

The Fight Against War Is the Fight for Socialism!

WORKERS OF THE
WORLD UNITE!

Socialist Appeal

LET THE PEOPLE
VOTE ON WAR

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F. D. R. PLOTS RUBBER-STAMP WAR CONGRESS

Indicted Strikers Win First Victory

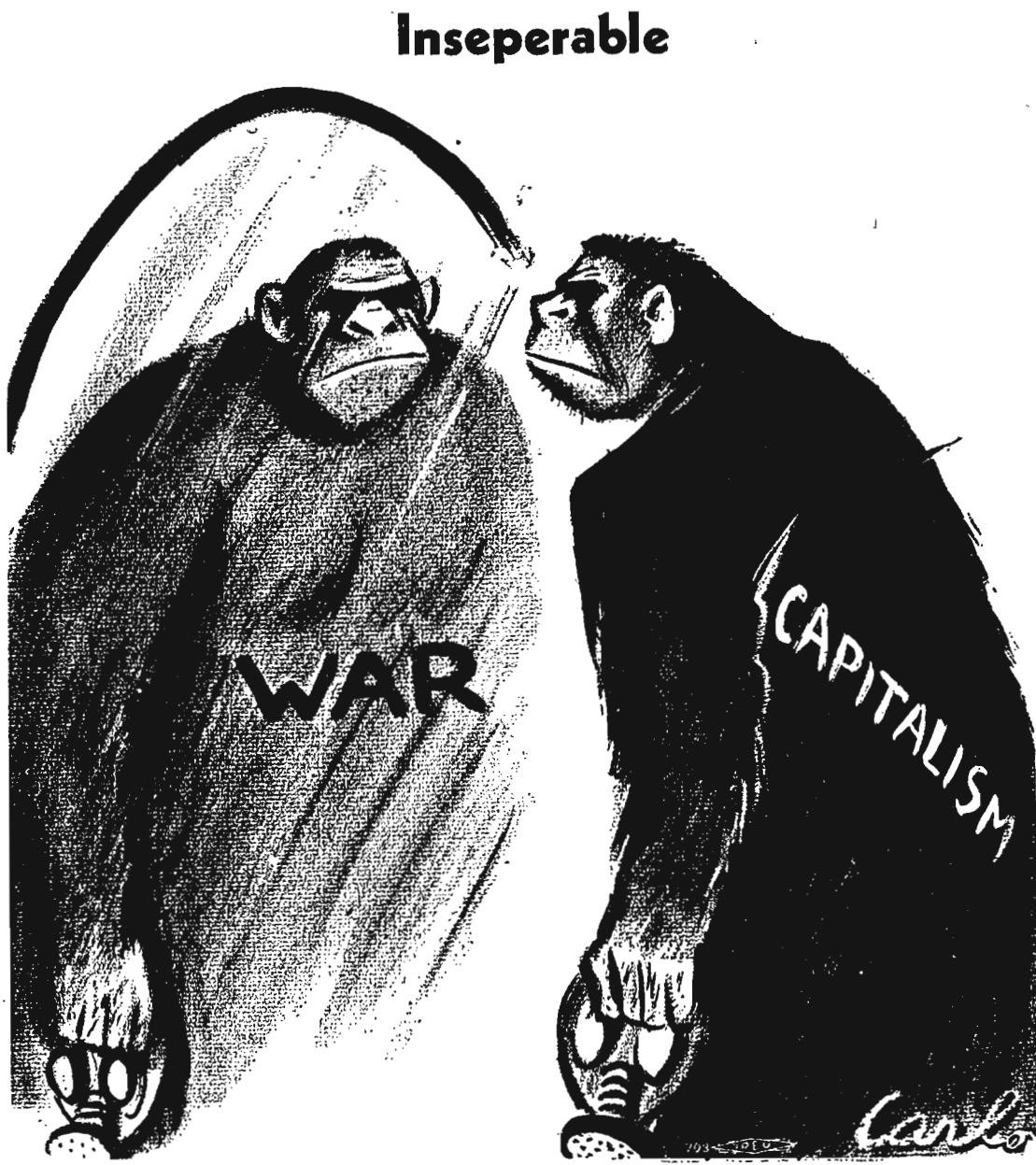
United Labor Protest
Wins Bail Reduction—
Green Hits Arrests

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
MINNEAPOLIS — The Central Labor Union WPA Defense Committee won its first victory in the fight against the government's frameup of 103 WPA strikers, when Federal Judge Gunnar Nordbye last Tuesday filed an order providing about 75 per cent reduction in bail. Eleven of the 43 workers so far arrested were released without bail on their personal recognizance.

William Green, president of the AFL, declared the AFL's "sympathy and full measure of moral support" of the strikers in Duluth last Monday, where he spoke at Labor Day ceremonies.

Even with the judge's reduction, over \$40,000 bail will be re-

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Inseparable

Behind the Lines

By GEORGE STERN

When President Roosevelt invoked wartime powers to order increases in the armed forces and to start a witch-hunt against "subversive" elements, he showed how soon and how swiftly democratic rights will be extinguished in this country as its masters drag it into war.

Britain and France are already as totalitarian as their enemy across the Rhine. Parliaments have been thrust aside without ceremony. They weren't even permitted to go through the motions of declaring this war as the sovereign will of the peoples they are supposed to represent. Chamberlain merely told the House of Commons that the country was at war. Daladier had his docile deputies vote to him in advance to declare war when he saw fit.

As their last acts these expiring "democratic" bodies turned over to the masters of the two governments unlimited dictatorial powers. These powers were swiftly used, to decree death to all remaining civil liberties, to choke off all remaining channels of independent opinion, and to drag on the economy of the country—above all the workers!—into a totalitarian unit geared to the grim business of waging war.

And that is what "democratic rights" and Congress and its Congressmen will amount to when Roosevelt and Wall Street deem the moment has come to throw this country's weight into the struggle for markets, colonies, and super-profits. Roosevelt has already issued the false cry for "national unity"—an end to political differences in time of crisis. For the Republicans and Democrats—tools in common of the Sixty Families who are the real rulers of the land—this "unity" will be easy to achieve. They will simply stop their shadow-boxing. But hidden behind this cry is the intention of the government to lash all genuine opponents of the war into submission, to begin the campaign of hysterical propaganda that will lead our millions of youth straight into

the holocaust. That is why Roosevelt starts out with decrees aimed at "subversive" elements. That is why he is cannily waiting for the war boom to begin to make itself felt before he comes before a chastened Congress with a demand for abrogation of the war embargo provisions of the neutrality act—a feeble barrier against U.S. embroilment in war, but a barrier nevertheless. When Congress convenes in its special session we shall be treated to an advance demonstration of the process whereby the representative bodies in England and France were dispossessed of their powers.

Opponents of the war referendum have tried to tell the people that such decisions should be left to the divinely-inspired leadership of our elected representatives, elected, every one of them, by the corrupt political machines which are the real expression in life of the "democratic process"! But we already have before our eyes in the two great so-called "democracies" in Europe what happens when the people hand over their fate in such a crucial moment to these puppets of the big industrialists and financiers who pull all the strings of government.

Not even the highly-colored, censored dispatches from—not of the enemy but of the war-makers—across the sea can conceal the hatred, the reluctance, and fearful confusion of mind with which the masses of all the European nations have met the cruel fate of a second horrible war in their own time. They did not in time find their own voices and their own strength. But they will, as the treachery of this war unfolds itself and all the fine phrases are unspun to reveal the greed of a few at the heart of all the destruction. Let us make our voices heard in time here. Let us demand the right for the people to speak for themselves and by universal vote proclaim their hatred of boss war and the war-makers!

