the comrades are very confident of being able to follow through on the election results and obtain many readers for our press.

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THE NEGRO QUESTION

By J. R. JOHNSON

The Negro in Steel

We must get some general conception of the role the Negro worker has played and plays in industry in this country. We have first to recognize that the race question, the color question, play their part. But we must see below the surface of things and recognize that the color question is not decisive. It is not the factor which plays the greatest part. Until we understand that, we cannot organize for struggle and plan our campaigns. We have not only to understand it but must have it deeply rooted in our minds as the basis of all our thinking. Quite recently an able study has appeared on the Negro worker. It is called "Black Workers and the New Unions," written by Horace Cayton and George Mitchell. We shall use it heavily in these articles on the Negro's role in industry, and we recommend a thorough study of the book to all workers, white and black.

First the Negro comes into the steel industry as a strike-breaker. From 1875 to 1914, whenever the white capitalist wants to break the neck of white workers, he sends for Negroes, most often to the South and uses them against the workers of his own color. For the great steel strike in 1919 the white capitalists brought in 30,000 Negroes. For these capitalists, the race question was certainly not the main question.

Negroes Enter Industry

This sending for Negroes to help break the struggles of the white workers was part of the general economic movement of the times—the migration of over a million Negroes to the North. Thus in the Allegheny district of Pennsylvania in 1910, there were 100 Negro steel workers, in 1915 there were 2,500, in 1916 there were 8,325, in 1923, there were 16,000.

As an official of the Carnegie Steel Company said in an interview given to Messers Cayton and Mitchell on July 6, 1934:

As far as I am concerned I believe that the Negro has been a lifesaver to the Steel company. When we have had labor disputes or when we needed more men for expansion we have gone to the South and brought up thousands of them. I don't know what this company would have done without Negroes." (Black Workers and New Unions, p. 7.)

On the whole, between 1890 and 1930, the number of Negroes in the iron, steel, machinery and vehicle industries, increased from less than 25,000 to 250,000.

The Dirty Work for the Negro

What sort of jobs did Negroes get in the industry? Naturally nothing but the unskilled, the lowest paid, the most unpleasant jobs. Between 1910 and 1930 the Negro made little progress in getting the better kind of job. Take for instance the work in blast furnaces and steel-rolling mills. In 1910 there were between 45 Negroes out of every 1000 working as laborers in these industries. In 1930 there were 85. Thus the number of Negroes almost doubled. But it was chiefly laborer's jobs that the Negroes got. In 1910 out of every 1000 laborers, 69 were Negroes. In 1930, there were 165 Negroes out of every 1000. But whereas in 1910 there were 29 Negroes out of every 1000 skilled workers, in 1930 there were only 40. Thus 96 more laborers got jobs, proportionally, but only 11 skilled workers. That is a point we have to keep our eye on. As for office jobs there were 3 Negroes out of every 1000 in 1910, and only one out of every 1000 in 1930.

All the nasty jobs are for the Negroes. But here again we must have some historical perspective. All the white groups, American born and foreign born, discriminate against the Negroes. But the American-born whites discriminate against the foreign-born whites. The American born usually take all the best jobs for themselves and the bosses encourage them. (For the boss loves, how he loves to see the workers divided.)

Discrimination Among Foreign Born

But that is not all. Even the "foreigners" discriminate. Sixty or seventy years ago Irish did all the dirty work. After a generation they moved up in the scale and the Poles, Czechs and other central Europeans did most of the dirty work in their turn. The Negroes came last into the industry and so quite naturally Poles, Czechs, and these latest immigrants did to Negroes what the Irish had done to them. The bosses naturally encouraged this. The class-conscious workers tried to break it down. Only whereas the American-born, Irish, and Central European workers were all white, they could get together more quickly as workers than they could get together with Negroes.

Was the Negro an Inferior Worker?

Was the Negro an inferior worker? The bosses at one time used to say so, but as they found it necessary to use the Negro more and more, they changed their tune. Take this interview with a Buffalo superintendent of a steel plant:

"We found most of them good workmen. There are some who are poor, but in general they are good men. I don't see any difference between the races."

Or this statement by the assistant superintendent of a steel plant in Cleveland:

"Some of the very best workers we had were Negroes—I will say that the colored are on a par with the white."

Take this from a Superintendent of Safety and Welfare in Homestead, Pa:

"The Negroes that we brought up are superior to the whites that we brought in. We got one group of whites from Kentucky Hills district. They were just the poor white trash and were no good at all. We also got a shipment of whites from around Buffalo but they were just riff-raff. The Negroes are superior to them as workmen and morally. Also I believe they are better physically." (Black Workers and New Unions, p. 35.)

Where did the white bosses learn this? They wouldn't have said it twenty years ago. Some of them deny the Negro's capacity up to today. But on the whole they have been driven by economic necessity to accept the Negro in the industry and then to recognize that he can do the job as well as any other.

But the workers were having a much longer time to recognize the Negro. First it seemed to them that being white meant a better chance to get a job and a better-paid job. Which was true, though it wasn't the whole truth. And secondly, although the white bosses were forced to recognize the ability of the Negro, they did not go out of their way to help the workers, white and black, to overcome the prejudices. For them to do that would have been suicide. It would have meant the unity of black and white workers, which, for the bosses, is the beginning of the end. So in some plants Negroes and whites continued to be segregated in the lunch-room. In another plant the company built a swimming pool with money collected from both white and black and they prohibited the blacks from using the pool. In Gary, Indiana, the United States Steel Company took it upon itself to see that Negroes were kept out of all the municipal parks except one.

