

Labor's Big Chance Is Now! --Don't Muff the Ball!

AN EDITORIAL

"Ruthless" labor leaders were going to take advantage of the war boom "to advance their campaign for the closed shop, and all that implies, in such basic industries as steel, automobile and packing houses," complained a boss spokesman the other day.

Well, we certainly hope so! The industrial pickup provides organized labor with a new opportunity to regain lost ground and make the gains which were possible in 1935-1937 and which were unfortunately not realized.

Organized labor has been on the defensive since the loss of "Little Steel" in the Fall of 1937. One of the main causes for this situation has been the decline in production; it is tenfold more difficult for the trade unions to advance when factories are slowing up and many are shutting down. But that organized labor could make gains even in the midst of industrial production has been demonstrated by the one bright spot in the unions—the phenomenal transformation of the Teamsters' Union from an old-line craft setup into a semi-industrial organization of over 400,000 men.

The new type of leaders in the Teamsters' Union who made this growth possible didn't make the mistakes which stopped the CIO in its tracks in steel, packing and other basic industries. They didn't lean on the National Labor Board and the government, but put everything into organizing the fighting strength of the workers on the job.

As was shown by the warning uttered by the CIO convention against much use of the Labor Boards, the CIO leadership now appears to have a more sober estimate of the role of the Roosevelt Administration toward the workers. If it sticks to this, we shall have no repetition of "Little Steel," where the strikers cheered the incoming National Guard . . . and had the strike broken.

The industrial pickup means that the bosses have plenty of money to disgorge, if the unions go after them. Earnings of leading industrial corporations for the full year 1939 are expected to be 70 per cent above 1938 levels and close to 1936 and 1937 levels, according to the conservative estimate of the AFL "Monthly Survey of Business":

"Especially in the following industries, earnings may be expected to improve: Aircraft, chemicals, machinery, metal fabricating, non-ferrous metals, petroleum, railroad equipment, shipbuilding, steel, sugar, automobiles, automobile parts, paper, railroads, retail trade and textiles."

Here, then, are the fields upon which the labor movement can immediately concentrate!

Wage increases are necessary even to provide the workers with the same purchasing power that they had a few months ago. Labor Department figures show that retail prices of basic foods were 11 per cent higher on October 17 than on August 15, and prices have continued to rise since.

Labor has the opportunity, it has the wisdom based on actual experience with the anti-labor strategy of the Roosevelt Administration—if only the labor leaders will use that wisdom—and it has a case for higher wages and better conditions which the bosses will find it hard to controvert.

The next few months will be an acid test for every man in a position of trust and leadership in the unions. The rank and file should see to it that any man who fails to meet the test is put aside, to make room for militant progressives with backbone enough to lead their men successfully through the coming battles.

The industrial pickup has created this opportunity without, however, providing many additional jobs. Some ten million unemployed remain to be taken care of. This vast reservoir remains as a reserve army—an army of labor or an army that can be turned against labor. The employed workers must link their fortunes with those of the unemployed.

The general slogans under which the labor movement should fight the coming battles are clearly indicated. They are:

- A rising scale of wages as prices rise!
- A 30-hour week with no reduction in pay! A \$30 minimum wage on all jobs!
- A job and a decent living for every worker!
- A Twenty-Billion Dollar Federal public works and housing program!
- All war funds to the unemployed!

The opportunity is there. Labor must not let it slip by!

Behind the Lines

By GEORGE STERN

Twelve years ago the first Kuomintang-Communist united front was shattered when Chiang Kai-shek made a deal with the imperialists and sealed it in the blood of thousands of workers and peasants.

Today it begins to look as though the second "united front" is going to end as a result of a deal between Stalin and the Japanese.

Although the Moscow-Tokyo negotiations are still only in a preliminary stage, they have already resulted in a widening of the Kuomintang and the Chinese Stalinists. Matters have on several occasions apparently already reached the stage of actual armed conflict between them.

Mao Tse-tung, the Chinese Stalinist chieftain, is quoted now as accusing Chiang Kai-shek of not establishing a democratic government. But what a fraud

this is! When it suited the needs of their master in the Kremlin, the Chinese Stalinists came to terms with Chiang Kai-shek nearly three years ago. Although they also spoke then about "democratic government" it remained a hypocritical phrase, for the Kuomintang dictator naturally never took any steps to carry out that part of the bargain. Instead the Stalinists participated like docile lackeys in the farcical "People's Council" which Chiang set up to simulate the appearance of popular support.

Throughout the course of the war under Chiang's leadership the workers and peasants have been bled while the big capitalists and bankers rode high, wide, and handsome in the treaty ports held by the Japanese. Against all the venality, half-heartedness, and outright treachery that has marked the Kuomintang fight

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ROOSEVELT NEUTRAL—IN A PIG'S EYE!

50,000 Auto Workers Blast Chrysler Union-Busting Plans

Union Strength Forces NLRB Revision of Early Ruling on Bargaining

DETROIT, Nov. 16 — More than 50,000 automobile workers jammed into Cadillac Square today in a solid front of defiance to the Mohawk Valley plans of the Chrysler corporation, the "back-to-work" movement of Homer Martin and the fascist gangs of Father Coughlin and Gerald L. K. Smith.

Some 4,500 Murray Body workers quit work on the day shift two hours before closing time and the night shift men went in two hours late to take their place in the demonstration. Hudson and Packard workers were provided with a special fleet of buses and automobiles to transport them to the square.

For the second time in two and a half year period the workers of Detroit dedicated their great assemblages on Cadillac Sq. to the education of the coup-clippers of the Chrysler Corp. The demonstration got results even before the men came into the streets.

NLRB Backs Down

On the same morning the National Labor Relations Board announced that the UAW-CIO had been certified as the exclusive bargaining agency for the Chrysler Corporation, thus changing its previous decision of certifying the union on a plant basis.

The demonstration took place in a setting of the complete fizzle of Homer Martin's scab-herding back-to-work movement. Only a few hundred men, even according to the heavily biased local press, turned up to return to work at the Chrysler, Plymouth and De Soto plants. And most of these were foremen and maintenance workers. This despite the fact that no pickets guarded these plant gates.

Where Martin gets nowhere in breaking the solidarity of the Chrysler, Coughlin takes up the cudgels for the corporation. With the aid of daily free publicity in the boss press, he is calling a meeting in his Royal Oak Church which was built by non-union labor. It is to be hoped that if any sizable group of Chrysler workers turn up for his meeting they will turn it into a jamboree the yellow priest will never forget.

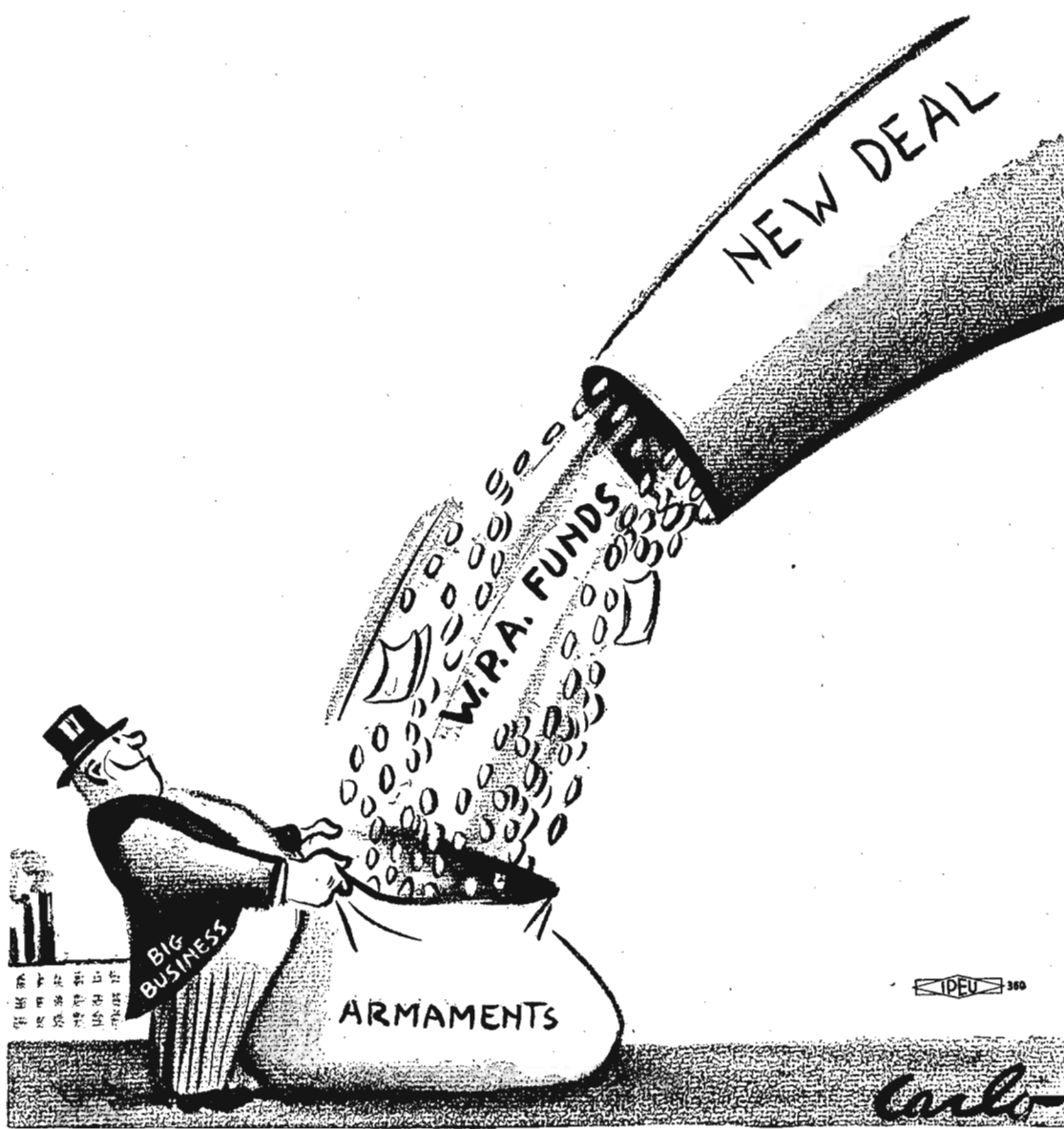
Pressure on Welfare Bosses
Steady pressure of the auto union on Welfare officials has already forced a retreat from their original hard-boiled attitude in refusing to certify Chrysler workers for relief. But their first concessions are still made with enough loopholes to smash the workers' ranks. Joe Pagano, Asst. National Welfare Director of the UAW-CIO characterized the "work relief" the administration is offering as "forced labor." The general sentiment of Chrysler workers is for a continuance and a strengthening of this pressure to force the welfare officials to feed the workers locked out by the Chrysler corporation.