TAMMANY SEEKS TO BLOCK N. Y. S.W.P. COUNCILMANIC CAMPAIGN

Branch Headquarters Open for Sympathizers
Who Wish to Sign Nominating Petitions for
Shachtman and Paine, Anti-War Candidates

NEW YORK CITY, Sept. 11—Tammany ward heeled have issued orders to their supporters not to sign the nominating petitions of the Socialist Workers Party which is now campaigning to place anti-war candidates in the Bronx and Manhattan on the ballot for Councilmanic elections.

This was confirmed yesterday by sources sympathetic to

the anti-war campaign of the Socialist Workers Party.

War-Mongers Worried
"The orders of Tammany ward heeled to stymie our campaign to place candidates Max Shachtman of the Bronx and George Lyman Paine of Manhattan on the ballot is part of the drive of the war-mongers to hurl the United States into the world-wide slaughter," declared Edward R. Frank, City Organizer of Local New York. "Lately we have been getting reports from canvassers that they have experienced difficulties where formerly they have been met sympathetically by every one. This is particularly true in the sections where Tammany still holds sway. Now we have received confirmation of our suspicions from unimpeachable sources.

GALLUP POLL SPREADS WAR PROPAGANDA

By H. D. HERRICK

Has the American Institute of Public Opinion—the Gallup poll—already been mobilized for the Roosevelt war drive?

The Institute, which is headed by Dr. Gallup, announced Sept. 9 that a new survey of public opinion was undertaken in view of the fact that Representative Ludlow has announced his intention of re-introducing at the coming special session of Congress his resolution for a referendum of the people before Congress can declare war.

Whereas in 1936 and 1937 it was found that over 70 percent favored the referendum proposal, and six months ago it was reported by the Gallup survey that the percentage had dropped to 61% as a result of Roosevelt's propaganda drive against it, today the proposal appears with a majority of only 51 per-

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Won't Be Stopped
"But neither Tammany Hall nor any other hot-bed of reaction can prevent us from getting the necessary number of signatures. We call on all our friends and all others who oppose war to help us in this campaign. We ask them to come down to headquarters, sign a nominating petition themselves, and circulate peti-

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Progressive Labor Raps Roosevelt War-Making Plans

The Northwest Organizer, official weekly organ of the Minneapolis Teamsters Joint Council, on September 7 issued a scathing editorial against Roosevelt's war plans. Subscribed to by the entire membership of the ten teamsters locals of Minneapolis and by twenty other unions, the Northwest Organizer speaks for a powerful, militant section of the American labor movement. Its editorial is therefore an authoritative voice against the war plans and deserves to be reprinted here:

That the boss papers would even dare begin to propagandize for the M-Day dictatorship is a sharp DANGER SIGNAL to the American people! The war-makers are preparing to drag us into the Second World War which began last Friday morning!

Leading the criminal war pack is the President himself, Franklin D. Roosevelt. It was Roosevelt and Farley who worked behind the scenes to prevent Congress from passing the war referendum proposal which would let the people vote on whether they wanted to fight another war for boss profits. It is Roosevelt's man, Louis Johnson, who has cooked up the M-Day dictatorship plot for the United States. And Roosevelt has just moved this man, a former national head of the American Legion, into the post of Secretary of War. It was Roosevelt who proposed, and a united Congress who adopted, the two-billion-dollar armament program in Washington this year.

With the publication of the M-Day Dictatorship plan, this reactionary plot is now out in the open. In succeeding issues of the Northwest Organizer we shall expose this plan which would crush all organized labor, outlaw strikes, blot out all labor papers, push labor down into the mud as far as any fascist has ever done.

Fascist Threat Is Here at Home

It isn't Germany that constitutes the threat to what democratic rights the American people still retain—it is big business and the M-Day backers right in this country of ours.

The second World War for Democracy is a fraud. The first victim of this war is democracy itself. There is no democracy in the England of Prime Minister Chamberlain or the France of Premier Daladier today. Both Chamberlain and Daladier—that is to say, Big Business—rule by decree laws, and the dictators they have become. If M-Day were to become a reality in the United States, the people of this country would be subjected to as brutal a dictatorship as was ever seen on the face of this globe.

The workers of this country don't want war and they don't want any part of the M-Day dictatorship.

Workers Have No Foreign Investments to Defend

The workers have no interests abroad to defend. No member of the Minneapolis Milk Drivers Union—or the General Drivers Union, or the City and Sanitary Drivers, or the Federal Workers Section, or the Electrical Workers Union or any other union—has any "interests" abroad to defend.

The Standard Oil company, General Motors, General Electric, Ford, J. P. Morgan have interests abroad to defend. We haven't. If the big boys want to go abroad to defend their investments, let them go.

J. P. Morgan has a gun. He has just returned from a sojourn in Scotland where he was shooting grouse. If he wants to defend his investments, let him take his gun and fight for them. But don't let him try to force us to fight for him. And don't let him try to lie about any fake "war for democracy." We can all see how much democracy came out of the first World War.

Down with boss war and all the boss war-makers!

Down with the M-Day Plan for a Military Dictatorship in the United States!

Take the war-making powers away from Congress. Let the people vote on war through a popular referendum!

All war funds to the unemployed!

What Your Dollar Can Do

A dollar puts a Socialist Appeal salesman on an important street corner for one day.

Five dollars permits free distribution of two hundred Socialist Appeals.

Ten dollars puts a full-time field organizer to work for one week in the anti-war campaign.

Anti-War Campaign Committee
Socialist Workers Party
116 University Place, N.Y.C.

Dear Friends:

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

Name _____

Address _____

Will Use Whip of War Hysteria to Drive Congress

Gives War Propaganda Machine Time to
Operate Before Announcing Date of Special
Session—Browbeats Isolationist Group

With the full cooperation of the kept press and the Republicans, Roosevelt and his subordinates are unlimbering every weapon at their disposal to assure a bound and gagged Congress when it meets in special session.

Roosevelt has delayed the special session while press, radio, movies, his FBI agents and every other possible instrumentality, batter away at the anti-war sentiment of the American people. He will probably now set the date for Oct. 2—giving his war propaganda machine a full month of war-time hysteria to prepare Congress to do his bidding.

He not only demands of Congress that it abrogate the sections of the Neutrality Act prohibiting shipment of arms and munitions abroad, but that it do

so without discussion! "The President is concerned lest isolationist speeches by the Senate might create the hysteria abroad that the nation is divided on the government's neutrality policy," the N. Y. Times, Sept. 10, reports.

Rigid rules of procedure in the House of Representatives assure the President of his will there, especially since the Republican leaders have promised to work hand in glove with him.

In the Senate, however, he is likely to have some difficulty. Senator Borah on Monday said he would insist upon full and open debate.

"We hear and read rather strange things these days," he said. "Although we are supposed to be neutral and not yet openly participating in the war, nevertheless there is constant suggestion about the censorship of the press, of the radio, curtailing public discussion and shutting off debates."

Ignoring Burning Questions
Borah and other isolationist senators are, however, likely to play along with the President at least to the extent of acceding to his insistence that no matter be taken up in the special session except the President's proposals on abrogation of neutrality legislation.

This means a two-party lynch campaign against proponents of the constitutional amendment to take the war-making powers away from the President and Congress and to vest them in the people by a direct referendum.

All the burning questions left unanswered by the last session—criminally inadequate WPA and public works funds to provide jobs for the unemployed, Federal failure to accept responsibility for direct relief, the dire need for a gigantic housing program, etc., will remain unanswered if the President has his way. He wants Congress to do his bidding, then adjourn and leave him with a free hand.