By this means the company aimed at keeping the Negroes and whites in the plants divided. The superintendent and officials of the plant actually told the Negro workers that if they used a certain park they would lose their jobs. Why? Every white worker and Negro worker should ask himself this question and think over it until he got the answer. Why were the bosses so anxious to prevent Negro workers and their wives and children from using a park along with white workers and their families? Was it because the bosses loved the whites so much that they wanted to save them from Negro contamination? But since when have bosses been so concerned about what happens to workers after they leave work? The reason is obvious. The boss wanted to keep them apart.

Naturally the white workers should have opposed this immediately, should have demanded that the Negroes be allowed to use whatever park they wanted, should have insisted upon it. But the workers are not as quick as the bosses at seeing these things. They see them in time, however. In succeeding articles we shall see how the white steel-workers as a whole, recognized the necessity of co-operating with their Negro brothers in industry. We shall have to note particularly why they recognized it, and how this recognition expressed itself.

CHRYSLER ORGANIZES VIGILANTES

(Continued from Page 1)

Iticians are beginning to holler for night sticks and riot squads. Over the air goes the voice of Representative Clare E. Hoffman, mouthpiece of the auto barons in Washington: "Enforce the law by letting those men who want to work go through the Chrysler picket lines."

In the meantime, the corporation is going ahead full blast organizing the vigilante and fascist mobs to be used for purposes of strikebreaking at the first favorable opportunity. A big meeting is organized for Gerald Smith in the Olympia stadium. The papers ballyhoo the meeting to fill the hall with a big anti-union mob. Smith rants against the United Automobile Workers and against "communism". On the same program are Pat McCartney and William Nowell, posing as labor leaders but spilling the familiar union-busting line that always parades under the name of "Americanism" and "patriotism".

Martin Goons with Smith

Nowell spilled his guts about having been a member of the C.P., about a trip to the U.S.S.R. he had taken financed by the Stalinist party. He forgot to tell that he had joined the Lovestoneites after leaving the C.P. It might be added that the only service McCartney after saw in the service of labor was squealing on militant workers before the Dies Committee or slugging them on picket lines. McCartney and Nowell are organizers for Homer Martin's AFL union.

Homer Martin has just announced an "organizing drive" in the Chrysler plants. The only men he will organize will be scabs and strikebreakers.

Who is financing Gerald Smith who has suddenly appeared on the scene with unlimited resources? For the last few months Smith has been dodging process servers all over the country. The hotel keepers are trying to collect big unpaid bills.

Why the sudden interest of fascist Father Coughlin in the Chrysler lockout? Yesterday the fascist priest went on the air to denounce the corporation and the union with "equal" vehemence. A dirty discredited name—what of it? Its another voice in the back-to-work campaign.

Gangs Invade C.P. Meeting

The gangs of reaction are being given free play in this city to beat and terrorize all militant workers and create a more favorable atmosphere for strikebreaking. This gang made its appearance on the scene last Friday when a mob of 5,000 hoodlums led by Pat McCartney set upon workers attending the Communist Party meeting here.

All of the preliminary steps of the Mohawk Valley Formula in creating "public sentiment" and organizing vigilante gangs have now been taken. The open strike-breaking moves come next. But here the corporation will find it is overplaying its hand.

Despite the weak publicity of the union and the failure to issue any daily strike bulletin to counteract the propaganda of the capitalist press, the fighting spirit of the workers will boil over at the first overt strikebreaking move. More than 500 pickets appear at the gates of the Dodge plant daily. The picket line has been restricted to this number because of the admonition of union leaders instructing workers to stay away from the line so as not to interfere with their receiving social insurance. The first struggle will see the lines swell with invincible power.

Workers Will Fight

The workers will fight. The biggest turnout thus far of local union officers was seen last Thursday night at a special meeting. At this meeting it was decided to issue a tabloid paper for city-wide distribution explaining the union's position on the lockout. This Wednesday a huge mass meeting in Cadillac Square in support of the Chrysler workers will be held by the UAW-CIO. In a front page editorial in the United Automobile Worker, the auto workers union gives corporation and their stooge press the only answer they can understand: "We Accept the Challenge", the headline reads. "Solidarity Will Defeat the Corporation's Union-Smashing Drive".

"We know the corporation is acting tough. But we have an answer that has humbled mightier would-be dictators than the Chrysler coupon-clippers.

"We have solidarity; and we have a just cause. With that combination, we can more than match the Chrysler Corp. and all its mouthpieces. We will hold our ranks. No matter what the corporation may force on us, we will win."

The Difference Between Fritz, Kuhn and Earl Browder

AN EDITORIAL

When American Legionnaires and other hoodlums attacked a public forum of the Communist Party in Detroit, last Friday night, they did so with the assurance that it was in line with the Roosevelt government's policy. For that was the meaning of the Federal government's indictment of the head of the Communist Party on a patently flimsy technicality. The government was putting the Communist Party outside the pale, and reactionaries everywhere are taking the hint.