The Cadillac Sp. demonstration roared its approval for a resolution calling for an investigation by the City Council of the procedure adopted by the Welfare administration towards Chrysler workers. It also adopted a resolution protesting the 30-day sentence given Tracy Doll, union organizer, for violating the anti-picketing injunction in the Frederick Stearns strike.

N. Y. MEMBERSHIP MEETING SUNDAY

An important membership meeting of Local INew York of the Socialist Workers Party will be held this Sunday, November 19th, Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th Street, at 2 p.m. sharp.

The War Boom



THE SECOND OFFENSIVE

Push for the \$10,000 Organization-Press Fund

"The Second Offensive is about to begin."

This is a war communique. But it isn't from the Western front.

It's war news from the revolutionary front for socialism in the United States. It's the General Staff of the Socialist Workers Party making ready for a big frontal attack.

The battalions are organized. They have their orders. All they need now is the fighting equipment.

...Early last summer the first offensive in our war was organized in the form of a \$10,000 press-organization fund drive.

More than one-third of this sum was raised by the branches of the party from New York to Frisco. It was all done without any big noise, without any ballyhoo. The branches just came through quietly—but effectively.

With the new ammunition provided by the funds raised, the party machine worked on more cylinders than ever before—especially in the usually dead summer months.

Local branches developed a systematic and concentrated political activity.

The twice-a-week Appeal was lifted out of its financial doldrums. During the first weeks of the war crisis frequency of issue was jumped to three times a week.

A national Negro department was organized and a full-time director maintained.

More field organizers and more assistance for field organizers provided than ever before.

Several new pamphlets were put on the Socialist market.

Now we are ready to go forward again! We call it the Second Offensive! It's an offensive against the war and for the revolutionary socialist program.

By Feb. 1 we want to be over the top with the \$10,000 fund quota met 100 percent. So that we can have more organizers in the field, more literature on the war crisis, on fascism, on the transitional program for workers' action against the 60 ruling families; a solid floor built under our twice-weekly Appeal and monthly New International so that the striking power of our press shall not be affected by some silly financial shortage.

We sent a letter to the branches to find out how they felt about making good on the rest of their obligations. They can be summed up best in the succinct comment of Oscar Coover for the Minneapolis Branch:

"You may tell the world that Minneapolis will be on the line before the date set."

You have your quotas. The branches need only go to work. Make the Minneapolis motto your own!

"On the line by February 1st! Every last dime raised for the \$10,000 organization-press fund drive!"

FIGHT GOV'T WAR MACHINE IN CANADA

Armistice Day Leaflet Distributed Despite Rigid Censorship

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

TORONTO, Nov. 14—Despite the harsh war-time repressions imposed on labor organizations here, coupled with the constant vigilance of the police, the Socialist Workers League of Canada, Canadian section of the Fourth International, is carrying on the fight against war in the best traditions of the class struggle.

As the authorities prepared for the annual memorial service in connection with Armistice Day, they were confronted by the appearance of an openly circulated leaflet against the war.

The leaflet was distributed in what the comrades call "Blitzkrieg fashion." Before the authorities had a chance to even read the leaflet, it had already been widely circulated in the working class districts of Toronto.

Remember!

Entitled, "Remembrance Day, November 11th," the leaflet declares:

"Remember the last war! Now that Canada is once more engaged on the bloodstained fields of Europe.

"REMEMBER that the Great War was fought 'to make the world safe for democracy,' and yet today there is less democracy than at any time in the last fifty years.

"REMEMBER that the Great War was 'a war to end all wars' and not a single year has elapsed since, in which wars, great or small, have not been fought.

"REMEMBER that we went to the last war singing to the tune 'We'll hang the Kaiser on a sour apple tree,' and today the Kaiser still lives as one of the richest

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Neutrality Law Full of Loopholes For Intervention

State Department Interpretation of Law Makes Clear that Pacifist Talk Covered Plans for Speedy Participation in War

The loopholes in the Neutrality Law enacted Nov. 4 are wide enough, with the help of government "interpretation," to send through them to England and France enough armament for an endless war; and to extend sufficient credits to them to link America's fate to theirs and make America's participation in the war inevitable.

That is the meaning of the "detailed analysis" of the law which was issued Thursday night by the US State Department.

FBI ATTORNEYS CLOSE FRAMEUP CASE IN MPLS

Coaches Witnesses to Perjure Evidence Against Pickets

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

MINNEAPOLIS, Nov. 16—The Federal government yesterday afternoon concluded the presentation of its case against the 14 women and 11 men charged with "conspiracy" in the third WPA strike trial.

The government had taken eighteen days to pump an outstate jury full of hatred against the organized activity of the WPA workers during the nationwide WPA strike last summer.

As in the first two trials, which resulted in eight convictions and four acquittals, the government is attempting to prove that the WPA strike constituted a "conspiracy" to "intimidate" WPA workers. Under the Roosevelt-Woodruff Relief Law, intimidation of project workers constitutes a crime. Under the judge's ruling in the first two cases, the "conspiracy" need not have actually resulted in intimidation for the jury to convict the defendants.

G-Men Coached Witnesses
The government witnesses, well coached by the FBI agents who prepared the trial, reeled off the most astonishingly detailed stories of the events of four months ago. The stories are all too good, too pat, too well-rehearsed.

Many of the witnesses are WPA workers, evidently cowed by the G-men, giving every evidence of being under strain, intimidated and fearing the loss of their jobs if they don't perform according to schedule. Other government witnesses show all the characteristics of being paid stool-pigeons.

A "Missionary"

Minneapolis union leaders were particularly interested in the testimony of a Mrs. Elizabeth Thom, employed on the sewing project where the pickets were who are now on trial. In 1934 she was a WPA supervisor in another part of the state. After she came to Minneapolis she was for fourteen months a member of the Federal Workers Section of Local 64—the organization of WPA workers sponsored by the General Drivers Union—and attended its meetings up to and even after the strike.

Mrs. Thomas identified 17 of the 25 defendants as being at the strike scene. Every day of the strike she came down and watched the picket line, observing in minute detail everything that transpired. She would go among the pickets, urging them to return to work. In the language of the professional strike-breakers who testified before the LaFollette Committee, this sort

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Issued in a technical form unfamiliar enough to make difficult reading for the average reader, and unostentatiously published on inside pages by the daily press, the "analysis" cleared away the last lingering doubts of American financiers and industrialists. "Go the whole hog" was its definite implication.

Roosevelt's hypocritical speeches and the equally hypocritical debate in Congress led many down a strict policy of "cash and carry" under which the belligerent powers would have to pay cash for everything they bought here and transport the products in their own vessels. The exceptions provided by the law, however, nullify the fundamental conception of cash and carry. Here are the loopholes, as made plain by the State Department "analysis":

1. American vessels can carry cargoes to all parts of the British and French Empires outside the small war zone surrounding the British Isles. That means American vessels can take over from Britain and France the task of provisioning and supplying manufactures to the huge empires of the "democracies" in Africa, Asia, etc.

2. Britain and France do not have to pay one cent cash for their purchases as outlined in 1! The "cash" provision of the law is limited to the purchase of arms and other materials going to the small "combat zone" in Europe.

3. The next exception makes a joker out of the "cash" provision in the combat zone also, so far as concerns all materials except arms! For, says the State Department, the law "does not forbid the extension of credit to any person in a belligerent State who is not acting for or on behalf of a belligerent government. . . . Articles and materials other than arms may, therefore, be sold on credit to private firms or persons in belligerent states. . . ." Through this loophole a repetition of the Morgan loans of 1914-1918 is facilitated, the belligerents merely refraining from contracting the indebtedness in the names of the governments.

Through these three major loopholes American business can take the road to war. That's what the loopholes are there for—deliberately contrived by Roosevelt but covered up by his "neutrality" speeches and the fake debate staged in Congress.

HOW THEY FIGHT HITLERISM IN A "DEMOCRACY"

EAST ST. LOUIS, Ill.—The Library Board here has ordered the librarian to burn his three copies of John Steinbeck's "Grapes of Wrath," the famous novel describing the plight of California's agricultural workers.

The waiting list for the book is the longest in the library's recent history.

A New Anti-War Pamphlet

Labor and the Second World War

By J. R. Johnson

VIII

Committees calling themselves "Keep America Out of War" profess to be lovers of peace. One such was composed of Lovestoneite communists, socialdemocrats, and isolationists like Hamilton Fish, the reactionary Senator from New York. Once you understand that the fight against imperialist war is the fight against the whole capitalist system, it becomes patent that the anti-war pretensions of these committees is demagoguery on the part of Ham Fish and opportunism and publicity-wooing on the part of the Lovestoneites and socialists. Fish is a die-hard supporter of the capitalist system. Any communist worthy of the name maintains as his first aim the overthrowing of the system. Is it any wonder that this united front of reactionaries and treacherous so-called communists went to pieces even before the European war broke out? Whoever is not opposed to capitalism root and branch is not opposed to war.

Pacifists refuse to fight and instead go to prison. How does that help to stop any war? How does it help to mobilize the masses for the death struggle that stopping imperialist war demands?