Lynch Spirit Unleashed
The repressive atmosphere instigated by the President's demand for "national unity," no opposition, no discussion, his expansion of the FBI to war against "subversive activities," has helped create a lynch atmosphere in which all forms of repression flourish. The Communist party, hopelessly discredited by Stalin's Nazi pact, has had many meetings broken up by Legionnaires and other reactionary groups, the latest being the breaking up of meetings in Davenport and Des Moines, Iowa at which Elizabeth Gurley Flynn was scheduled to speak. The Daily News, Sept. 12, editorially called for the FBI to seize the books of the C.P. The Communist Party is now an easy victim, but these incidents are building up an atmosphere in which all labor and radical groups will become the victims, unless labor

CANADA UNDER WAR-TIME DICTATORSHIP

Fourth International
Group Challenges
War-Makers

By CARL HICHIN

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
TORONTO, Canada, Sept. 7—Without waiting to officially declare war, the King government, long lauded by the Stalinists as a "democratic friend of peace," is hurriedly putting Canada on a war footing.

Dictatorial legislation, left on the statute books from the days of the last slaughter, has been invoked by the cabinet in council without so much as a parliamentary "if you please." Provincial police departments have set up special bodies to "deal with subversive elements." Secret trials have been legalized. The boss press has carried boasts that the state forces are all set to make a thorough "clean-up" of any "troublesome dissenters."

Workers in some key industries are now toiling in factories surrounded by bayoneted troops.

Rallying the workers in opposition to the slaughter, "Socialist Action", organ of the Socialist Workers League, Fourth International, has been prevented from appearing. Last night, a mass meeting called by the S.W.L. had to be cancelled because of the activities of state operatives. Fearful of the closure of their plants, printers have refused to print anti-war leaflets for the S.W.L.

First Casualty: Democracy
In this new war "for democracy", "democracy" herself has been made the first casualty. And only the S.W.L. challenges the war-makers. With the sharpening of the crisis, it immediately commenced the distribution of leaflets by the thousands, explaining Stalin's capitulation to Hitler, warning of the imperialist designs, rallying forces in opposition to the boss war.

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Bucking the War Censors

Canada has joined the other British Dominions in declaring war on Germany. Apparently in Ottawa, London, and Washington, for a few days there was some toying with the idea that Canada should abstain from any actual war declaration in order to provide a channel for arms from the United States to Britain. But Roosevelt must have assured his friends in London that he would have the arms embargo off the American law books long before Britain actually needed American-made planes and guns. The negative effect of Canadian abstention would be far greater, it was decided, than any temporary check in the flow of war supplies. So Canada pitched in for King and the Empire.

It is significant that in Paris the act was hailed as "the beginning of the entry of the Americas into the struggle." One Paris editorial minced: "Is it forbidden to think that as in 1914 this is only the opening of the chapter?"

Russian troops are being concentrated along the Polish and Rumanian frontiers, waiting upon the events scheduled to occur when Hitler completes his conquest of Poland. In Berlin, Nazi spokesmen rub their hands with pleasure over Stalin's new moves. In Moscow the press speaks with congratulatory awe of the swift and deadly efficiency of Hitler's war machine. In Rumania the army of 1,000,000 is mobilized to wait fearfully to see if Hitler's machine, with direct or indirect Russian help, is due to roll on across the Rumanian frontiers when Poland is subdued.

In Washington and in other capitals newsmen and diplomats buzz with speculation over the possible emergence of a Nazi-Soviet-Japanese coalition in a later phase of the war. This calculation, based on Soviet-Japanese negotiations that are undoubtedly going on behind the scenes, will be one of the chief instruments used to whip up war fears in this country and to prepare it for entry into the conflict.

Every German attack on Anglo-French shipping is an atrocity, of course, even when German U-boat commanders send up rockets to attract rescuing vessels. But when British ships sink German merchantmen—and in American waters to boot!—it is by no means an occasion for cartoonists to depict our heroic British friends and allies-to-be as gory beasts of prey. Nevertheless when Hanson Baldwin, military expert of the New York Times, is constrained to state, in a careful and moderate tone, to be sure, that the British practice of sending German vessels to the bottom is "contrary to the usual practices of international law" and "something of a surprise." The British, you see, should really take advantage of all their "legal" rights in this jungle, and take the boats as prizes. Sinking them is a dreadful waste.

Respect for the laws is all right in its place—but that place is with the sheep being led to the slaughter, not with the men who own the slaughter-house and batten off the blood-profits. Gen. Hugh Johnson, who ought to know, pointed out again in a recent column that the Industrial Mobilization Plan completely negates all the various anti-trust and anti-monopoly laws on the books of Congress. He recalls with jocularly how in the last war Bernard Baruch, head of the War Industries Board, gently chided the Attorney General for writing letters of platonic protest that had to be thrown into the waste paper basket. This will be the case again, Johnson warns, unless a ruling is made that anything the President does "in the public interest" shall "not be regarded as violations of the anti-trust laws."

"There isn't any choice now except to get into another period of ignoring on a broad front laws that officials are sworn to enforce," says the general.

How about it, general, if the people decide to "ignore" laws which destroy civil liberties and the lives of our youth? Will that go too?

Heel of Dictatorship Descends on Canada

Socialist Workers League Continues Revolutionary Fight Against War

(Continued from Page 1)

In Toronto mass meetings were held in the heart of the working class districts. Noon meetings were held close to factories. Daily attendance and support increased. Last Saturday the League's organ, Socialist Action, was all set up—a mass call to "Build the Anti-War Party Now", to oppose every move towards war made by the bosses and to end imperialism by the establishment of socialism. But at the last moment, due to state pressure, the printers refused to run the paper off.

Similarly with a scheduled series of leaflets. But some of these difficulties are now being gradually overcome.

As for the Stalinists, they have gone completely over into the camp of the war mongers. Yesterday the Stalinist-controlled central committee of the Ukrainian Labor-Farmer Temple Association issued a statement to the press. It embodied a call to all Canadian Ukrainians to "fulfill their obligations to Canada as loyal citizens."

Stalinists Are Repaid

But their craven servility to the bosses and their abject betrayal of their membership and supporters have not helped the Stalinists. Professedly fearful of another "appeasement", Alderman Stewart Smith—Canada's Stalin—in a speech criticized Chamberlain. In reply, boss representatives on the Toronto city council are pushing a motion to oust Smith from his seat in the city hall, and last Saturday city officials refused the Stalinists permits for a public meeting.

The social-democratic Cooperative Commonwealth Federation is as silent as the grave. Yesterday its parliamentary caucus met at Ottawa. It refused to make a statement following the caucus. Recent publications of its organ all but ignored the war crisis and the

war itself. Its Ontario council was reported not to have discussed the matter as late as last Saturday. In the past months the C.C.F. was committed to the same treacherous line as the Stalinists.

Dictatorial Measures

The war measures act, on the statute books since the 1914-18 days, was invoked by the King cabinet even before Britain declared war. This act, in effect, makes strikes illegal and any kind of voiced opposition to war almost the equivalent of treason.

Passed at the last session of the House, in preparation for this time, was the new Officials Secrets Act. It legalizes trials in secret. Under it, the government may declare any factory or neighborhood a prohibited area, and whilst it is apparently directed against agents of foreign states, it is so worded as to make it possible by declaring any factory or hall a prohibited area to subject to secret trial and severe penalties any strike organizer or any person challenging the government in its war policy.

Anti-War Forces

But there is opposition. The French Canadians, particularly those resident in Quebec, were in opposition in the last war. At that time they won for themselves exemption from conscription.

Out west, the farm youth are known to be largely opposed to service in the army. And generally there is distinctly lacking among large and important sections of workers that eagerness for service in the boss armies that characterized the early August days of 1914 both in Canada and Britain.

The possibilities for quite a large opposition to the bosses' war do exist. Only the S.W.L. of the Fourth International is applying itself—and that with all its resources—to the tasks that these possibilities demand.

FIRST VICTORY FOR INDICTED WPA STRIKERS

Bail Reduction Won Under Pressure of Minneapolis Labor

(Continued from Page 1)

quied. Last Friday the WPA strike prisoners pleaded not guilty to the charges made against them in indictments handed down by a Federal grand jury convened on orders from Attorney General Murphy. The charges, an outgrowth of the WPA strike, are based on a provision of the Roosevelt-Woodruff Relief Law making a crime of "interference" with WPA workers.