The assault on the meeting was, of course, facilitated by the growing isolation of the Communist Party. Its brazen justification of the Hitler-Stalin alliance has branded it among workers as a tool of the Hitler-Stalin war camp. Tens of thousands of workers, formerly friendly to it, feel nothing but hatred for this agency of Cain-Stalin. How else explain the attack of the hoodlums—these creatures are scarcely daring—unprecedented, certainly, since Detroit became a stronghold of the labor movement.

Part of Roosevelt's War Drive

We have previously condemned the increasingly generalized attack by the government on the Communist Party, and the latest incident serves to underline the importance of this problem. The government is attacking the Communist Party as part of the government's drive to crush all real opposition to America's entry into the war. The Stalinists are being attacked, first and most prominently, precisely because the Communist Party today meets with so little sympathy in the labor movement. But this attack is paving the way for attacks against all anti-war militants and against all labor militants who will resist the regimentation of labor by the war machine.

Browder and his mates are of course reaping what they have sown. The Stalinists, up to the Stalin-Hitler pact, were the most vociferous supporters of Roosevelt and his war preparations. They covered up every attack that the government made against labor. They tried to create a lynch spirit against all anti-war elements. Their present attempt to pose as anti-war martyrs is poppycock. They remain war-mongers, with this difference: they are now whooping it up for the war camp to which Roosevelt is opposed.

Only Labor Can Cleanse Labor

It is not for the sake of the Stalinists, but for the sake of the labor movement and the real anti-war fighters that we call upon the working class to condemn and oppose the legal and illegal pogroms launched against the Stalinists.

We are for cleansing the labor movement of the poison of Stalinism—but that's labor's own job, which cannot be farmed out to the government, reactionary hoodlums or, for that matter, to John L. Lewis and William Green. Only the conscious, democratic action of the rank and file of labor can put an end to Stalinism.

It is necessary to emphasize sharply this fact, because there is a dangerous tendency in certain sections of the labor movement to refuse to condemn the persecution of the Communist Party. For example, the Socialist Party organ declares editorially:

"(It the Socialist Party) does not believe that the present legal difficulties of Browder and his men are civil liberties or labor issues. Not any more than the legal difficulties of Fritz Kuhn, Father Coughlin, and other foreign or native fascists." (The Call, Nov. 11.)

And the organ of the Independent Labor League (Love-stone) says:

Hoodlums Raid Stalinist Meeting

(Continued from Page 1)

Meanwhile, two blocks from where the CP meeting was taking place, more than a thousand hoodlums had gathered at the Church of the Rev. Frank Norris. Norris aided the Legion hoodlums in preparing their attack. Two years ago, at the time of the Black Legion investigation here, Norris assisted in the freeing of one of its vice-commanders, Harvey Robinson, and made the latter an usher in his church.

Mounting a sound truck, the Rev. Norris led the goons in singing patriotic songs as they marched toward Finnish Hall. As the indoor meeting ended and workers fled from the hall, men and women were indiscriminately attacked by the Legion mobsters as the handful of police under the direction of Inspector Lochbiler stood by silently.

Attack Jews and Negroes

So ferocious was the assault that men and women accidentally passing the hall were beaten by the goons. Those workers fortunate enough to receive even the pitiful protection offered by the police were again fallen upon by blocks from the hall once their police escorts had left.

The hoodlums, scores of whom were drunk, made Negroes and Jews the chief victims of their attack. At least one Negro, Harry Williams, of the National Negro Congress and the NAACP, is in the hospital suffering severe skull fractures.

Attack Premeditated

That the attack was premeditated is confirmed by evidence in the hands of the State Office of the Communist Party. Before the meeting was held, information of an impending attack upon the hall was relayed by the local CP to the Detroit police.

"The Communist party is in no sense of the word... a bona fide part of the labor movement of whatever tendency... It is a force outside of and hostile to the labor movement, its organizations, aims and aspirations. It is on the same plane with the German-American Bund of Fritz Kuhn, which is notoriously an agency of the German Nazi regime and the Gestapo." (Workers Age, Nov. 4.)

Quite illogically, in another article on the same page, the Workers Age goes on to register a protest against the indictment of Browder, correctly pointing out that it is directly linked with Roosevelt's foreign policy, and that in the process of persecuting the Stalinists, vital democratic rights and liberties are bound to be sacrificed. Quite illogically, we say, because the Workers Age does not dream of protesting the prosecution of Fritz Kuhn although it puts him on the same plane with Browder.

We don't give a damn what the government does to Kuhn, except to point out its significance as an index to Roosevelt's commitment to the Chamberlain-Daladier war camp. For the quarrel between Roosevelt and Kuhn is one between two imperialist bandits. It does not touch the labor movement, because Kuhn is an avowed enemy of the labor movement and any Nazis found in the labor movement should be thrown out forthwith.

Against Patriotic "Logic"

But to lump Kuhn and Browder into the same category is a dangerous error. It can only be done by one kind of logic: the logic of "democratic" patriotism, whereby the enemies of the "democratic" war camp are all on the same plane. That is precisely the logic by which the war-mongering New Leader, organ of the Social Democratic Federation, supports the persecution of Browder.