Stalin's Agents in America

The Stalinists, with a great revolutionary past and backed by the financial resources of the Soviet Union, have for five years confused the workers with their talk of supporting the "democracies" against fascism. Now that Stalin is working so closely with Hitler, they wish to keep Roosevelt from joining Britain and France. They call the war an imperialist war. If the cooperation of Stalin and Hitler continues to increase, more of the leaders, corrupt as they are, will denounce the Soviet Union and seek cover under the wing of "democracy," driving the masses into the imperialist war. But those who stay with the Stalinist bureaucracy will merely be carrying out orders and will change their policy as soon as Stalin makes a change in his. The revolutionary workers must see the Stalinists for what they really are and must realize that they represent a corrupt and treacherous bureaucracy and not the world revolution.

Karl Liebknecht's Great Example

If the workers do not awake in time and stop Roosevelt, the revolutionary movement will see some dark days. But a sense of historical perspective will help to keep our forces

together. In 1914 no single voice in Germany was raised against the war. Karl Liebknecht wanted to denounce the war-mongers and to rally the opposition for resistance, if even it could not at that moment stop the war. But the labor leaders imposed party discipline upon Liebknecht and he was weak enough to submit to it. Some few months after he broke the discipline and spoke out. He was arrested. But even from prison he and Rosa Luxemburg continued to oppose the war by underground means.

And in November, 1918, the German workers brought the war to an end by the revolution. The masses came to Liebknecht's point of view in time. They will come to ours, and they will not take four years.

The German revolution gives us another great warning. Our revolution must not stop at the mere destruction of one capitalist government and its replacement by another. The workers must sweep away the whole system and establish the socialist state. For if not, then as Germany shows us, monopoly capitalism will take its predestined course. It will resort to fascism, crush the revolutionary workers, enslave the working class. It will then seek to destroy its rivals abroad by yet another imperialist war.

The war in Europe may come to a crisis so quickly that Roosevelt may not have had time to take America in. We cannot go into all the possibilities here. But as long as American imperialism remains, it will wage imperialist war.

A Glorious Future for the Workers

The American workers must aim at establishing the United Federation of American Socialist Republics. The workers of Europe must have as their aim the United Socialist States of Europe. While each people will retain its own language and national customs, together they will abolish national boundaries, quotas, customs duties, tariffs, and the burden of national armies, which now weigh like mountains of lead upon the common people in every country. The national rivalries and jealousies will disappear with the disappearance of the causes that give rise to them. Free plebiscites will give minorities an opportunity to decide with which larger group they want to live. The Jews have no future except with the victorious working class movement. Wherever the workers still have their organizations the Jews can live. As soon as the working class movement in any country is smashed the reactionaries make the Jews a

scape-goat for the evils of capitalism. Socialism alone can stop the persecution of Jews.

The revolutionary workers will encourage and assist the millions of colonial workers to free themselves from their imperialist jailers. This is one of the greatest crimes of imperialism, its strangulation of the creative capabilities of millions of colonials for the sake of a few hundred thousand bondholders in the leading imperialist countries. While hundreds of millions work for ten cents a day, modern industry cannot realize its vast potentialities and must continue to decay. And what but the socialist revolution against imperialism can release the colonials from their bondage? It is in such a reorganization of American and world economy that the American Negroes will find equality. They will never get it under capitalism.

The world is crying for a true internationalism, not because this is a noble ideal, but because world economy has reached a stage where it can go forward only by breaking the control of the finance-capitalists and by abolishing national states. A worldwide crisis, thirty million unemployed, fascism and imperialist war—that is what the capitalists have to offer. They must be broken, and only the workers' revolution can break them.

The Struggle for the Fourth International

"Only along this road can the proletariat liberate itself from its dependence upon the chauvinist bourgeoisie and, in one form or another, more or less rapidly, take decisive steps on the road to the real freedom of nations and on the road to socialism.

"Long live the international fraternity of the workers against the chauvinism and patriotism of the bourgeoisies of all countries!"

Today the Fourth International, with its cadres in every country, hold fast to these words of Lenin. The Fourth International seeks, by precept and example, to make Lenin's doctrines a militant reality for the workers and farmers of the world, crushed and demoralized by capitalism. Those American workers who recognize the enormous importance of revolutionary socialism for the world today, who see that we must be socialists or perish, will seek their fellow revolutionaries and assist them in the building of the Socialist Workers Party, the American section of the Fourth International.

THE END

WORKERS' FORUM

A PAPER WHERE WORKERS WILL FEEL AT HOME

Editor:

When the Twice-a-Week Appeal first came out, full of good features, well written, popular, attempting to address itself to workers and become a mass paper, we used to take 200 an issue, and dispose of them. Our Sunday mobilizations, when the comrades used to assemble to go door to door in the working class sections of town with the paper, were full of enthusiasm and good natured competition to see who would sell the most papers. Alas, all that is slowing up. To organize each mobilization requires more effort than the previous one. Who is to blame?

Comrades Not At Fault
Some would say the comrades, and without a doubt, this is true to a minor extent, as the work began to become a familiar routine. Still, this is not by far the most important factor. I think more responsibility falls upon the paper itself because the comrades find it more difficult to sell the paper now than when the Twice-a-Week first appeared. Our own comrades do not have the will to sell the paper when it is not well written and not directed to the workers.

Before the Twice-a-Week, our major outlet was the radical gatherings and radical contacts. With the appearance of the Twice-a-Week, we had been hoping for a change in the paper, which for a brief period was realized. In that period we attempted to address our paper not only to the old elements but get new readers among the workers. But that period seems to have come to an end.

An Alarming Symptom
I would like to take up another point, and that is the question of repeat sales. After selling a paper to a worker, when we come back to sell it to him again, we find greater sales resistance. In other words, even after reading the paper, which we hoped would break down his indifference or hostility towards us, we nearly invariably find that it is more difficult to sell the paper again. The answer to this dilemma is found in the difference between our sales talk and the paper. While attempting to sell the worker or working class housewife a paper, we play up what we think the worker would be interested in. In other words, we paint for him a picture of an imaginary paper which arouses his interest, but when the worker looks at the Appeal, it is quite different than the description of it given by the comrade.

Of course, we, here, do not agree with the comrade from Detroit, who said that the workers are not interested in India, Ireland, etc. It is the task of the paper to show the importance of the events to the workers' immediate struggles, but it must be done in an interesting fashion, and the interest and concern of the workers in international problems will be built up.

What Is Needed
An average worker does not feel at home in our paper. It is only the radical worker who does. It is important to keep these informed of what goes on but, it is as important that the worker from the shop, or on relief, also be interested in the paper, and this is proven by the fact that he does not write for the paper. Where is the worker's correspondence that the paper should have? Where is the correspondence from the unions? Where are the interesting stories that a paper should have? Where are the absorbing lessons on What is Socialism, written simply and understandable to all? This list could be continued.

I hope that this will not be confused with the phenomena that often appears in our movement of anti-anti-Stalinism. The struggle against Stalinism must not be given up, but neither must it be "raised" to the level which only a few workers can understand. The basis for our opposition to Stalinism must be made clear to even the simplest worker. Much of our articles against Stalinism is aimed, if not

at the summits of Stalinism, certainly not to the rank and file CP member or sympathizer who cannot understand it and for this reason, ignores it, or looks upon it as a struggle between two groups of "college professors."

I would like to again repeat the central slogan: The Socialist Appeal must be a paper in which every worker will feel at home. Los Angeles C. Curtiss

THE ROAD TO A REAL WORKERS' NEWSPAPER

Comrade Curtiss' letter merits the attention, not only of the staff of the Socialist Appeal, but of all party branches and workers who read our press. The facts he adduces are attested to from all parts of the country. Where is the solution?

A European comrade with the richest experience in the mass movement some time ago estimated the paper in these terms: "The paper is very well done from a journalistic point of view; but it is a paper for the workers and not a workers' paper."

"As it is the paper is divided among various writers, each of whom is very good, but collectively they do not permit the workers to penetrate to the pages of the Appeal. Each of them speaks for the workers (and speaks very well), but nobody will hear the workers. In spite of its literary brilliance, to a certain degree the paper becomes a victim of journalistic routine. You do not hear at all how the workers live, fight, clash with the police or drink whiskey. It is very dangerous for the paper as a revolutionary instrument of the party. The task is not to make a paper through the joint forces of a skilled editorial board, but to encourage the workers to speak for themselves.

"The whole party must participate in a paper not only financially but politically and journalistically. The paper must have correspondents, researchers and reporters everywhere. Three lines from a shop or a meeting can often give more than a well written article by the staff. Only such a paper can penetrate into the masses and receive great support from them.

"A radical and courageous change is necessary as a condition of success. The paper is too wise, too scholarly, too aristocratic for the American workers and tends to reflect the party more as it is than to prepare it for its future."

Why We Halted
The course of the paper began to move in this proposed direction; that was the period of which Comrade Curtiss speaks as the time when the Los Angeles comrades were able to sell the paper easily. However, since the outbreak of the war there has been, to a considerable extent, a retrogression. One reason is that the comrades tend to separate the daily events of the class struggle from the war situation, and fail to write into the Appeal about the actual life in which they are engaged. This is the main explanation for the cessation of direct reports from the fields of struggle.

Another reason for the failure of the Appeal to continue its transformation into a real workers' paper is the necessity, imposed by the war, of devoting a considerable part of the paper to analytical articles, in order to arm the advanced workers for the struggle against social-patriotism. But it is certainly possible to combine this work with material more directly attractive to the workers, to constitute a paper with a popular tone.

What's To Be Done
The staff's main shortcoming along this line has been its failure to remain in regular contact with the field, suggesting subjects for direct reports and workers' correspondence, encouraging those who write in, etc.

The Staff, however, in and of itself, cannot solve the problem. A widespread understanding among party members, Yipsels, and our worker-readers, that their voices must be heard in the paper, is the beginning of the solution. Let the workers write our paper!

THE APPEAL Staff

ANNOUNCEMENT

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 burlax or general fund. Saturday, Nov. 18, 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!

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.

In the Labor Unions

By B. J. WIDICK

The Chrysler strike assumes greater and more significant proportions with every new development.