That the Federal government means to carry further its repressions against the Minneapolis labor movement was indicated by the reconvening of the grand jury Wednesday under the tutelage of U. S. Attorney Victory Anderson. A new cast of witnesses, totalling 46, were scheduled to appear before the jury. So far, more than 300 witnesses have been heard, with not one union man or woman among them.

Study the Moscow Trials In the Light of the Pact

Under the impact of the Hitler-Stalin alliance, thousands of Communist Party members and sympathizers are now seeking to understand the road which Stalin travelled to this horrible goal.

One of the most important landmarks on this road of degeneration was the Moscow Trials. Stalin's frameup of the old Bolsheviks, followed by thousands executed without trial, were his preparations for the embrace with Hitler. He carried these purges out, ironically enough, on the pretext that the October generation were agents of Hitler!

Inquiry Commission Formed

The widespread demand for an impartial investigation of the trials gave rise, in 1937, to the formation of a Commission of Inquiry into the charges made against Leon Trotsky in the trials. Chairman of the commission was the founder of progressive education in the United States and outstanding American philosopher, John Dewey.

Other members of the Commission were Carlo Tresca, the anarcho-syndicalist leader; Francisco Zamora, the Mexican radical publicist; Suzanne LaFollette, former editor of The Freeman; Otto Ruehle, the biographer of Karl Marx; Edward Alsworth Ross, the American sociologist; John Chamberlain, the literary critic; Alfred Rosmer, former editor-in-chief of L'Humanite and member of the Executive Committee of the Communist International in 1921; Benjamin Stolberg, the author; and Wendelin Thomas, the German left-wing Socialist. Counsel for the commission was John F. Finerty, former counsel for Sacco and Vanzetti and Tom Mooney's lawyer.

The Commission's Work

This distinguished international body held hearings in New York, Paris and Mexico City.

In the summer of 1937, it published a volume of preliminary material, covering the Mexico City hearings, under the title,

The American Negro press reports with pride, that among the millions of soldiers the French imperialists are already using against Germany on the Western Front, are thousands of black troops. A report in the Sept. 9 Amsterdam News states that a million black troops are on the way from Africa to France.

In using Moors against the Spanish working class, the Fascist Franco was merely following the example set by the "democracies".

France began seriously building an army of Negroes in West Africa in 1912. How did the imperialists get the Africans at all, when economic exploitation and political repression are what they are in Africa?

First, the men are conscripted. They have no choice.

Secondly, in the prevailing poverty and misery, the army offers an escape to men looking for a way out. It means regular food and clothes and a place to sleep.

IMPERIALIST FRANCE: DIVIDE AND RULE

Furthermore, the black soldiers get certain political privileges. The French divide the

African Soldiers and the Armies of "Democracy"

By J. R. JOHNSON

African people into two groups—elites and the indigenes (natives). An elite is an educated French Negro who is given all the privileges of a white man, can even enter the government service, in the colonies or in France, and rise to high position, General in the Army, Prefect of a department, head of a Paris hospital, and even a Cabinet Minister. The French parties take turns to provide the presiding officer of the Chamber of Deputies, and some months ago, it was the turn of Candace, an African, who presided amidst the applause of the whole Chamber.

The indigenes, many millions, are treated worse than dogs. Here the French are no different than any other imperialism in Africa. A soldier who has done his service and fulfilled certain other elementary conditions is admitted into the ranks of the elites. Thus France divides the colonial population and builds up an armed buffer against the hostility of the masses of the people.

The native chiefs act as recruiting agents. They have to, or they wouldn't remain chiefs for very long. And certain other ambitious black men are quite prepared to assist the French in enslaving Africans in return for certain political considerations. Such a one was Blaise Diagne, a Senegalese. He represented Senegal in the French parliament, in accordance with the clever French custom of allowing the colonies one representative each in the French Chambers, less than a dozen in all among hundreds of French Deputies and Senators.

AFRICANS DIED LIKE FLIES IN 1914

Diagne rose to be a Cabinet Minister and sent thousands of Africans to their deaths in 1914-1918. In the bitter ice and snow of the French defense of Verdun, the French command threw thousands of these black colonialists into the front lines. Even Diagne had to protest, for his use to the French government depended upon his influence with the masses. "Their skins are black, gentlemen," he said, "but that does not make them impervious to bullets."

Neither did Diagne's speeches. The French blacks, however, learned something from the last war. The Communist Party, a revolutionary party in those days, did propaganda both in Africa and the troops in Paris, and many of these were under the influence of the Communist Party. The policy then was that the revolutionary black soldiers would be the advance-guard of the world revolution in Africa, striking for the independence of their country, while the workers and peasants in France fought for socialism in France.

The enemy in each case was the same French imperialism.

POPULAR FRONT BROKE BLACK-WHITE UNITY

The Popular Front ruined all this. The Stalinist propaganda for the Popular Front raised the hopes of all colonialists. But the Popular Front soon showed itself to be a combination of capitalists and turn-coat revolutionaries who gave phrases to the masses but were chiefly concerned, not with destroying but with maintaining French capitalism. The colonialists who fought against French imperialism were slandered by the Stalinists as agents of Fascism. The powerful Stalinist propaganda machine was directed to persuading the black soldiers that the independence of Africa was no longer the slogan. Their duty was now to die for French "democracy" against Fascism.

Thus the Stalinists introduced a vast confusion into the movement and caused great bitterness among black revolutionaries against all "white" political parties as treacherous betrayers of the blacks.

In those days, 1936 and 1937, the French workers were on the march against the French bourgeoisie. And in Marseilles, during the long continued strikes and struggles of the workers against the Popular Front government, African troops were brought out. Thus French imperialism arms African peasants to shoot down French workers and then arms French workers to shoot down African peasants.

France in this war hopes to use a million and a half blacks. This is the figure given in 1938 by General Manginn, the French expert on the colonial army. First they will be used against Germany. But as the French workers feel the full strain of the war and begin to fight against their enemies at home, the French capitalists, like Franco, will use the Afri-

can soldiers to help in the maintenance of the capitalist system. Thus French imperialism hopes to divide its enemies, the workers and peasants at home and abroad.

HOW AFRICAN SOLDIERS ARE CONSCRIPTED

But there is another side to this question. The Africans are likely to revolt against the condition of war more quickly than the French soldiers. And many of these Africans will have been conscripted by brute force, driven into the army as cattle into a pen. The following letter, from French West Africa, written in 1938 and printed in "International African Opinion," gives a clear picture of the methods used and the sentiments of these conscripts and their families.

"On Saturday, 14th May, at 2 o'clock in the morning, while peaceful inhabitants were dancing in a ballroom at Abidjan, policemen, armed gendarmes, and riflemen surrounded the hall. The whole room, excepting the women, were arrested. All the men—old men, children, the sick or the healthy—were brought in lorries to the military camp. In the streets that same evening, a veritable manhunt occurred and lasted until dawn.

"16th May, ten lorries of recruits at Adjame, ten at Treichville. "17th May, twenty lorries still at Adjame, 110 were taken from Sassandra, arrived at Abidjan on the 26th May by the S.S. 'Brazza'. Anguish reigns with grinding of teeth. Families and houses are beginning to be abandoned. There is wailing everywhere. The arrested, without exception, are clothed in uniform. We saw them march by this morning.

"Come to our assistance—it is time! We are hungry, we are naked, we are weary of crying out our miseries! Nobody hears us, and thus it is they want to sacrifice us.

Not content, together with Captain Dubois, with stealing children of 16 to make soldiers, Darres is an audacious liar. He has published the following circular:

CIRCULAR

"The Chief Administrator of Colonies—Mayor Administrator of the Mixed Commune of Abidjan, warns the population against the rumors, which are circulating in the town and which have the effect of establishing a relation of cause and effect between the clean-ups actually embarked upon, and the enrollment of the second portion of the contingent in the years 1937 and 1938.