The Socialist party and the Lovestoneites, in their identification of Kuhn and Browder, have done what they are doing in so many important issues today: they are yielding to the pressure of the democratic imperialist war camp. Militant labor can follow the Socialist party and the Lovestoneites in this false course only at the peril of surrendering entirely to the war-mongers and the war dictatorship.

Earl Browder is part of the labor movement in exactly the same sense as Louis Waldman, leader of the war-mongering social democrats. The Communist party and the Social Democratic Federation are on an equal plane. One is the agent of the Hitler-Stalin war camp, the other is the agent of the democratic war camp. We would like to see labor free itself from the influence of both these agents of the war-makers. Nevertheless, so long as they are part of the labor movement, so long as their members play a role in the trade unions and to their own organizations, our quarrel with them is a quarrel within the labor movement. In settling that quarrel we want no "help" from anybody outside the labor movement. Government repressions against the Communist party and the Social Democratic Federation are repressions by the capitalist class against a section of the labor movement, and we defend all sections of the labor movement against the capitalist class.

Our position is the only class position on this question. The factional position of the Social Democratic Federation, the Socialist party and the Lovestoneites, plays into the hands of the class enemy.

CURRAN BACKS FINK SCHOOLS

(Continued from Page 1)

maintained absolutely silent, thus far, on the "training bases." The leadership fears to put its position in print.

No referendum, no consent of the rank and file of the NMU, was ever received for this fink plan. A referendum vote of the rank and file against the "training bases" and for WPA jobs for the unemployed seamen would sweep the coast like a prairie fire, and put the war-making "fink" plans of the Roosevelt-Maritime Commission - Curran combination behind the eight-ball.

Vigilant action and organization of the war conspiracy of the Roosevelt of militant struggle against the Maritime Commission can save the NMU from a smashing anti-union blow.

ST. LOUIS MEETING Can American Labor Win the War?

Speaker: B. J. WIDICK TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 21 8 P.M. OLIVE HALL 3830A Olive Street

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How Gandhi 'Fought' the Last War

By SHERMAN STANLEY

It is instructive to contrast the records and activities of Mohandas K. Gandhi, leader of the 5,000,000 strong Indian Nationalist Congress, in the last war and the present war.

Gandhi, just returned from South Africa where he had first developed his theories and methods of non-violent, passive resistance, rapidly asserted himself as the leading figure of India's national cause.

The Congress, which previously had been a small pro-British organization of wealthy Indian "liberals" and civil service bureaucrats, began to grow rapidly under his leadership. It became a mass organization of the Indian middle class.

A SUMMARY OF HIS 1914-1918 RECORD

When the war began, Gandhi, in consultation with leading British authorities in India, gave his unqualified and unhesitating support to the war. He proclaimed that it was a war for right and justice.

And what of India? Why should she support the war? Gandhi accepted completely certain vague promises (which were never kept) made by the British Viceroy. Nothing concrete was given. Gandhi became an open recruiting agent for the British. He toured the country raising money, troops, etc. He urged Hindu and Moslem alike to join the British armies.

What was the result? India sent more men into action than all of the British dominions combined (close to 2,000,000). They fought in France, China, the Galipoli peninsula, Arabia, etc. Hundreds of thousands died, particularly in the Dardanelles. A stream of wealth poured from India into the British war chest. The British plundered the country to satisfy the needs of the war. India mobilized its huge man-power and resources for the British... and obtained absolutely nothing.

GANDHI'S RECORD TODAY AND WHAT IT MEANS

When the Second imperialist World War opened up, Gandhi expressed his immediate willingness to perform his 1914 role all over again. He alone of the Congress Executive Committee wanted to give unconditional support to the British. He didn't even ask for any promises as he had in 1914! He was prepared to betray the nationalist cause even more shamefully!

But not the millions of workers and peasants. If Gandhi had proceeded in his first intentions when the war began, he would have been knocked aside and uprooted like a sapling in a thunderstorm. He would have lost his entire following and influence. For India refused to support dying British imperialism under any conditions. That is the will of the people.

This is the explanation for the militant stand taken today by Gandhi. He reflects the ferment, the action, the determination of India's masses. His latest demand for immediate independence (without going through stages) expresses the desire of every Indian worker and peasant. The Congress slogan of a freely elected Constituent Assembly for India is the burning revolutionary slogan of the hour, rallying tens of millions to its banner. Gandhi, desiring to stay at the head of the masses so as to prevent the movement from developing too rapidly and becoming revolutionary, is forced to swing into line.

Every revolutionary worker will give his full support to the freedom demand and endorse the proposed Constituent Assembly. But he will have not the slightest trust or confidence in Mahatma Gandhi or the conservative leaders who surround him. Their desire is not for a genuine revolutionary struggle, but to remain at the head of the masses so as to hold them within the bounds of "legality" and pacifism.

What is the meaning of the complete change in Gandhi's attitude since the war began? Without the slightest hesitation we can state that India today is a seething cauldron, bursting with the revolutionary energy of the masses. It is the workers and peasants of India who have already given the first call to revolt against the imperialist war. They are acting and forcing the Gandhists to act with them. The revolutionary upsurge of India has just begun!

It is carrying Gandhi along in spite of himself. Once it begins to feel its full strength and to reach out for freedom and revolutionary power, it will lightly toss aside Gandhi or anyone else who stands in its way.