Last week, a CIO endorsed candidate defeated the incumbent Mayor Reading, labor-baiter, creating quite a stir in Detroit, center of the strike.

Of course, the new mayor is no labor man, and a raw deal can be expected from him in the long run, but the demonstration of labor's potentialities at the polls had a good psychological effect on the strikers and the entire union movement.

Coughlin's Move

This week interest was focused on the arrogant intervention of Father Coughlin, fascist demagogue, in the situation through a radio appeal to the strikers.

He had the nerve to suggest that the auto workers, after these many weeks of struggle, go back to work and let the sell-out artists of various mediation boards settle the dispute!

Of course Coughlin painted a glowing picture of the hardships of the unemployed, etc. but instead of blaming the Chrysler Corp. for its anti-union policy, Coughlin seeks to divide the union ranks, ruin the morale of the strikers, and turn the men into anti-unionists.

Coughlin revealed himself to be a 100 percent strikebreaker, scab, and fascist demagogue, once again by this latest move.

New Strikebreaking

It is very significant that the Chrysler Corp. had to use Coughlin as a stooge for its nefarious plans. First of all it demonstrates the power of the auto workers against all previous attempts to defeat the strike.

All the old baloney against strikers no longer gets anywhere in a city like Detroit with its many great struggles and experiences of the recent years.

The big industrialists have to turn to new and other means to

smash labor — fascist methods and a fascist movement.

Today, Coughlin incites all those who listen to him against the union movement. Tomorrow, he will urge storm troopers to march through the picket line.

Coughlin's attempt to foment religious hatred and utilize religious differences among the strikers received an immediate setback when the Detroit Branch of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists challenged his statements.

Estimates have been made that the strike now involves over 150,000 workers, as the complete shutdown of Chrysler plants brought the closing of related parts plants, etc.

The "Union Shop" remains one of the major issues of difference, along with the many grievances of speed-up, etc. Under the "Union Shop" the employer may have the right to hire a non-union man but that after a 30-day probationary period the employee must join the union. Union men should insist that the "Union Shop" remain a cardinal point in negotiations, and resist every attempt to trade it away in negotiations.

Names to Remember

In reporting the action of the Canadian CIO to support the British and Canadian governments in the imperialist war, we did not publish the names of the people involved because they were reported in the last issue of the CIO News and they should be remembered by anti-war militants.

The Canadian national council of the CIO which made this sell-out decision consists of: Silby Barrett, chairman; C. H. Millard, secretary; Sol Spivak, Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Harry Hunter, Steel Workers Organizing Committee; C. S. Jackson, United Electrical and Radio Workers; George Burt, United Automobile Workers; Tom Church, Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers; Joseph Mackenzie, United Rubber Workers; and Roger Irwin, Newspaper Guild.

D. W. Morrison, president of District 26 of the United Mine Workers represented the unions in the maritime provinces, and Robert Livett, International Board member of the UMWA represented those from western Canada.

Join the Socialist Workers Party

The "Call" Borrows A Stalinist Slander

The Socialist Appeal and the Mexican press of the Fourth International have on several occasions exposed and refuted the Stalinist slander that our Mexican section, the Partido Obrero Internacionalista (Internationalist Workers Party), is supporting the reactionary presidential candidate, General J. Andreu Almazan. Now this same slander is repeated by that paragon of anti-Bolshevik "morality," The Call, Norman Thomas' personal organ.

The November 18 issue of the Call carries an article on Mexico by Clarence Senior. The article supports the candidacy of Almazan's rival, the bourgeois politician, General M. Avila Camacho. It attacks Almazan, candidate of reactionary forces. Then it says: "Diego Rivera and the handful of Trotskyites have joined with the reaction in backing Almazan."

The Socialist Appeal, our Mexican press, and even the bourgeois press of both Mexico and the United States, all carried the news of Rivera's break with the Fourth International several months ago. The Appeal, as our Mexican press, has carried several statements on the Mexican elections. Our Mexican section calls for no support to either Avila Camacho or Almazan, but rather campaigns to spread sentiment for the eventual break from all bourgeois parties and candidates.

The Trotskyists, thus, are bitterly opposed to Almazan. The Call repetition of the Stalinist slander is due either to abysmal ignorance or deliberate lying. Someone writing an article in the Call office in Chicago might shamefacedly plead ignorance of what he was writing about. But Mr. Senior wrote this piece of slander right in Mexico City, where, if he is at all literate, he must have known that he was lying.

Senior is the former National Secretary of the Socialist Party of the US. That gives us the right to presume that he knows how to read as well as to write. That fact gives us the right to assert that these "Socialists" of the Thomas stripe, so anxious to cover up their surrender to social - democratic patriotism by attacking the revolutionary socialists of the Fourth International, have gone to the Stalinist sewers to borrow lies.

Fight War in Canada

(Continued from Page 1)
men in Europe, while twenty million dead lie rotting in their war graves.

They Died in Vain
"REMEMBER that even from the patriot's point of view, the twenty million did die in vain, because today German imperialism once more challenges the hegemony of France and Britain on the world market.

"REMEMBER the Armistice and the peace which followed it. Remember that the imperialists on both sides would not call a halt until the soldiers demanded a stop to the blood-bath by threatening to shoot their own officers.

"REMEMBER the infamous Versailles Treaty, which has been a major contributing factor to Hitler's rise to power.

"REMEMBER that Frank

Unemployed Union Active

In York Township, just outside of Toronto, the Amalgamated Unemployed Union calls upon the jobless to join the organization and fight for an immediate 50 percent increase in relief to meet the increased cost of living. The leaflet also calls for a continuation of annual elections so that the workers may elect their own labor candidates instead of the boss politicians who are starving them. Elections to the municipal council have been cancelled for the first period of the war.

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- 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 83rd ST., N. Y. C.

THE NEGRO QUESTION

By J. R. JOHNSON

J. R. Johnson is giving a course on the Destiny of the Negro at the Marxist School, 125 West 33 Street, New York City, each Tuesday evening for the next six weeks, beginning on Tuesday, November 21. To facilitate the study of Negro history, his column will outline each Saturday the subject of the following Tuesday's lecture. The series begins below.

To know where the Negro is going one must know where the Negro comes from. Capitalist history and capitalist science, taken as a whole, are designed to serve the needs of capitalist profit. Their studies of the Negro and his history have aimed at justifying his exploitation and degradation. They have excused the slave trade and slavery and the present position of Negroes as outcasts in capitalist society, on the ground that the Negro in Africa had shown himself incapable of developing civilization, that he lived a savage and barbarous life, and that such elements of culture as Africa showed in the past and shows today were directly due to the influence of Arabs and Europeans. All of this, from beginning to end, is lies.

Negroes in African Civilization

First of all, the capitalist scientist's attempts to isolate the "pure" Negro from other African peoples is admitted today to be pure rubbish. Though there are broad differentiations, the Negroes in Africa are inextricably mixed. There are people of Hamitic stock who derive either from the Near East or the easternmost peninsula of Africa, (today British and Italian Somaliland). There are the short-statured Bushmen in the South, and the supposedly "pure" Negro is found on the West Coast alone. It is as if a scientist said that the "pure" European was found only on the coast of Portugal. The truth is that even the Egyptians had a strong Negroid strain. There were Negro dynasties in Egypt. Queen Nefertari, one of the great conquerors and rulers of Egyptian history was reputedly a Negress. Among the modern Ethiopian ruling class can be seen types ranging from the purely Semitic through the Mulatto to types indistinguishable from the Negro.

The chief object of these scientists is of course to deprive the Negro of any share in the famous civilizations of Egypt and Ethiopia. Today, ingenious Negroes call the Egyptians "black men" and by this means place all Egyptian civilization to the credit of the Negro. Racial theories of this type, whether from white capitalist centers of learning or fanatical Negro nationalists, are neither history nor science, but political propaganda. This much is clear and for the time being sufficient: the Egyptian civilization began where it did and flourished because of favorable climatic and geographical conditions, and the Negroes had a great deal to do with it.

The attempt to deduce from history that Negroes are subhuman continually breaks down. The Bushmen are among the most primitive of peoples. Yet their drawings have been universally hailed as some of the most marvelous examples of artistic skill. And since when have monkeys been given to producing great artists? In South Africa the ruins of Zimbabwe are evidence of a great ancient civilization. Who? Nobody knows, but numerous professors are racking their brains to prove that, whoever created it, it wasn't Negroes. Much good may it do them. They will not stop the world revolution that way.

But the greatest stumbling block in the way of the anti-Negro historians are the empires of Ghana, of Songhay, Mosi, and others, which flourished in the basin of the Niger. People who sneer at the Marxist phrase "bourgeois ideology" simply have no conception of the dishonesty, corruption and scope of capitalist lies and propaganda.

The Ghana Empire

For nearly a thousand years (300-1300) between the River Senegal and the Niger flourished the Ghana Empire. We do not know how it was founded. Some people say that a Hamitic people from East Africa migrated there. Others say that they came from Syria. What we do know is that this empire at its zenith embraced many millions of people. It produced wool, cotton, silk, velvet; it traded in copper and gold. Many houses in the chief towns were built of stone. At one time its army consisted of 200,000 soldiers. Its schools, its lawyers, its scholars were famous all over the Mediterranean area. And this empire for nearly a thousand years was an empire of black men, of Negroes.

Another famous empire was that of Songhay (600-1500) with its dynasty of Askias. Askia Mohammed I (1498-1528), was not only a great ruler. He surrounded himself with scholars. Timbuktu and Gao were the centers of trade and learning.

The latest edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (Volume 23, page 522) says of these kingdoms, "Long before the rise of Islam the peoples of this Northern part of West Africa, consisting largely, as has been seen, of open plains watered by large and navigable rivers, had developed well organized states, of which the oldest known, Ghana (or Ghanata), is thought to have been founded in the 3rd century A.D. Later arose the empire of Melle and the more famous and more powerful Songhai (Songhay) empire. . . . Marking the importance, commercial and political, of these states, large cities were founded." The idea that Islamic influence founded these states is now exploded, and this is admitted by the *Britannica* writer. He follows, however, the theory of "pure" and "impure" Negroes. The Negroes on the coast were "pure." But even these, he notes, founded civilizations: ". . . the Yoruba, the Ashanti, the Dahomi, and the Beni created powerful and well organized kingdoms."