The former have as their only aim to purify the commune of all the undesirable foreigners, and those who do not come in line either with the Treasury or with Justice. "As to the appeal for recruits, that has terminated since the evening before yesterday.

"The recruits presented themselves of their own accord, without constraint, and on simple convocation to the Administrative Authority. (Signed) DARRES

"Oh, what liars they are!

They surround a ballroom on the 14th at 2 o'clock in the morning. The 15th, 16th, 17th May, man-hunt in the streets of Adjame and Treichville: numerous lorries transport the inhabitants arrested to the military camp. These inhabitants, with the exception of six, among whom two Dahomeans, released because of bad physique, are all uniformed. We saw them with our own eyes, marching past and proceeding to the exercising ground on the road to Bingerville! Three submarines arrived to secure the safety of their expedition to Dakar or France. Violent rapes are made (and continue elsewhere in all regions of the colony), and the captured flow into Abidjan by trains, petrol-wagons, lorries, and boats. Mothers, wives, and fathers groan and weep. That is what M. Darres calls: 'Recruits presenting themselves of their own accord without constraint—on simple convocation.

"In reality, this campaign to get rifle-men took place because the natives swore they would not, on any condition, go to war on behalf of the whites. The latest news is that the rapes still continue in June."

This letter is a living document and tells more of the truth about French Africa than hundreds of thousands of words flowing from the mouths of Daladier, Leon Blum, and the French Stalinists, about the un-

MAINE COMRADE LEADS WEEK'S LIST IN SUBSCRIPTION DRIVE

Renewal Subscriptions Still the Main Problem in Big Cities Which, on the Whole, Lag Behind Others

A lone comrade in Calais, Maine made the best showing in the subscription drive for the Socialist Appeal in the past week. Five subscriptions were sent in by this comrade—evidence that persistent agitation among fellow workers, even by one individual, can bring excellent results.

A total of 31 new subscriptions and 11 renewals came in during this week. The total to date, since the inception of the War Referendum Campaign, is 155 new subscriptions and 36 renewals. The record by cities is as follows:

Branch	New	Re-natural
Los Angeles	7	1
San Francisco	4	1
New Haven	2	2
Wash., D.C.	3	3
Chicago	3	1
Kansas	3	—
Detroit	4	—
St. Paul	14	2
Minneapolis	17	5
Baltimore	3	—
St. Louis	4	1
Newark	10	—
New York City	37	13
Toledo	5	—
Cleveland	2	—
Akron	6	—
San Diego	1	—
New Castle	1	—
Lynn	1	—
Boston	3	2
Texas	1	—
Philadelphia	3	3
Evansville	1	—
Calais	5	—
Youngstown	1	—
Pittsburgh	5	—
Miscellaneous	4	2
	155	36

The best showings to date have been made by St. Paul, Akron, Toledo, Baltimore and New York City. St. Paul has only six more to go to complete its quota of 20 new subscriptions and Baltimore, two. But the big task in New York City remains in the field of renewal subscriptions, while 60 new subscriptions in a period of 45 days should be easy for New York to attain.

In the subscription field, ban-

ner branches have not yet shown what they are really capable of achieving, as for instance, Chicago, Minneapolis, Los Angeles. Boston is extremely low. Most of these branches have been making intensive efforts to circulate and sell the Socialist Appeal widely among labor circles, but most decisive at this stage is a speeded-up drive for subscriptions in the latter part of the present campaign.

Harvey Dawes of Youngstown is confident that Youngstown will be able to fill its subscription quota; in addition they dispose of 100 copies of the Appeal regularly.

Local San Francisco subscriptions have been moving in more steadily and distribution of the Appeal has been intensive and widespread.

Several of the smaller cities, such as Worcester, New Haven, etc. are exerting themselves to obtain new subscriptions.

A warning must be issued to several of the larger cities which are so far in arrears with their bundle payments to the Socialist Appeal that it may be necessary to discontinue the bundles to them, unless immediate and substantial responses are made. In these difficult times it is all too easy for our press to find itself in an insoluble jam, unless the Party units pay their bills on schedule.

The war situation has affected the revenue of the Socialist Appeal, even as it has drastically affected that of The New Internationalist.

It is now for the American organization and supporters of our press to rally to our aid. The immediate need is:

1. An intensive drive for subscriptions.
2. Payment on bundle accounts.

ANTI-WAR FROLIC TO FEATURE MANY PROMINENT PERFORMERS

The dance and entertainment arranged by the N. Y. District for next Saturday, September 16, at Irving Plaza will be the finest affair of its kind, according to reports by the committee in charge.

Outstanding professional entertainers will appear in a one hour program of songs and dances which will surpass anything found in any of the Broadway night clubs. Archie Savage who created a sensation with his dances at the last Pioneer Party will appear again in his Afro-American version of popular Cuban dances. Dewey Johnson, famous Negro baritone will present a program of songs ranging from spirituals to

The Trinidad Calypso Singers' topical and intimate songs will be the high point of the evening (if you have never heard Calypso singing—you are in for a surprise and a treat you will not soon forget) . . . B & L ???! will present several jazz versions of the modern dance which are guaranteed to stretch your abdominal muscles. . . KIJAC, our own mimic will give several impersonations of prominent political personages (no names in advance) . . . AND . . . the singing star of "Have You Had Your Worthing Cause Today" and "I'm a Dialectic Dope" will be there with several new songs which will be just as popular . . . etc., etc.

Dance music will be furnished by the Savoy Bearcats who have just returned to New York from a successful trans-continental tour.

The proceeds from the Dance will be used in the anti-war campaign conducted by the N. Y. Local of the Party. Tickets can be obtained at the Labor Bookshop and the S.W.P. headquarters, 116 University Place. . . minds of these brave but misguided blacks. The struggle for the emancipation of the workers, black and white, is to be won not by following the suicidal policy of the last war, joining one side against the other, but by remorseless opposition to all imperialism, whether fascist or "democratic."

(Next issue we shall print a letter written by Leon Trotsky to Claude McKay in 1921, in which Trotsky, then War Commissar of the Soviet Union, analyzes the role of Africans in the French Army.

ATTENTION! NEW YORK READERS

The APPEAL now appears on New York City newsstands on Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday. If you want the APPEAL placed on any newsstand notify the Business Manager of the APPEAL by mail.

THE NEGRO QUESTION

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

By J. R. JOHNSON

The Negro and the War

IV

All of us know how Negroes suffer in America. But you have to go to Africa to see how brutally the "democracies" treat Negroes. In South Africa, a Negro cannot even lay a stamp in the same place where a white man buys one. There is a special window for him even in the post office. He lives in a part of the town that is marked off for him, and he cannot leave there after nine o'clock without a pass signed by a white man. Any white man, any dirty drunkard of an Englishman or a Boer, can sign a pass for a sober, self-respecting, hard-working Negro. But any Negro who is caught out of the Negro district after nine o'clock without his passes will be locked up by the first policeman who stops him. There are not ten colored doctors in the Union of South Africa where over seven million Negroes live, and the imperialists have been there for 400 years. That is the culture and civilization they give to the Africans in South Africa.

In Kenya more than five people cannot meet without police permission. One day six of them went home after church for a cup of tea. In comes a policeman. "One, two, three, four, five, six. This is sedition. You are under arrest." They were taken to jail and the next day fined. Every working African in Kenya is fingerprinted and must carry the print around with him wherever he goes. Caught without it, he is sent to jail. Wages in Rhodesia and Kenya are sometimes four, sometimes ten cents a day. A Negro is no more than a dog to these people. And this is under the rule of the great "democratic countries," Britain, France and Belgium. James Ford is a dirty traitor to tell Negroes that they must go to war for the "democracies" for the benefit of civilization. Aren't Negroes part of civilization?