ANNOUNCEMENT

DOUBLE ROOM WANTED for two people. Must be furnished. Address all letters to S. Stanley, care of Socialist Appeal, 116 University Place, NYC.

LOCAL PHILADELPHIA is pleased to announce the opening of a new headquarters, at 1836 West Poplar Street. There will be a Housewarming Party there Saturday night, November 18th, to which all comrades and sympathizers are cordially invited.

BRONX ELECTION VICTORY SOCIAL. The Lowdown on how we dunnit!! Guaranteed: One hour of entertainment including Singing, Dancing, Imitations and an expert Marxist magician!! Absolutely no bunnies or general fund. Saturday, Nov. 25, at the newly renovated headquarters of the Liebknecht Unit of the Y.P.S.L., 1334 Wilkins Avenue, Freeman St. Station on the East Bronx line. Refreshment Specialty: Old-fashioned Apple Cider. Don't miss it! A good time is always assured at a Bronx social!

RELAX AND BE MERRY at the game tournament and dance this Saturday, Nov. 18th, at the Downtown Labor Center, 51 East 7th Street, N. Y. C. at 8:30 p.m.

THEATER PARTY tendered by the Friends of the Russian Opposition Bulletin. "Chaver Nachman," by I. J. Singer, a Jewish play based on the Russian Revolution, with Joseph Ben-Ami, Celia Adler, and Ludwig Satz. At the National Theater, 2nd Ave. at Houston St., N.Y.C., on Tuesday evening, Dec. 12. Tickets are available at the National Office, 116 University Pl. Get yours early for choice seats.

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Editor: MAX GHACHTMAN
Associate Editors: FELIX MORROW, EMANUEL GARRETT, MARTIN ABERN, SHERMAN STANLEY

FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY FOR:

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

Roosevelt's Russian Policy

With the careful deliberation that marks all its moves in the field of foreign policy, the Roosevelt administration has set about preparing the ground for American intervention in an eventual war of the imperialist powers against the Soviet Union.

Besides the open espousal of the Anglo-French cause in the present war, this is the cardinal premise right now of the Roosevelt foreign policy.

It is demonstrated in scores of ways, big and small. Hitler has theoretically been the main object of hostility but never after any of Hitler's many open attacks on the U.S. government did Roosevelt have his secretary make a public reply, as he had him do after Molotov's recent speech. Roosevelt stepped into the Finnish business in a manner precisely calculated to fan American hostility to Russia—and let it be perfectly plain: this hostility is not aimed at the perfidious Stalin, his crimes against the workers of Russia and of the world, but against the root and branch of the workers' state itself.

On the broader diplomatic field the chief field of American intervention is with respect to Japan. American diplomacy is engaged in trying to woo Japan into a bloc of powers for war against Russia. The Anglo-French reduction of garrisons in China is part of this game.

Just as Chamberlain tried at Munich to bring Germany and Russia into conflict rather than let events slide toward an Anglo-German clash, Roosevelt is now trying to embroil Japan and Russia and thereby spare Wall Street the expense of dealing itself with Japan first and Russia afterward. Where Chamberlain failed, Roosevelt thinks he can succeed.

The New York Times, which speaks with the voice of Wall Street imperialism, last Sunday drew a pregnant parallel between the present U.S. attitude toward Russia and the relations between the young American Republic and the revolutionary government in France nearly 150 years ago.

"... Relations with France, not long after our Revolutionary War, were embittered to the extreme," said the Times editorial, "when the transitory sansculotte government at Paris, overriding all considerations of international propriety, undertook first to interfere in our internal politics, next to blackmail our envoys for the safety of our ships upon the seas. The return of friendliness with France, now unbroken for a century, came when orderly diplomatic relations had been restored by the ending of the regime of fanaticism."

With the vicious anti-Red campaign already in full swing and the City of Flint hullabaloo echoing in our ears, we have no difficulty in understanding just what the Times means. It means that this country aims at "ending the regime of fanaticism" in Russia in order to restore "orderly diplomatic relations." It issues a call for the overthrow of the Russian regime and will work toward that end, just as the British capitalists worked for years to crush revolutionary France 150 years ago.

We'll fight that attempt, not because we are interested in defending the foul regime of Stalin-

ism, but because we are vitally concerned in the defense of the workers' state that Stalin rules today as a usurper. And we'll defend that best, we'll ensure the end of all the Stalins, Hitlers, Roosevelts, and Chamberlains, by first establishing our own workers' power right here.

The War Boom

"Well anyway, the war's going to provide jobs"—how many hungry lads have thought that! But it isn't so.

The war boom is on. Industrial production has gone beyond the peak levels of 1929. But ten million unemployed, even by the government's conservative estimate, still walk the streets in vain search of non-existent jobs.

Madame Perkins made a speech in Washington, Nov. 13, boasting that "this Fall industrial production has gone to the peak levels of 1929." But she immediately had to add: "That does not mean that employment will be correspondingly quite as high, since machine processes are increasingly efficient and the amount of goods produced by each worker averages more than it did ten years ago."

It's a mad world, my masters, as even Shakespeare's fool knew. More is being produced now than was being produced ten years ago; every worker turns out more goods than each individual worker used to turn out. And the result? Disaster for the working class.