The Beni, better known as the Benin, are famous today for their bronze sculpture, of artistic merit and technical skill, unsurpassed by any people of ancient or modern times. When after many centuries they were "discovered" in 1891, the impudent imperialists at once attributed these bronzes to "Portuguese" influence. That theory has now joined the others in the waste-paper basket.

The High Water Mark

West Africa was the high-water mark. But all over Africa organized civilizations flourished. The first Portuguese to visit East Africa some five hundred years ago did not remark any noticeable differences between the Africans and themselves; while less than fifty years ago Emil Torday, the Belgian explorer discovered in Central Africa the Bushongo people. A wise king, as far back as the seventeenth century, had prohibited all contact with Europeans, and, away in the interior, the tribe had survived. Torday found a free and happy people, living in villages well laid out, the huts beautifully decorated, their sculpture, textiles and household objects of a rare beauty. Political organization was a perfect democracy. The king had all the honors, the council all the power. Representatives, two of them always women, were both regional and vocational. Today they are degraded savages. Torday states that before the coming of the Europeans such civilizations, perfectly adapted to their environment, were widespread over Africa. The picture of warring tribes and savage cannibals is all lies. As late as 1906, Frobenius, traveling in the Belgian Congo, could still see the following:

"And on all this flourishing material, civilization then was a bloom, here the bloom on ripe fruit, both tender and lustrous; the gestures, manners and customs of a whole people, from the youngest to the oldest, alike in the families of the princes and the well-to-do and of the slaves, so naturally dignified and refined in the smallest detail. I know no northern race who can bear comparison with such a uniform level of education as is found among the natives."

Slave Trade Destroys Africa

It was the slave trade that destroyed Africa, the depredations of Arabs and European imperialists. They ravaged the continent for three centuries. What the travelers of the nineteenth century discovered was the wreck and ruin of what had existed four centuries before, and even then enough remained to disprove the idea of the subhuman Negro. Africa is a vast continent and many millions of people in varying degrees of civilization have lived there over the centuries. There was much ignorance, barbarism and superstition, but the history and achievements of Negroes in art, literature, politics, empire-building, until Arab and European imperialism fell upon them in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, is an incontrovertible refutation of the mountains of lies and slander built up by

News from World's War-Torn Capitals

PARIS

French Workers Seek Leadership As Bureaucrats Trap Them in War-Machine

PARIS, Oct. 31 (by courier)—Not even after two months of the war is there any serious sign of patriotism among the French workers. The worst one finds is sheer, exhausted, disillusioned apathy; the best, a militancy looking for leadership.

The advanced workers are encountering extreme difficulties in re-establishing communication with their comrades in other countries, even with nearby England. The severity of English customs control (searching not only the baggage, but also the persons, of all people entering or leaving the country, confiscating every scrap of paper, to be returned later by mail) is but one example of the handicaps we work under.

Under the pretext of rounding up Paris' gangsters, and keeping them in a concentration camp at the Stade Roland-Garros, the police have also been rounding up the most militant of known rank-and-file radicals, and sending them to the same place temporarily, for later transfer to larger camps in the Ariège and the Loire-et-Cher.

Those municipalities, hundreds in number, which had Stalinist mayors or councils, were dissolved, and are ruled by prefectural decree. All Stalinist headquarters have been seized, as well as their funds, including the private property of any arrested leaders. This government repression has had a martyring effect, which has stayed the defection of many workers who were on the point of leaving the Stalinist party. Practically all the Stalinist intellectuals, on the other hand, have become tricolor patriots of the most disgusting description.

Stalinists Expelled from Unions
The top committee of the CGT (General Federation of Workers) expelled its Stalinist minority and called upon all affiliated federations and locals to expel their Stalinist leaderships. In those cases where the Stalinists controlled the unions and refused to yield, the CGT tops, with the aid of the police, seized the headquarters and funds.

On this stage had been concluded, the social-patriots passed on to the next, which consisted of expelling from the unions any rank and file Stalinists who did not publicly knuckle under. When necessary, the cops helped.

Agreement Gives Bosses "Everything"
When the CGT tops last week signed a general agreement with the bosses at the Hotel Majestic, Leon Jouhaux, CGT head, proclaimed that an end had been put to class struggle, causing the bosses in the Comité des Forges (steel trust) bulletin to crow: "If these words from his mouth are truly meant, everything—everything is possible."

Leon Blum's reaction, predictable enough, was to say that the Hotel Majestic agreement wasn't quite as good as the Hotel Matignon agreement but we must do the best we can.

(The Hotel Matignon agreement ended the revolutionary strikes of June, 1936, giving the forty-hour week, paid vacations, etc., all of which has now been officially abrogated.)

On Sept. 16, the new wages-and-hours decrees were put into effect two weeks early by the bosses; the details are hair-raising. A seventy-two hour work week, etc. The workers called on their delegates to raise hell; the delegates wouldn't. Foreign workers, particularly Belgians, simply refused to accept the new conditions; they went home to Belgium.

Some French workers tried to throw up their jobs. But under the decrees requisitioning factories, workers can't throw up their jobs; they're tied to them exactly like serfs. Those who did, got two months in jail. The workers are ragingly angry, but so far feel baffled and helpless. A marvelous opportunity for a revolutionary party to come forward, and provide the workers with a new perspective, he FSOP, held down by its rightist leadership, has so far missed the opportunity.

Revolutionists As "Fortifications"
The one party that possibly could serve, the PSOP (Socialist Party of Workers and Peasants), held down by its rightist leadership, has

Labor Movement in Strait-Jacket of Dictatorship and Repression

PRAGUE

so far missed the opportunity. Many of its revolutionary elements are at the front.
The revolutionists at the front are in grave danger, in spite of the little fighting that is going on. For they are being systematically placed in the most exposed positions—advanced machine-gun posts in No-Man's land, etc. That this is being done consciously is quite certain. For example, in one case, when a well-known revolutionist was transferred from a combat unit to a liaison post out of danger, he was sent back to the front by direct order from a ministry in Paris.

so far missed the opportunity. Many of its revolutionary elements are at the front.

Czech Students Rally In Teeth of Most Savage Hitlerite Repression

According to an Associated Press dispatch from Prague, Adolf Hitler is getting his first case of indigestion over the Czech territories he swallowed a year ago with the aid of Chamberlain and Daladier.

The report states that 2,000 university students demonstrated in Prague on November 5 against the German protectorate government. Another reason for the demonstration was the death of a Czech student killed by rifle fire during clashes with police on "Independence day", October 28.

The students reformed their ranks, demonstrating in various parts of the city, more than five times after being dispersed by mounted police and Elite Guards threatening rifle fire. Ten arrests occurred during the demonstrations but no reports are available of how many occurred subsequent to the demonstration.

The protest actions of the students is only a precursor to the real revolts bound to follow in due time when the solid contingents of Czech workers raise the banner of struggle against Hitlerism in the factories and on the streets.

To paraphrase a Russian proverb: the student protests are only the nationalistic blossoms; the revolutionary berries are yet to come.

TORONTO

How They Dragged the Canadian Workers Into A War They Don't Want

TORONTO—Canada's belligerency was settled, not in Ottawa or even in London, but in Washington, and herein lies the first of many important lessons which the American worker can draw from a study of Canada's war. If Rooseveltian capitalism had any serious intention of preserving American neutrality, it would have brought such economic and political pressure to bear upon Ottawa that the belligerency and MacKenzie King and his trained parliamentary seals would have disappeared overnight. A country of eleven millions, in America's sphere of influence, could not have moved without the benediction of Washington.

The American workers may learn from the Canadian experience not only how the masses in a capitalist state are plunged into war against their will but also how they are exploited after they are put into it. Canada is in many ways a pocket edition of the U.S.A. Its peoples represent another melting pot, their economic problems closely similar; their habits of thought, traditions, reading, even their speech, are virtually like America's. The largest trade unions are tied with the American unions. The farmers have the same marketing and climatic problems.

What is happening now in Canada is what will happen in the U.S. unless the American working class awakens to prevent it.

WAR UNPOPULAR
This has been, from the start, an unpopular war. Not only are there now more class-conscious workers in Canada than in 1914, as reflected in the growth of trades unions and a left social democratic movement, but there is also a bitter living memory of the last mass murder. In 1914 Canada sent half a million men from

a country with a population of seven million. Sixty thousand died overseas and as many more succumbed from injuries after returning. It is rare to find in Canada a veteran of the last war who was not a casualty. The city of Welland was still engaged in unveiling its expensive memorial to the last war on the day the new war broke out.

Nor is it forgotten that the decimation of the younger generation was followed by the depression of 1919-20, civil riots, a general strike in Winnipeg, and widespread misery.

The number of English-born Anglo-Saxons in Canada is much less than in 1914, and the proportion of non-Anglo-Saxons much greater. This, plus the strengthening of the social and economic ties with the U.S. over the last 25 years, has led to a strong and widespread isolationism, in addition to the traditional isolationism of the French-Canadians (who resorted to armed resistance to prevent their conscription in 1917).

On top of this, the smaller capitalists hoped they might be left free by "neutrality" to enjoy the prosperity of a war boom without paying the penalty of war-taxes, regimentation and conscription. Finally, nearly all sections and classes were united in a deep distrust of the British government, which had not only muddled its way into war but had, in its relations to Canada, persistently interfered against the natural development of Canadian autonomy.

THE GOVERNMENT'S STRATEGY

Faced with such conditions, the King government took the line of intimidating the masses with an accomplished fact. King had promised that "parliament would decide" peace or war; but parliament was not assembled until Britain had begun fighting, and then it met to listen to a "speech from the throne," announcing that Canada was already "in a state of war" and that the War Measures Act—abolishing civil liberties—had been in force since Sept. 1. On this speech, setting forth official government policy, no vote was taken.