How did the "democratic" imperialist nations get hold of Africa? They got it as Hitler got Austria and Czechoslovakia. Hitler lied, made promises and broke them, bribed and sent armies to massacre all who resisted. In exactly the same way, these great "democracies" robbed the Africans of country after country and hold them in chains. And now Roosevelt, Browder, and Ford tell Negroes that they must all get together with the great "democracies" and shed their blood. Shed it for what? To win back their country? To live as free men? Not at all. But to go and help Britain and France fight against Hitler and Mussolini about Danzig and the Polish corridor, and who should dominate the Chinese and Latin-American markets, and who should dominate Africa.

Remember What they Did in 1914

These imperialist bandits encouraged workers to fight in the last war with the same talk about democracy, freedom and civilization. But after defeating Germany, Britain, France and Belgium simply took over the German colonies and continued to treat the Negroes as before. Now they are fighting another war. If the fascists win they will take the colonies back. If the "democracies" win they will keep them. But whether "democracies" win, or fascists win, the Africans remain slaves in their own country.

Now Republicans like Dewey and Democrats like Roosevelt, men like John L. Lewis and William Green, all the war-mongers for "democracy," have never told Negroes anything about the situation of Negroes in Africa. Lewis encouraged Negroes to join the CIO and Negroes were right to join. But when Lewis tells Negroes to fight for democracy, as he most certainly will, they simply have to ask him the same questions that they will ask Ford and Roosevelt, and Lewis will be able to make no better reply.

But James Ford and Browder and the Communist Party are different. For many years they have posed as the special friends of the Negro people, ready to lead them out of their bondage into the promised land of freedom. They know, and used to expose the situation of the Negro not only in America but in Africa and the West Indies. Listen, for instance, to James Ford, the Negro Stalinist, in an article, "The Negro and the Struggle Against Imperialism":

"The native population has (in South Africa) no electoral rights (with the exception of the Cape Province), the power of the state has been monopolized by the white bourgeoisie which has at its disposal the white armed forces. The white bourgeoisie, chiefly the Boers, defeated by the arms of British imperialism, at the close of the last century, had for a long time carried on a dispute with British capital. But as much as the process of capitalist development goes on in the country, the interests of the South African bourgeoisie are becoming more and more blended with the interests of British financial and industrial capital, and the white South African bourgeoisie is becoming more and more inclined to compromise with British imperialism, forming together with the latter a united front of whites for the exploitation of the native population."

Situation Has Changed for the Worse

That is what Ford wrote in The Communist (January 1930, p. 27). Has the situation changed? Yes it has. The votes that a few Negroes in the Cape had (referred to by Ford) have been taken away from them. So they are worse off than they were before.

We could print scores of such passages from the writings of the Stalinists. Only three years ago, Ben Davis Jr. had the following to say about Negroes in America. It is a long passage, but every line is worth recalling today. Says Davis, "One has merely to look about him for the rising atrocities against the Negro. The news broke in July that Silas Coleman, a Negro worker, was killed (for the hell of it) to 'thrill' members of the Black Legion, a super Klu Klux Klan connected with the Michigan Wolverine republicans. Recently three Negroes were lynched in the space of one week in the South—a new record for the southern ruling class. The "grass roots" convention of Governor

During the Last World War a Few Individuals Bucked the Stream And Blazed the Trail to Revolution

By JOSEPH CARTER

In the early days of the First World War only a few isolated voices were raised against the criminal madness of workers fighting workers in the interest of their exploiters at home.

The powerful socialist parties and trade unions became war-mongers. "For defense of little Belgium," shouted the British turn-coats as they rallied the toilers behind the Union Jack. "For national defense!," cried the French social-patriots. "Against Kaiserism and for democracy!," rang the appeal of the Russian traitors to socialism as they supported the Tsarist armies. "Against barbaric Tsarism!," replied their German comrades of yesterday as they prostituted themselves to their own ruling class.

In a word, in each country the official leaders of labor defended the imperialist war in the name of democracy and socialism. And the chorus was powerful, impressive and effective. Could anything be done to fight against the tidal wave of treachery and chauvinist hysteria?

THE FIRST ANTI-WAR FORCES APPEAR

In little Serbia, the Socialist deputies Lapchevitch and Katzerovitch exposed the lying talk of national defense, proved that Serbia was but a pawn in the hands of the Allied powers, and therefore refused to vote war credits or support the war.

In England, four members of the Independent Labor Party voted against the war in the House of Commons, while 38 representatives of the Labor Party supported the war.

In Russia, the fourteen Socialist deputies in the Tsarist Duma—Bolshevik and Menshevik—refused to vote war credits or support the war.

In Germany, the small anti-war forces assembled around Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. On December 2 (1914) Liebknecht in the Reichstag electrified the world by his eloquent denunciation of the war as a robber struggle between the two groups of powers. In defiance of party discipline, he answered the roll-call vote on war credits with a powerful "NO!" One man against the German Empire and the Social Democratic Party!

"The main enemy is at

home!" Liebknecht declared in opposition to the social-imperialists.

But in the first months of the war only a handful followed him.

LENIN AND TROTSKY AGAINST THE STREAM

Along also were the socialist-internationalists Lenin, Zinoviev, and Trotsky, swimming against the current of reaction; analysing the causes of the war; denouncing the ruling classes and their predatory governments; attacking the socialists of yesterday who now were the lackeys of militarism; warning the workers against those who declared that a truly democratic peace could be achieved by the imperialist powers. Only the overthrow of the governments, the conquest of power by the working class, they constantly reiterated, could bring a lasting peace by destroying capitalism and establishing a socialist society.

As dark and hopeless as the situation appeared, they had faith in the recuperative powers of the working class, certain that once the masses learned from the frightful experiences of the war itself that they had been betrayed, they would turn on their old leaders and conduct a revolutionary struggle to end the war.

They were called hopeless dreamers whose wish was father to the thought, insane fanatics who were dealing with a world of their own imagination. A handful of people will stop the war by socialist revolution? No, replied the internationalists, the masses will make the revolution. Our duty is to point the road, utilize the experiences of the workers patiently to explain to them the meaning of the events, and the methods they must employ at each stage of development.

ANTI-WAR FORCES GATHER TOGETHER

The anti-war socialists reassembled slowly their ranks. In March, 1915 an International Socialist Women's Conference was held at Berne, Switzerland. In the same city, in April the International Conference of Socialist Youth took place. Both conferences adopted clear statements against the war but were vague on what was to be done. The differences were expressed in clearer form at the

conference of anti-war socialists at Zimmerwald in September of the same year.

The left wing at the conference, grouped around Lenin, insisted that opposition to the war must be expressed in explicit preparations for revolutionary action as the way out, and for an immediate split with those who either supported the war or were in an alliance with the pro-war socialists.

Those who opposed the left wing thought that the differences with the pro-war socialists and their allies were temporary, and would be overcome once peace was again established. They did not believe that socialist revolutions would develop during the war and therefore concentrated on getting the belligerent powers to adopt "democratic peace terms."

LENIN BECOMES LEADER OF ANTI-WAR FORCES

Lenin's position was supported by only a minority at the Zimmerwald Conference. But when the second conference was held at Kienthal in April, 1916, his program had made such headway that the official resolution of the conference explicitly condemned the social-chauvinists (the pro-war "socialists") and the social-pacifists—(those who taught that peace could be achieved by the imperialist powers through disarmament, compulsory arbitration and democratization of foreign politics). The resolution called for revolutionary action as the only way to end the war.

This program was supported by the German group of Liebknecht and Luxemburg. One month after Kienthal, Liebknecht spoke at a mass May Day rally in Berlin. "Down with the war!," he shouted. And though thrown into prison, his slogan echoed throughout the country by means of illegal leaflets, pamphlets and papers.

Strikes began to break out in country after country; reports of fraternization of soldiers on both sides began to seep through the censored press. In England, for example, army men were sentenced for acts of sedition and mutiny: in 1916, 60; 1917, 221; 1918, 676, according to the official reports.

THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION BLAZES THE TRAIL

These anti-war actions were given added impetus by the outbreak of the Russian Revolution in March 1917. But the Kerensky government continued to support the Allies. The Bolsheviks unleashed a tremendous campaign to achieve the aim they had set for themselves at the beginning of the war: peace through the Socialist revolution. And with their victory in November 1917, the first great breach was made in the World War.

The Bolshevik Revolution accelerated the strike movements in the warring countries, particularly in Germany and in Austro-Hungary. The mass actions of 1918 culminated in the German and Austrian revolutions of November. Peace was being achieved by the actions of the working class!

But only in Russia were the revolutionary socialists in control of political power. In Germany and Austria those who had supported the war, those who were the most active opponents of the revolution, succeeded in forming the new governments. As during the war, their main task became the suppression of the revolutionary workers' movement and the assurance of capitalist stability.

THE BOSSES' PEACE PREPARED THIS WAR

The Allied statesmen and their social-patriotic agents had promised a democratic peace. They imposed the oppressive Versailles Treaty on the German people. The revolutionary Socialists time and again warned that only socialist revolutions, workers' governments united in a Socialist United States of Europe could bring about a lasting and democratic peace. The Bolsheviks showed the way in Russia. They made clear during and after the war that unless the Russian Revolution was extended internationally, reaction and more bloody wars would follow.

How tragically accurate were the predictions of the revolutionists! What scurrilous lies were the promises of the "democratic" imperialists and their lickspittles!

The second World War is now a stark reality. Once again the masters, and their agents in the labor movement, are repeating the old slogans.

The anti-war forces are once again reduced to a handful. But as in 1914-1918 the masses will learn that they are being de-

IRISH MASSES OPPOSE ENTRY INTO THE WAR

Expose the Hypocrisy Of Britain's Concern With "Democracy"

Exposing the fraudulent claim that British imperialism is fighting for the independence of Poland, the Irish-American press is urging opposition to American involvement in the European war. This view, expressed in the current issues of The Irish World, The Gaelic American, and the Irish Echo, expresses the sentiments of the broad masses in Elre and the Irish people in this country.

Attack de Valera

Commenting on a recent interview with Premier de Valera, the Sept. 9 Gaelic American comments editorially:

"Evidently de Valera believes that England is a break-water against the Continent and if he gets his way, he will involve his country in the war to 'make the world safe for English imperialism.' He has probably made a secret agreement with England without consulting the Irish people. The young men of Ireland, at least the majority of them, will refuse to line up on the side of their centuries-old enemy. They are more likely to embrace England's difficulty as Ireland's opportunity. Every friend of Ireland hopes and prays that she will keep out of wars to safeguard her relentless enemy."

The Sept. 9 Irish Echo repeats the cablegram sent by the Northern Council for Unity, held in Belfast several days before the outbreak of the war, calling upon President Roosevelt for assistance against Britain's oppression of Ireland. "Great Britain still holds six counties of Ireland by force and allows a tyranny to prevail here over the native population unequalled in Europe today. The Irish race counts on your assistance to have this aggression ended," reads the appeal.

The Irish of course do not expect Roosevelt to help the Irish people. As the Echo comments: "He may not see fit to request England to cease her aggression in Ireland, a thing which he has not hesitated to do in the past when Germany was the aggressor and a Central European country the victim, but it may teach him that the ideals of this country (Ireland) are not those of Great Britain."

Expose British Hypocrisy

The same meeting of the Northern Council for Unity issued a statement denouncing the hypocritical slogans under which the English ruling class is waging war: "At this time of world crisis we again call the attention of all lovers of liberty to the continued military aggression of England in the most Irish of the provinces of Ireland, and emphatically protest against her use of the German-Polish situation as a smoke-screen to hide her own age-long brutality towards our country and, particularly, to divert attention from her greatest crime of all—the Partition of Ireland.

"Unlike the fraudulent zeal that is born of political expediency the warm regard of the Irish people for Polish liberty is no characteristic of mushroom growth. "During Poland's long night of suffering, and while England was callously indifferent, she had no more sincere friend and sympathizer than Ireland or common hope for a glorious deliverance."

"Every injustice and indignity practised towards Poland, England has inflicted on Ireland, 'the Poland of the West-ern Seas'. . . . "The charges of duplicity levelled by England against other nations, whom she rebukes for disregard of solemn treaties, have a cynical ring in Irish ears. England has always been regarded as the world's leading treaty-breaker, and for that reason the French appropriately dubbed her Perfidious Albion. Every treaty she entered into with the Irish people she brazenly repudiated. . . . "Ireland is a justice-loving nation with only one enemy in the world, and anxious as she is for friendship, there shall never be peace between her and England while the crime of Partition endures."

ceived, and will unite their forces against the war. They can stop the war, and bring about a lasting peace, only by struggling for the socialist revolution, for the Socialist United States of Europe and a World Socialist Federation.

The WAR DEAL

By DWIGHT MACDONALD

It is worth paying some attention to President Roosevelt's letter of Sept. 9 explaining why he was cancelling his radio address on "Democratic Women's Day." "A week ago," he wrote, "I might consistently have spoken words primarily addressed to our Democratic women. But the events of the past few days render it imperative that every utterance of mine in these days of tension be addressed to all of our citizens, regardless of sex, age or political affiliation. We must all stand together in a firm resolve to bear witness before all nations to our unshaken patriotism. . . . Our plain duty now is to fulfill our obligation to the nation, regardless of political or partisan considerations."

This is more than the usual star-spangled stuff about "national" interests coming before any "petty partisan" concerns. It is the most dramatic expression of a new major tendency in American political strategy.

In issuing a formal invitation to Republican leaders to confer with him on current state affairs, Governor Lehman of New York writes: "Partisanship and political interest must at this time be outlawed. I propose a truce on politics. . . . Political parties should combine their efforts for the good of the nation." Addressing the heads of the National Youth Administration, Mayor LaGuardia expresses the hope that the youth of America would remain "calm and serene" in these stormy times and would join in the movement for national unity, which "would serve as a fine example" to Europe.

The President of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce talks of "goodwill" and "great tolerance" as prime requisites for this crucial time.

EVEN DIES JOINS "NATIONAL UNITY"

The sweet atmosphere of tolerance and brotherly love has even spread to the Dies Committee. When one unregenerate member the other day tried to infer from Browder's testimony that the New Deal was "Communist," one of his colleagues angrily rebuked him for "playing cheap politics." And Chairman Dies actually took some pains to lead Gitlow to admit that neither William Green nor John L. Lewis is a Communist. Furthermore—"Mr. Dies asserted that the committee did not want any implications drawn from the testimony that either the AFL or the CIO were Communist or Communist-dominated organizations."

All this means that when an imperialist nation like the United States prepares to go to a war, the first thing that must be done is to cajole and browbeat the masses into suspending hostilities on the class-war front at home. Any sort of political disagreement becomes potentially dangerous, since it may open the door a crack for a workingclass attack on the status quo. Hence the bourgeois politicians try to establish a sort of "moral disarmament" of all politicians, especially those with labor following. A truce in the class war is the required condition of a declaration of war abroad.

THE STRATEGY OF DISARMING LABOR

There are two main aspects to this strategy. On the one hand, the forces of labor are crushed, gagged, or persuaded to keep silent. The Dies Committee's new-found concern for the good names of William Green and John L. Lewis simply means that the Congressional reactionaries are beginning to see the trade union bureaucrats as, potentially, a means of easing the American workingclass into the coming war, just as they thus served in the last war. The iron hand concealed in the velvet glove of persuasion has already made itself felt. The day before the President wrote his little message to the Democratic women, he announced, in his decree of "limited emergency," that the Department of Justice is to take on a number of extra G-men to help combat "subversive activity."