Where does the money go that used to be paid to some ten million additional workers to turn out the same amount of goods ten years ago? That money now goes into the pockets of the bosses. Instead of more money to the workers because they produce more, and less hours of work so that everybody can enjoy the improved productivity, ten million workers and their dependents take the rap.

The war's going to provide no jobs for the unemployed. What it will provide them with is a uniform and early prospects of a coffin.

The war is a good thing for the fat cats and for nobody else. That's why we're against the war and why every worker who wants to live should be against the war.

The real fight for jobs is a fight against the war and the war-makers. All war funds to the unemployed! Expropriate the Sixty Families—the war makers! A job and a decent living for every worker!

The New York Vote

In its first appearance on the ballot in New York City, the Socialist Workers Party polled 2,259 recorded votes in the borough of the Bronx for its Council candidate, Max Shachtman. The results of the Manhattan write-in for Lyman Paine will not be known until the final official tabulations are made public.

The votes recorded for Shachtman were the first-choice votes given him under the proportional representation system. As soon as he was eliminated the second and third and fourth choice votes given to the S.W.P. were naturally lost in the division of these returns among the other candidates. Shachtman's actual vote undoubtedly ran many thousands above the recorded figure.

But this is not the important thing. The fact that we won a place on the ballot, securing thousands more than the required signatures to get it, represents a long stride forward for our party. More important still is the fact that in this campaign with leaflets, street-corner meetings, and indoor meetings, we brought to many more thousands of Bronx workers the firm, uncompromising anti-war program of our party.

The boss parties and the American Labor Party came before the workers as the avowed supporters of the Washington-London-Paris axis in the present war. The Communist Party stood as the representative of the Berlin-Moscow axis. We emerged as the fighting representatives of the third camp that uncompromisingly fights all the war-makers and strikes for a workers' peace through workers' power.

That our vote was small was a reflection only of the fact that our party is still small and its voice barely heard among the thunder of its opponents. But its ideas are great and powerful and will one day encompass the world. The New York campaign was one step in bringing that day nearer.

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By Dwight Macdonald
SPARKS IN THE NEWS

The Food Stamp Plan again

When I wrote in the New Internationalist several months ago about the Government's ingenious orange and blue stamp plan for feeding the unemployed on Federal 'surplus commodities', I looked long and earnestly into the mouth of that particular gift horse.

There was at that time a plan to extend the sale of food stamps to families not on relief whose income was less than \$19.50 a week. As I pointed out then, this move, although it meant an immediate gain in living standards for these non-relief poor families, had some dangerous long-range implications.

One of these was that it tended to extend the stamp plan as a substitute for relief, since in many communities local officials, regardless of the intentions of Washington, would so use the plan. Another, which applies to the whole food stamp plan despite the raptures with which the liberal press has greeted it, is that the substitution of food stamps for cash relief is a step backward towards the old food basket relief of Hooverian days. Finally, this extension of Government control over the consumption habits of those on relief—and, in this latest development of the non-relief poorer families—was one more step in the process of tying down the masses with bureaucratic regulations.

Too Many Guinea Pigs!

The WPA's plan was to try out the new extension of the food stamp idea first in Pottawatomie County, Oklahoma. Recently, "after considerable delay", this initial test experiment got under weigh. A report in the N. Y. Times explains the reasons for this delay. At first, all non-relief families with an income of under \$19.50 a week were declared eligible for food stamps. "A survey of the county, however, showed that such a maximum would place on the eligibility list almost half the families in the county."

Thus the social breakdown of American capitalism has already gone so far—half the American Standard of Living, at \$19.50 per family per week!—that it is now found impossible to increase the income of the masses even in the niggardly and bureaucratic way proposed by the food stamp plans. The WPA officials temporarily avoided this difficulty by arbitrarily restricting the test experiment to four hundred families. But the other thousands of families with incomes of \$19.50 a week down still exist in Pottawatomie County. And they must still be reckoned with once the new plan gets out of the test tube stage.

Footnote on Girdler

If the Supreme Court upholds the recent decision of the Third Circuit Court of Appeals, Tom Girdler's Republic Steel Company will have to rehire 5,000 employees fired during the 1937 steel strike. It will also have to pay each of them back wages for the entire period since the strike, an act of enforced philanthropy which will probably cost Republic in the vicinity of \$7,500,000.

Republic, which was put together just before the 1929 crash by the high-flying Cyrus Eaton, has never been able to accumulate the fat cash reserves of the other big steel companies. Financially, Republic has always been the weak link in the chain of the steel industry. If it actually has to pay out any such sum as \$7,500,000, Republic may be crippled or even put out of business.

This would be tough on Tom Girdler. But I must admit that this particular human tragedy leaves me unmoved. If ever there is a fascist drive to power in this country, Girdler will be one of the ringleaders. Even in the steel industry, Girdler stands out for his personal ruthlessness and barbarism. There is something warped and subhuman about his personality. He is a great hunter and horseman, and he makes it clear that he infinitely prefers horses to men. The only time I ever saw him, years ago, long before the Little Steel Strike and the Massillon and Memorial Day massacres, I received an unforgettable impression of inhumanity and even positive malvolence.

Like Shooting Rabbits . . .