King had affirmed that no expeditionary force would be sent abroad. But then he introduced the War Appropriations Bill for a hundred million dollars for military operations in "and beyond" Canada. At this point the Canadian Commonwealth Federation (social democrat) members forced a division on an amendment to change "beyond" to "adjacent to." The amendment got the support of only six CCF and 10 French-Canadian members.

The government still hesitates to impose conscription. It even pretended, for a while, to be staging recruiting only for home defense. Now, however, the newspapers announce plans to dispatch two complete divisions to Europe before Christmas. In Vancouver, three hundred recruits were asked by an inspecting colonel how many wished to serve overseas. Eight stepped forward. The colonel merely remarked: "That's all right. You're all going anyway."

(Continued in next issue)

BRUSSELS

Belgian Fourth International Appeal For Workers Action Against the War

After a delay of several weeks, in the course of which comrades Walter Dauge, Leon Lesoll, Lemmens, and other leaders were subjected to repeated arrests, La Lutte Ouvriere, organ of the Revolutionary Socialist Party (FSR) has once again resumed publication as a weekly.

In its first issue after the persecutions, La Lutte carries a long appeal to the workers of Belgium entitled: "The Struggle Against War is the Struggle for Socialism."

"The present war," says the appeal, "is the fatal and logical consequence of the Treaty of Versailles with which the last imperialist war of 1914-18 was concluded. The Anglo-French imperialist bloc, rivalling the formidable imperialism of Germany, cut up central Europe into strips of states which went contrary to the most legitimate national aspirations. Thus a situation was created which engendered new conflicts. They are responsible for this state of

affairs who today pose as defenders of justice in international relations. The fraud of just wars is beginning all over again. . . .

"The workers of Belgium need not have too many illusions about the neutrality of Belgium. Everyone knows how precarious it is. . . . The great Belgian press is now preparing public opinion for entry into the war on the side of France and England. . . . The social patriots are shouting Long live France. . . . They are undoubtedly speaking of the France of Daladier, whose politics they endorse so aggressively. What we love in France is the magnificent revolutionary tradition of its proletariat, the Paris Commune, the great days of the strikes of June 1936. . . . The Belgian workers have nothing to gain from choosing between Hitler, the butcher of the German workers, and Daladier, the man who broke the general strike of 1938. Doesn't every one know how anxious Daladier is to defend "democracy" in company with Mussolini, the assassin of Matteotti? . . .

"Whatever their nationality, be they Belgian or English, French or German, Italian or Spanish or American, the workers are all exploited by capitalism alike. The real cause of the war is not Hitler, but capitalism with its imperialist rivalries, its greed for profits and its chase for markets. . . .

"Hitler is himself only a product of decadent capitalism. The only way of defeating Fascism and of ending war is the abolition of the capitalist regime which heads humanity towards the worst kind of savagery, and its replacement by socialism.

"The Fourth International continues the proud tradition of the Third International of Lenin. It shows the working class of the world the only road to safety. That road alone leads to the abolition of the capitalist system of the exploitation of man by man, to the foundation of a Union of Socialist Republics of Europe, to the establishment of socialism which alone can give to the people bread, peace and freedom."

DUBLIN

Irish Nationalist Patriots In Forty-Day Hunger Strike Against De Valera

Where are the Irish persecuted most? In England where the English judges are sending to gaol every militant Irishman who dares to speak up against British oppression of Ireland? Or in Ireland itself, where an "Irish" government is mercilessly persecuting the Irish Republicans?

In the English courts, at least, the condemned can stand up and speak out, as did young Christopher Kenneally, just sentenced in the dock at Liverpool Assizes to three years of servitude. The 19-year lad said:

"Today England and France say that they are saving the human race from aggression. No country under God's sun has suffered more from aggression than my country. The cause for which I am going to be sentenced is a cause which will never die."

But even that much the Irish arrested in Ireland cannot do, for under the laws of the De Valera government it is enabled to arrest men and hold them indefinitely without trial.

Only one means is left to these arrested men to register their protest against such treatment, the dreaded means employed by Irish martyrs against the British when they openly ruled in Ireland—the hunger strike. And so, for a month now, four prisoners, Patrick McGrath, Richard McCarthy, John Lynch, and Jeremiah Daly, have been on a hunger strike. A month! Think of the heroic fortitude it means to undergo such suffering! But they do it for Irish freedom.

De Valera has stood up in the Dail Eirann and told Ireland that these men might die, but he would not free them. The latest report is that three of them are in hospitals, in critical condition, and that the fourth, Jeremiah Daly, "had abandoned his hunger strike and been released."

What is clear beyond all doubt is that prison in Ireland is the place for Irish patriots as it is in England. Irishmen are not ruled by themselves but by agents of the British Empire.

LONDON

Only the Fourth International Fights In Revolutionary Opposition To The War in Britain

Under the acid test of war, all the working class parties in England except the Fourth International have crumpled and are subscribing in one form or another to the program of the capitalist war-mongers. Only the Fourth International remains firm in its revolutionary opposition to the Second World War. This is the gist of a report from the British Section which has just been received.

On the outbreak of the war thousands of leaflets analyzing the Stalin-Hitler pact and ten thousand copies of an anti-war manifesto together with a special anti-war edition of the "Militant," official organ of the Militant Labour League (Fourth International), were distributed.

Special anti-war meetings have been held regularly since then on street corners, in locals of the Labour Party, and in trade un-

capitalist apologists in defence of capitalist barbarism. Africans worked in iron countless generations ago and many historians claim that it was they who introduced metal work to Europe and Asia.

Capitalism developing in Europe precipitated the discovery of America and sent its navigators and explorers to Africa. In the fifteenth century began the use of Negro slaves on the plantations of America. British capitalism drew one of its most powerful sources of wealth from the slave trade. The greatness of Liverpool, the second city of Great Britain, was founded on the slave trade. The wealth of the French bourgeoisie was based upon the slave trade. The rise of modern Europe is inexplicable without a knowledge of the economic ramifications of the slave trade.

Bibliography

For a useful sketch of the early history of Africa see the opening chapters of Carter Woodson, *The Negro in our History*. For more detailed study the reader will have to consult the writings of Emil Torday, Frobenius, and Maurice Delafosse. Admirable material can be found in Nancy Cunard's *Negro*. For easily obtainable material on slavery and European capitalism see *Africa and the Rise of Capitalism*, by Wilson E. Williams (The Harvard University Studies in the Social Sciences, Harvard University, Washington, D. C.) and *The Black Jacobins* by C. L. R. James, Chapters 1-8, particularly pages 35-41.

ion locals where Fourth Internationalists exercise influence. The "Militant" has been increased from a monthly to a twice-monthly.

ILP Loses Ground

The Independent Labour Party, affiliated with the London Bureau, has lost ground rapidly because of its reversion to pacifism and its rejection of revolutionary defeatism. Although its journal, the "New Leader," editorializes on the possibility of revolution in Germany it has nothing whatsoever to say about the possibility of revolution in Great Britain. Alleged "secret reports" which they claim to have received from their sister party in Germany (the S.A.P.), regarding unrest in Germany, have been broadcast by the British government as an official part of the government war propaganda. The I.L.P. is collaborating with a petty-bourgeois pacifist organization called the Christian Peace Pledge Union.

In the recent Clackmannan (Scotland) parliamentary by-elections, the pacifist anti-war candidate with the full support of the I.L.P. polled only 1,000 votes as against 16,000 for the Labour Party candidate. Previously in this same district the I.L.P. secured 2,000 votes.

"The I.L.P. is only a shadow of its former self," continues the report. "It is now a skeleton with most of the bones missing."

Stalinist Flip-Flop

The Communist Party has made a complete about-face since the beginning of the war.

At the outbreak of the conflict, their official organ published a statement of the Central Committee with the heading: "Why Britain Must Win This War." Their leader and party secretary Harry Pollitt, the Earl Browder of England, issued a pamphlet outlining in detail the tactics and methods which the British ruling class must pursue in order to "win the war." Now Pollitt has been dismissed from office by Moscow and the English Communist Party has come out for peace—on Hitler's terms.

The effect of this change in line dictated by the new exigencies of Stalin's foreign policy has been devastating upon the following of the Communist Party especially among the petty-bourgeois supporters and "fellow-travelers."

The leaders of the British Trade Unions in traditional style are attempting to throttle the discontent of the workers and by working hand in glove with the government stifle any incipient revolt engendered by the war. Thus they urge local bodies to cooperate with the local war committees set up by the government's Ministry of Information (Propaganda) and to operate as part of the war machine. The trade union chiefs are also seeking a legal ruling from the government to avoid holding their regularly scheduled national conferences while the war lasts. These labor lieutenants of the capitalist class so far have done more to repress working class opinion than the government itself.

Behind the Lines

(Continued from Page 1)

against Japan, the Stalinists never breathed a word publicly—until now, when their master in the Kremlin bids them prepare to cut loose from the anti-Japanese struggle in the interests of a deal between the Soviet bureaucracy and the Japanese imperialists!

Into what new muddy waters will the Kremlin now lead what is left of the Chinese Communist Party? As a workers' party, it long ago ceased to exist. Its strength has rested exclusively upon the military force it has controlled, the former peasant Red Army. Today that Red Army has nothing in common with the heroic force of peasant fighters who resisted six Kuomintang

offensives in Central China from 1930 to 1934. As long ago as 1937, Stalinist leaders admitted only a handful of the Kiangsi veterans remained.

Today the "Red" army is scarcely distinguishable from the mercenary forces of the Kuomintang generals. Nevertheless, it is a force recruited, trained, and tried in the struggle against Japanese imperialism. How it will react, if Stalin orders abandonment of the fight against the invaders and converts it instead, into an instrument for Soviet penetration in the west, remains to be seen.

In any case, the division takes place over the trampled and disregarded body of the Chinese nationalist cause. In 1927 thousands of Communists paid with their lives in a needless sacrifice to the misleadership of the Kremlin. But they did fighting for Chinese liberation while Chiang Kai-shek became a spoke in the wheel of the imperialist chariot.

In his subsequent development, Chiang Kai-shek merely continued to reflect the pressure of Anglo-American imperialism. When they entered into a pact with him, the Stalinists were wooing the same master. But now the order is to switch camps. And that is all the Stalinist turn amounts to, in China, as elsewhere.

The struggle for Chinese liberation must and will go on, despite and against both camps of its betrayers and enemies. Its standard bearer is the small, heroic organization of the Fourth International which in many parts of China continues in the forefront of the struggle.

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FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY FOR:

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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.
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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.

Coughlin and Chrysler

One of the banners carried in the gigantic demonstration of the Detroit auto workers against the Chrysler Corporation read: "Coughlinism Is Chryslerism!"

In that slogan the auto workers summed up in three words the role of the fascist priest far better than all the mountains of words written by book-worm college professors and professional liberals.

Coughlin is not the tool of Adolf Hitler, the mouthpiece of the German American Bund or a crackpot priest too insignificant and ludicrous to be given any serious attention. That is the opinion of the harebrained crew of intellectual jugglers, just as it was their opinion of Hitler and Mussolini before they became all-powerful dictators.

Coughlin is the agent of big capital in America. The auto workers have him sized up to a T. His role in the present Chrysler lockout—denouncing the union over the radio in the same invective he denounces Jews and Reds, giving aid and comfort to back-to-work movements, organizing and officering fascist gangs against the union—makes the auto workers understand that all the fine-spun speeches against "international bankers" is demagoguery to keep his real backers, America's sixty ruling families, out of the spotlight.

Coughlin talks against "bankers," "profiteers," "war-mongers." Coughlin is really against the working class, organized labor.

The auto workers say: Coughlinism is Chryslerism. We might add: Coughlinism is Morganism. Coughlinism is Rockefellerism. Coughlinism is DuPontism. And the workers in all industry can add to this list the names of their employers and exploiters.

Grandma Has Teeth

Summer Welles, Under-Secretary of State, is a great friend of the peoples below the Rio Grande. In fact he has made a vocation out of being friendly to Latin Americans.

Not so long ago that we can't remember, Mr. Welles was United States Ambassador to Cuba. The workers and peasants of that island who were fed to the sharks or pumped full of bullets by the then dictator Machado's gunmen grew to appreciate Mr. Welles. Welles was Machado's advisor—and some pleasant advice he gave him, as you can see. When Machado was booted out of Cuba by a mass rebellion, Welles hung around to help with new advice. (This advice—we say it in a whisper—was backed up with all the financial might of Wall St. and all the gunboats of the Atlantic fleet. He overthrew the Grau San Martin government and engineered the murderer Batista into power. Washington is still "advising" Cuba, along the line carved out by Mr. Welles.

Now we are pleased to learn that Mr. Welles has expanded his field of operations. The other day, he was appointed Chairman of the Inter-American Financial and Economic Advisory Committee. He began his new function with a pretty generous dose of advice which the Latin Americans should soon learn to appreciate much as the Cubans learned to appreciate his advisory gifts. Said Mr. Welles:

"There exists in this hemisphere a large poten-

tial amount of capital available for that kind of employment which offers a sufficiently assured reward. Undeveloped natural resources in many of our countries offer possible fields for such investment."

When Mr. Welles talks about "sufficiently assured reward" for American capital, he has in mind such things as puppet dictators, their official and unofficial gunmen to rid the scene of anti-imperialists, efficient police forces, prisons filled to the brim with those who don't like American business methods in the colonies, and, in the background, the American marines ready to plunge into the breach.

So when he plays the genial grandmother to the little Red Riding Hoods from down South, let the little folks beware. Grandma has great big teeth to eat you with.

One Law for All

Washington is a great place for circuses. The best performance is usually staged at the monopoly investigations. Out of one of these carnivals came the Sherman anti-trust law.

To the simple-minded person who believes the law operates like it reads, the Sherman anti-trust law was meant to prosecute trusts.

The other day a Federal Judge in Indiana fined four General Motors finance corporations \$5,000 each for forcing dealers to finance sales of cars through the General Motors Acceptance Corp. At the same time all the big shots of General Motors who were engineering this squeeze play on the dealers were exonerated.

Less than a year ago a Federal judge in Philadelphia had before him another case of "restraint of trade." It concerned the Apex hosiery workers who staged a "sit-down" strike in their mill to compel better working conditions. The judge socked a fine of almost three-quarters of a million dollars (\$711,932) on the union.

The Sherman anti-trust law, as we said, was enacted to prosecute trusts. The Sherman anti-trust law, as it operates, prosecutes unions. Or, if you want to be accurate to the dot, it fines a rich corporation \$5,000 and a union of the poor three quarters of a million.

The law that is made to prosecute poor men and workers prosecutes poor men and workers. The law that is made to prosecute rich men and corporations prosecutes poor men and workers. Heads they win, tails you lose.

Labor Looks Through The Press

By Arthur Hopkins

"PEACE RUMOR BRINGS SCARE TO WALL STREET"—heading in Minneapolis Star-Journal.

'NUFF SAID

Messrs. Sharp and Fox are the authors of a recent book entitled "Business Ethics."

SURPRISE ITEM: A hit-run driver kills a St. Paul WPA worker; no money was found in his pockets, the story relates.

DAILY DOUBT

According to W. Winchell, "the people who fear that Tommy Manville's extravagance is what brings on revolutions, should be reminded that there are oodles of other sons of rich men who offset Manville's nonsense. Such sons, for example, as Edsel Ford, Jock Whitney, Sonny Whitney, Phil Wrigley, Ed Stettinius. The list could go on for miles." But it doesn't. And those he names are no better than Tommy.

Tommy Manville embraced Elinor Troy, 23, New York and Hollywood beauty, when she arrived at Newark Airport on his specially chartered plane, and he explained that he had sent for her because "the war news was boring to me."

It's going to be a long war, in the opinion of Lord Marley, deputy speaker in the British House of Lords, who just arrived in the United States. He said that the British are determined to fight to the end, i.e., to the end of the last worker's life.

Says Robert Olson, president of the Minnesota Federation of Labor: "It must be admitted that after the action of the last convention (of the AFL) in endorsing a particular candidate to run on a party platform for governor, and losing our endorsement, we were not in a very good position to ask for favors for this successful candidate." This is the cap-in-hand theory of labor leadership, happily extinct in most sections of Minnesota.

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By J. R. Johnson
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You Can Tell the Minn. Frame-up Is Raw--Even A Congressman Raps It

(Reprinted from the Nov. 16 Northwest Organizer, organ of the Minneapolis Teamsters Joint Council)

When even a congressman can't stomach the assault of the federal government upon the unemployed workers of Minneapolis, that is news! Yet early in November Congressman Lee E. Geyer of California took the floor in the House of Representatives to protest the persecution of the local WPA workers. Even more, Geyer named names. "I protest it to the Congress. . . . I protest it to the Attorney General. . . . I protest it to the President of the United States, and I invite every man present who believes in the fundamental rights of the people to join me in this protest so the people in Minneapolis and elsewhere in the country may know that there are men on the floor of Congress who refuse to allow such flagrant attacks upon their and our civil liberties to go unchallenged," Geyer said.

The California solon started his talk by saying he believed the members of the House "should know how, in Minneapolis, Minnesota, a law recently passed by this body is being used in an attempt to destroy the civil rights of labor, to persecute American citizens, and to further the political advantage of certain individuals and groups."

"The basis of this vicious attempt is the Minneapolis WPA strike and the present mass trials of 163 defendants charged with criminal conspiracy as a result of participating in that strike."

Geyer then briefly listed the details of the strike, known to workers throughout the nation; that the strike was a spontaneous protest against the new relief law, that it was led in Minneapolis by the unions, that strike leaders asked Glotzbach to close the projects, that the papers lied upon a Minneapolis cop being killed in the strike, and that the strike ended when the cops attacked the picket line at the sewing project, wounding scores and killing one man.

"Why Only in Minneapolis?" Geyer denounced, among other phases of the government's conduct of the case, the excessive bail requirements and "the inept manner in which public officials handled the situation."

"I am putting myself on record," he stated, "in protest against permitting under the name of 'prosecution of lawlessness' the persecution of scores of decent, law-abiding fellow citizens. I am maintaining that under the cloak of bringing the guilty to justice we should not permit an attack upon labor's hard-won rights to organize and a further attack upon the basic rights of citizens generally. . . . If some strikers become hot-headed and get into fist fights, why were they not dealt with as police court cases, which is customary? Why were they, instead, charged with conspiracy and faced with penitentiary terms? Is this awful consequence of strike participation a threat to intimidate labor? Why was there such a wholesale round-up of Minneapolis people whose crimes were no greater than mere presence where a fist fight occurred, or who were not even present but were simply officers of a group agreeing to leave their project when the picketing began, WHILE IN NO OTHER CITY IN THE COUNTRY WHERE WPA EMPLOYEES PARTICIPATED IN THE NATION-WIDE STRIKE WERE STRIKERS PERSECUTED?"

Needless to say, not a single boss paper printed the Californian's remarks. The boss press is too interested in joining in the frame-up.

And needless to say, neither Roosevelt nor Attorney General Frank Murphy and his G-men, nor Victor Anderson, nor Stassen, nor Leach, has answered Congressman Geyers pointed questions.

HEARING ON APPEAL OF ANTI-WAR MILITANT THIS WEEK

TORONTO, Nov. 16—Preparations for the appeal against the one year prison sentence imposed on Frank Watson under the repressive War Measures Act are completed, as public interest mounts in support of the young English-Canadian worker arrested here on Sept. 15 for making a street corner speech described by the authorities as "likely or intended to prejudice recruiting of His Majesty's Forces."

The appeal against the sentence imposed on Watson will be heard in Toronto on or about November 22.

Watson was Canada's first victim of war-time repression, but others have followed him to jail.