Republic had just taken over the Corrigan-McKinney steel plant in Cleveland, and was "rationalizing" it—that is, firing about half the employees. In describing this operation, Girdler dwelt with evident pleasure on the hundreds of Corrigan-McKinney workers he had been able to eliminate. He told how he and four or five other top executives made a tour of the entire plant the day Republic took over, constituting themselves a sort of firing squad to "execute" on the spot the superfluous workers. "We'd see five or six men working around a blast furnace," he reminisced pleasantly. "We'd go up to them and point out three or four—'You . . . you . . . you . . . get your pay check. You're through!'" This seemed to amuse him. With a grin he summed up what the episode had meant to him: "It was some slaughter! Like shooting rabbits sitting!"

In the World of Labor
By Paul G. Stevens

French Labor Under the Heel of the War Dictatorship

Only the scantiest scraps of information regarding the labor movement have managed to come out of France. Labor news from that war-torn country is almost as rare as from Germany.

The labor press has been reduced to a shadow of its former self. All the Stalinist dailies have completely disappeared. Nor has there been any noticeable Stalinist effort to issue an illegal press. Only "La Vie Ouvriere," the Stalinist trade union weekly still appears with a semblance of regularity. The last issue of that paper whose contents have come to our attention shows that the Stalinists had not yet made their turn from social patriotism into the new, camouflaged, "anti-war" position by the end of September. Thus, G. Monmousseau, the editor, writes in a leading article:

"The struggle for liberty against Hitlerite barbarism does not signify for those who fight in the ranks of the countries subjected to this aggression merely defense at any price of the nation itself against foreign oppression; it also means, at the same time, defense of public liberties, of democracy and of all that which comprises the possibilities of social progress and human liberation."

In the Middle of the Crossing

This was written weeks after the C.P. had already been dissolved by the Daladier government, and only testifies in part to the great confusion in the ranks of the Stalinist functionaries, who for months now have been juggling phrases which try to reconcile "democratic" patriotism with approval of the Stalin-Hitler Pact and the line flowing from it.

The great trade union daily, "Le Peuple," has been transformed into a weekly. The social democratic press has likewise suspended most of its daily publications, with only "Le Populaire" still appearing regularly.

Naturally, as was to be expected, the entire social democratic leadership, both the "collective security" faction under Leon Blum and the "pacifist" faction under Paul Faure, is completely backing the Daladier government in its conduct of the war.

Syndicalism — Its Fruits

But even the pacifist syndicalists under Belin and Dumoulin have given up every pretense of an anti-war struggle. Thus, their weekly, *Syndicats*, declares that "we will take care not to give any council (sic) in the conduct of military operations" and further, that "in order to make all the arrangements corresponding to the necessities of such production as is indispensable to armament and to the human possibilities (sic), it is necessary that our syndicalism be freed from outside control."

In other words, their slogan "for the independence of syndicalism" turned out in practice to be a cover under which control of the trade unions was transferred from the Stalinists . . . to Daladier.

This inauspicious realization of "independence" has borne some pretty rotten fruit for the mass of the workers in the unions. Thus, their press is muzzled, hundreds of their militants arrested for "seditious" language, correspondence spied, communications suppressed, agreements violated, so-

cial legislation abolished and, above all—their 40-hour week transformed into a 72-hour week, their paid vacations abrogated, their wages reduced anywhere from 30 to 40 per cent, not to speak of the wholesale slaughter of the trade unionists sent to the front.

Belin explains all these fruits of "independent trade unionism" away as follows:

"In a period of war it is hard to see what remains of democracy and liberty. . . . In times of war, liberty and democracy, like the monuments in the public squares, are sort of hidden from sight by sand-bag embankments. Later on, the sandbags will be removed. . . ."

Thousands of workers have replied to this state of affairs with a mass exodus from the unions.

The First Rumbles of Revolt

But the revolutionary voices are not silenced altogether in the trade unions. Thus, the Federation of Technicians, with which militants of the Fourth International have long been identified, has publicly proclaimed its revolutionary internationalist position. Its stand has been endorsed by several local unions and trade union councils. At present they are engaged in a struggle to prevent their expulsion from the CGT.

Here and there in a factory, the "International" is sung spontaneously by the workers. In the Paris munition works a mass movement against reduction of wages has begun to make itself felt. In one factory a social patriot calling for support to Daladier was recently sent to the hospital by a group of enraged workers. Even at the front, the soldiers are beginning to grumble against the "war of the bosses." Our comrades report that on a recent visit to the front, Daladier was booted in the trenches.

These are but the first rumbles of a native "bolshhevism," says one of our correspondents, which the French bourgeoisie fears far more than the so-called imported variety which it has been able quite easily to suppress.

For International Solidarity—S.O.S. From China

Recently a comrade representing the Chinese section of the Fourth International passed through here. The comrade gave an account of the work of that section which is testimony of an unquenchable heroism in the face of untold dangers. More than 500 comrades, concentrated in the main industrial centers and in the guerrilla armies fighting Japanese imperialism, are waging a daily battle for the ideas of revolutionary internationalism. Two monthly illegal papers and a legal weekly make their way regularly to the factories in Shanghai and the other industrial cities.

We have just received urgent word from our comrades in China, however, that without immediate financial aid their organization faces almost certain extinction. In the past comrades here have responded promptly and generously to the appeals of our Chinese organization. Will we now, at this critical moment, fail to respond again?