Among the most recent additions to the Watson Defense Committee here is Dr. Carlyle King, member of the Saskatchewan Provincial Committee of the Canadian Commonwealth Federation.

"Most Notable" Case

The Canadian Forum, leading liberal journal, in its November issue, refers to the Watson case as the "most notable" of the prosecutions under the War Measures Act, linking the case with that of the seventy-five clergymen of the United Church of Canada who have been threatened with arrest for issuing an anti-war manifesto. "Canadians," writes the editor of the Forum, "are not all united in approving our participation in this war, and a wise government will not insist on too much enforced uniformity."

Three thousand miles away, in Victoria, British Columbia, the Democratic Book Club has endorsed the Watson Defense Fund and indicated its support of the case with a check for sixteen dollars. Similar support and donations have come from the Scarborough Women's Cooperative Guild, from farmers in Wiseton, Sask., from workers in Saskatoon, Sask., and from individuals of varying occupations and political views in Toronto, Montreal, Winnipeg and Vancouver.

American Workers Help

Great encouragement has been given the Canadian Defense Fund by the support of the American Labor Aid. Also as a result of the campaign launched by the Socialist Appeal on behalf of the Watson Defense, contributions have come in from persons in the United States. A large donation has come in from the American Labor Aid and has been welcomed here as an act of international working class solidarity.

The Committee is prepared to extend its activities to the defense of other cases arising out of the War Measures Act or aid accredited organizations carrying on the defense of persons victimized by war-time repression.

It is also hoped here that a broad movement can be launched for the repeal of the Defense of Canada Regulations incorporated in the War Measures Act.

BRONX JOBLESS PICKET FOR CLOTHING

Horse Lives Better Than Relief Clients, Placard Reads

NEW YORK—Spurred by the present City Council's refusal to make adequate provision for the winter needs of the unemployed, Local 5 of the Unemployed and Project Workers Union carried through last week a series of protest picket lines in the Washington Avenue area of the Bronx.

Whole picket lines formed before Relief Bureau 48 at 1946 Webster Avenue, a horse and wagon depicting the plight of the unemployed toured through the Middle Bronx.

While hundreds of workers looked on, the wagon rode slowly along Washington Avenue bearing the sign, "When You Ask For Bread, Rent and Clothes, District Office 48 calls you 'Neurotic.'"

A sign slung across the side of the horse read, "I Live Better Than People on Home Relief."

Demand Clothing

Protesting the LaGuardia Administration's open refusal to appropriate funds for winter needs, another sign declared, "We Demand Winter Clothing."

Bernard Ross, an official of Local 5, pointed out that overcoats, suits and shoes for male relief clients are as yet not available, although cold weather has already set in. The winter clothing allotment for women, he stated, is "frankly inadequate."

"At the same time," Ross declared, "needy families are being thrown off the relief rolls. Even Commissioner Hodson of the Welfare Department takes pride in the fact that the city saved two million dollars in the last few months as a result of the transfer of relief clients to the WPA rolls. That two million dollars, instead of constituting a saving of funds, might easily have been allotted for the purpose of caring for new cases."

New Cases Ignored

New cases, according to Local 5, receive scant attention. Only when families are actually evicted onto the cold streets do the relief authorities show any sign of concern. And even then there is a maze of red tape to push through before families are saved from actual starvation.

The Bronx Locals of the U.P.-W.U. are carrying on an active campaign to organize the bulk of the unemployed workers. As a result of the Local's militant actions, numerous emergency cases have been opened up and clothing distributed during the last two weeks. Within the next few weeks, the Local announced, the Bronx organizations of the Unemployed Union will hold a mass indoor rally to protest the severe plight of the jobless.

STUDENTS FOR ANTI-WAR VOTE

PASADENA, California—The Pasadena Chronicle, student weekly newspaper of the Pasadena junior college, came out with an editorial November 10 using the slogan "Let the People Vote on War."

To express the campus anti-war sentiment the editorial staff of the Chronicle adopted the policy of supporting a war referendum. Results of a poll on the war question in which six-sevenths of the 7,000 student body participated showed clearly where the junior college people stand. They are opposed to America's entry into any foreign war.

The Chronicle is pushing the movement for a war referendum. From the methods proposed to keep this country out of war, the referendum was selected for support. It was judged as most effective for rallying the opposition to the war.

Disturb of Congress is what the editorial reveals. The decision on war or peace should never rest with Congress, the editorial states. With the people who will do the fighting should rest the decision of war or not. That is the stand of the student editors.

Some of the articles in the December number are:

1. The Social Revolution and the Negro by J. R. Johnson.
2. The American Negro in Politics by Jack Weber.
3. Negro Slavery in the North American Colonies by George Novack.

FIGHT AGAINST THE WAR;

They Alibi For Social Patriots; Insult Leninists

By FELIX MORROW

To all our concrete analysis of their course, the Stalinists have always answered: "The Trotskyists are fascist agents." (Now, presumably, we are no longer that, but Anglo-French agents; our alliances change always, in the Stalinist picture, to the opposite of Stalin's.) This "answer" has served them as a substitute for specific answers on the issues we raise.

The Norman Thomas socialists have borrowed this leaf from the Stalinists. To all our concrete analysis of their course, the Thomasites answer: "Bolshevism-Trotskyism leads to Stalinism." Having said that, they need not answer us (they hope). The Lovestoneites have evolved a similar formula for the same purpose: "Trotskyism is inverted Stalinism."

In this, as in so much else, the Thomas-Lovestone groups find themselves in the same camp with the democratic war-mongers. The Louis Waldmans, James Oneals, etc., have always insisted that Lenin, Stalin and Trotsky are of one flesh. Thomas and Lovestone lend fuel to that fire for the same reason that they support the pro-war resolution of the American Labor Party. They simply cannot conceive of standing on their own feet. Where two camps exist, they can conceive only of the tactic of joining one or another. The fact that the two camps of any size in the labor movement are both pro-war camps—the Hitler-Stalin war camp and the "democratic" war camp of Hillman, Lewis, Green et al—does not deter them from their usual strategy of joining one of the camps.

To build the third camp, which is today small in its actual existence, but the only one which holds out a real future for humanity—the camp of revolutionary struggle against war—this is beyond the mental and moral grasp of the Thomas-Lovestone groups.

In a series of articles in this paper, I attempted to engage these groups in a serious discussion of the concrete meaning of the struggle against war. A number of articles I devoted to the issues raised by the pro-war resolution adopted by the American Labor Party, and in other articles dealt with the pro-war positions adopted by the CIO and AFL conventions, the danger of non-Stalinists who call themselves revolutionists, yet identify themselves with democratic-imperialist attitudes toward the Soviet Union, etc. etc. and on each concrete question I dealt conscientiously, if sharply, with the false positions which, I believed and sought to demonstrate, had been taken on all these questions by the Thomas-Lovestone groups.

Their "Answer" Avoids the Issue

The only replies made by them to our detailed analysis has been:

1. The Call, Nov. 18, carried a half-column article whose whole point is contained in its title: "Trotskyism, a Chip from the Stalinist Block." It refers to "the vindictive misrepresentation" in our press about the socialists and Lovestoneites, which "is rapidly approaching that of the Daily Worker in its old Third Period days." In the one sentence on the ALP question in the article, it says that we hid "the fact that this was not made a matter of discipline by the ALP and socialists indorsed by the ALP publicly recorded their disagreement with this position . . ."

The fact is, that when The Call finally broke its embarrassed silence on the Oct. 4 ALP resolution several weeks later, in its Oct. 28 issue, I wrote an additional article dealing with that "publicly recorded" explanation.

I pointed out that The Call did not print the resolution, and with good reason, for its description of the resolution continued to be utterly dishonest. "Of the fact that the fundamental motivation of the resolution is pro-ALP, The Call says not a word. Of the fact that the resolution denounces Stalin from a democratic-imperialist standpoint and from no other standpoint, The Call breathes not a hint. Of the fact that the Socialist Party member, Frank Crosswhite, ALP candidate, 'expressed unqualified approval of the resolution as a whole,' including the sections supporting Roosevelt's proposal to lift the embargo, The Call says not a word." In previous articles I had analyzed in considerable detail the contention of the SP that it was correct to vote for the anti-Stalinist section of the resolution, and had demonstrated that that section was what its authors intended it to be: a war-mongering declaration for the democratic-imperialists.

The Call "answers," as I said, by the methods employed by the Stalinists to avoid answering us.

Will Herberg Plods to the Rescue

2. The Lovestoneite Workers Age indirectly seeks to answer us in an article (Nov. 4), "The ALP and the War Issue." Its author is an extremely ingenious fellow, Will Herberg. He is the author of the cleverest defense ever made of the Moscow trials—he drew an analogy between the Moscow trials and the trials of the latter days of the French Revolution, triumphantly asked who remembers today whether the French trials were true in detail, and concluded with the pregnant assertion that Stalin represented the correct course of History and that was enough for him. It is, therefore, the merest child's play for Herberg to get around the ALP resolution.

The main part of his article consists of a friendly, in fact comradely, discussion with the ALP war-mongers in which he points out to them that their position in support of the war is incorrect. Then, while the reader is still reading—or so he thinks—all this is whisked away, and the reader, rubbing his eyes, reads: "It is manifestly not on the war question that the Stalinists are being 'purged,' even though they themselves and the Trotskyites both pretend it is; it is on the issue that the Stalinists are 'blind servants of Russian international (foreign) policy,' as the ALP resolution very properly puts it, and that they function as forces of disruption wherever they are found."

The consummate dishonesty of the Herberg sleight-of-hand will only be apparent to those who read the ALP resolution. The resolution, having declared its fundamental orientation as pro-ALP, then denounced the Stalinists for "their callous disregard" of the fate of the democracies. That was the crime of the Stalinists for the democratic war-mongers, who, like Leon Blum, had lived at peace with the Stalinists when they were in the democratic war-camp.

Apart from these two sentences, quoted above, the Thomas-Lovestone groups have maintained a dignified silence. For that all they have with which to cover up their nakedness.