We must not let down our valiant Chinese section in this hour of need! Rush donations, no matter how small, to the *Socialist Appeal*, 116 University Place, New York City! Hold social affairs! Take up collections among your friends!

Our Chinese organization needs your help at once. Do your bit!

Their Government
By James Burnham

The dead end which imperialism has reached is shown with striking clarity by the inability of any of the warring powers to state its "war aims." All the rhetoric of all the propagandists is unable to hide the fact that they cannot tell the people of the world, in simple and concrete terms, what they are fighting for.

Germany, in line with its "peace offensive," declared that there was nothing to fight about. What this meant, of course, was that Germany wanted to preserve its conquests while it got ready for new ones. The older Nazi talk about "re-uniting the German race" no longer makes sense, with Czechs and Poles and Slovaks now under Nazi rule.

Chamberlain has been trying to get by with the expressed goal of "wiping out Hitlerism." This was good for a speech or two, but it wears thin with repetition. Everyone is compelled to ask: what will take the place of Hitlerism? What will guarantee against worse than Hitlerism? Who will do the wiping out, and how?

The moral weakness in this inability to state war aims is already being widely felt in the belligerent countries. A clamor is arising—especially, it seems, in England—for something more definite in the way of a perspective and goal. A modest enough request, surely: if we are to die, we should at least be told what we are dying for.

Here and there, publicists, journalists and even statesmen are trying to put some sort of goal into words.

The Federal States of Europe

It is of very great interest to observe that, in almost every case, when imaginations get going they reach out toward the notion of a "federated Europe." Even before the war began, Clarence Streit's essay along these lines (*Union Now*) gained considerable popularity, and a society has been formed to propagate his plan. In recent weeks, several British writers have presented their varieties of similar schemes.

In his Armistice Day address at Swarthmore College, no less a figure than the Marquess of Lothian, new British Ambassador to Washington, came out for the same slogan. True enough, Lord Lothian is hardly yet a fiery crusader. Nobody, he remarked, had offered "any practical scheme of Federation" and a "large scale European federation" was not yet in sight; but, according to the *Times*, the Ambassador foresaw the eventual application to Europe of the federal principle tried first on the American Continent a century and a half ago.

True enough, also, Lord Lothian found that "one necessary preliminary is the defeat of totalitarian imperialism." The British are always careful not to clutter up their wars with ideals; ideals are always a matter for an indefinite future.

But we cannot dismiss this spreading talk about a federated Europe as mere casual daydreaming. There is more to it than that, and we shall find it cropping up more and more prominently. We must be sure to understand what is at issue.

The Paralysis of Nationalism

It is a fact that the political organization of Europe into its madhouse of "sovereign" nations makes impossible a free, secure and expanding life for the peoples of Europe. And, when today we listen to the Lord Lothians, let us remember that it was the victors of Versailles who fastened on Europe these political lines, without regard to the economic, social or cultural needs of the peoples.

National states, the political form under which a young and vigorous capitalism pushed through the structure of feudalism, have become a most terrible obstacle to mankind. What an overpowering burden it is to Europe: these thousands of customs houses; the blood-sucking tariffs; the dozens of swarming bureaucracies; the border lines of billions of dollars worth of forts, with all the national armies and guns and planes to accompany them; the passports and identity cards and work cards. No rational organization of economic and human resources as a whole is even conceivable under such circumstances. And immeasurable human energies are squandered daily, even in peace-time, to sustain this mad national structure.

And, though these things are most conspicuously true of Europe, they hold for the entire world. Under the conditions of modern science, technique and production, the national state everywhere paralyzes the progress of mankind.

But Whose Federation?

This is why we, as socialists, agree a thousand times with the perspective of a federated Europe—we go much further, and call for a federated world. But the question does not end with the bare concept of a federation. We must ask: who will do the federating?

It is not at all improbable that, whoever wins the war, some sort of federal plan for Europe will be set up. Too many persons have come to realize the impossibility of the nationalist structure; that structure has been proved too dangerously unstable.

But: whose federation?

Hitler, in his own way, has proved himself something of a federalist. If he has the chance, he will undoubtedly show great talents along federal lines. He has already constructed a federation out of Germany, the Saar, Austria, Czechoslovakia, western Poland. It was, among other things, precisely the insane Versailles-born national structure that permitted him to do so.

And Hitler's federation of Europe would mean, exactly, the reduction of the national states of Europe to Nazi provinces.

Lord Lothian is now looking forward to a federation. It would differ from Hitler's only in having its capital at London (or possibly Paris) instead of Berlin, and in the reduction of the national states to provinces of Anglo-British instead of German imperialism.

For Lord Lothian and for Hitler, a federated Europe means merely a new name for an advanced type of imperialist tyranny.

If federation is to mean freedom and peace and progress for the peoples of Europe, there is only one basis on which it can be constructed: on the basis of socialism. And there is only one force that can set up such a federation: the workers and peasants of Europe struggling against their imperialist governments and against their war. In that struggle German workers fight not against but alongside of the workers of France and England.

A federated Europe? Yes: this is what we call for as the solution to the war. And we sum up that goal in our great slogan: **For a Socialist United States of Europe!**