There can be little doubt that, as the war crisis sharpens over here, the Administration intends to crack down more and more widely on any sort of labor and left-wing opposition to its war drive. "We must, in these critical times," said the President to the Democratic women, "maintain our old loyalties and the old ways of life upon which all of our happiness rests. To do this we must exercise a vigilant guardianship over our children. We must protect them from every evil force which would shake their faith in our fundamental institutions of democracy." It is pretty clear just what these "evil forces" are, and just what sort of "unity" the President wants to enforce on the nation.

The other arm of this "national unity" strategy is to turn the actual running of the government over more and more to the direct representatives of big business. In a capitalist society, "unity" means that the masses accept the status quo, which means in turn that a reformist government like the New Deal can increasingly dispense with the pretense of being independent of and even antagonistic to the ruling class.

WALL STREET MOVING INTO WASHINGTON

In my last article I described the beginning of the influx of Wall Street leaders into the government. In the last two or three days, the process has gone on faster than ever. The crucial post of assistant secretary of the Treasury in charge of customs and shipping (described as "the government's chief neutrality officer") has just been given to Basil Harris, vice-president of the U.S. Lines and a prominent shipowner. The War Resources Board has acquired a new member: John Hancock, a partner in the powerful Wall Street banking firm of Lehman Bros. Three more "dollar-a-year" men have been appointed to the Treasury: two conservative economists, and Walter W. Stewart, one-time aide to the late Ogden Mills and American adviser to the Bank of England.

Since the European war began, as I also noted last time, there has been a tendency for under-secretaries to shove aside the regular cabinet members. Another example is the fading out of Harry Hopkins as Secretary of Commerce and the rising star of his assistant, Edward J. Noble, a wealthy, energetic young manufacturer (Life Savers candy mints). In the words of Arthur Krock of the N. Y. Times: "As the war offers new problems and perplexities to commerce, and the blockade of Germany offers opportunities to regain South American trade in this country, Mr. Noble's function is steadily broadening and increasing."

The President's cabinet has been expanded to meet the crisis. From now on, three new men will take part in all cabinet meetings—though none of them is of cabinet rank. One is John Carmody, the mildly liberal head of the Federal Works Agency. The second is Jesse Jones, head of the Federal Spending Agency, a professional banker and a Garner Democrat. The third is none other than Paul V. McNutt, the semi-fascist Indiana politician whose appointment to the post of Social Security Administrator so shocked the President's liberal supporters a month ago. McNutt is evidently becoming one of the inner circle of Presidential advisers.

And what has happened to the bright young liberals who used to have the President's ear? What has become of Jerome Frank? Of Tommy Corcoran and Ben Cohen? Of Mordecai Ezekiel and David Cushman Coyle and Leon Henderson? The outbreak of war seems to have snuffed out their flame overnight. As Stephen Early, the President's confidential secretary, put it the other day, when reporters asked him what had become of the "Brains Trust"—"That's all out the window now."

Socialist Appeal
116 University Place
New York City.

I would like to get better acquainted with your paper, the Socialist Appeal. Please send me sample copies for the next few weeks.

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(Continued in Next Issue)

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

The Special Session

President Roosevelt has announced that he will call a special session of Congress, probably for October 2.

Why has he waited so long to take the step which he promised months ago to take as soon as war in Europe "is certain"?

The reasons are crystal-clear. Roosevelt knows that the American people are emphatically opposed to this country's involvement in the war, and that if Congress had been called as originally scheduled, this sentiment would have found expression—even if in inadequate and distorted form.

Therefore his aim is first to whip up sentiment and forces for his pro-war plans, and then to have Congress act as a rubber-stamp.

He knows that the overwhelming majority of the masses are in favor of a peoples' referendum before the United States can engage in any war.

Therefore he seeks to defeat that popular demand by shouting for "national unity" in support of his war program—"this is no time for dissension." He is moving heaven and earth to limit debate at the special session by prior agreement.

He knows that, if he succeeds in getting this country into the war, democratic rights and the inadequate social legislation of the last few years—the National Labor Relations Act, the Hours and Wages Act, etc.—will be destroyed by the dictatorial Industrial Mobilization Plans.

Therefore he unleashes a campaign against "sabotage, espionage, and subversive activities" to pave the way for the coming reactionary measures against labor.

He knows that the masses are looking to the special session for larger appropriations for relief, for re-establishment of the union wage on WPA, for actions against the Wall Street profiteers and speculators.

Therefore he seeks to confine the business of the special session exclusively to two pro-war steps: increased war appropriations and to lift the embargo on arms, implements of war and airplanes for the benefit of imperialist England and France.

Roosevelt's insidious scheme to drag the United States into the war is enthusiastically supported by the press—from the Hearst papers to the Daily Worker—the radio, and the pulpit of all denominations.

Like Woodrow Wilson in 1916, Roosevelt cloaks his pro-war moves by public avowals for "peace" and "neutrality"—while secretly taking actions to involve the country in the war at the moment when it would best serve the interests of big business.

Above all, he seeks to destroy the genuine an-

ti-war sentiments of the masses. We must act now if we are to defeat his plans!

In the shops and factories, in the unions and fraternal organizations, in the streets, wherever workers discuss the question of war—in a word, everywhere—we must clearly expose his real aims.

Above all, the trade unions must formulate their own proposals for the special session of Congress. The progressives must demand that the unions act against Roosevelt's war moves now!

Against the lifting of the embargo. Against increased military appropriations. Not a cent, not a man for Roosevelt's imperialist war.

For a peoples' referendum before the United States can enter any war.

Against the dictatorial Industrial Mobilization Plan.

Against all anti-alien and criminal syndicalist laws.

For the defense and extension of all the democratic rights of the people.

For the immediate national independence of Puerto Rico, the Philippines and Hawaii.

For the repeal of the Woodrum WPA wage-cutting Act.

For a twenty billion dollar housing program.

Roosevelt has his program for the special session: a pro-war program. Labor must launch its own program against Roosevelt. Stop Roosevelt! That must be the watch-word of the labor movement in the fight against war.

Conspiracy of Silence

Roosevelt by executive order, without consultation of Congress, has just enormously expanded the personnel of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

What use will these secret service agents be put to?

An answer is provided by what has been happening in Minneapolis. FBI agents by the score were sent there by Attorney General Murphy during the recent WPA strike. Disguised as pickets, they mingled with the strikers—in other words, they played the role of political-police, agents-provocateur—and, acting on Roosevelt's "You can't strike against the government," prepared cases against the strikers. These FBI agents were the chief witnesses before a Federal grand jury, convened on Murphy's orders, which indicted 103 strikers under a Relief Law provision prohibiting "interference" with W. P. A. workers.

Older workers remember the notorious strike-breaking role of the FBI during and after the last war. Under Attorney General Stone that was supposed to have been ended. Now we discover that under Murphy the FBI has again become a political police—an anti-labor body.

If these facts were generally known, the entire labor movement would be alarmed at Roosevelt's expansion of the FBI.

But the facts are not known. The government's extraordinary prosecutions in Minneapolis have not been reported nationally in the press! Even the defense of the Minneapolis prisoners by William Green, president of the AFL, in Duluth on Labor Day, was not carried by the press services!

Here is a significant instance of how the kept press is working hand in hand with Roosevelt in putting over his preparations for a war dictatorship.

The French C. P.

William Philip Simms, Scripps-Howard Foreign Editor, is authority for the statement that the French Communist Party has virtually collapsed. In a Sept. 8 dispatch he writes:

"Advices from Paris reveal that the French Communist Party has been virtually destroyed by the Reich-Soviet pact. Its leaders are now considering formation of a 'National Communist' party, but there is doubt that even this is possible. . . .

"More than 50 per cent of the party membership resigned during the first five days following the formation of the Berlin-Moscow axis, including approximately half of the Communist members of the Chamber of Deputies."

All Is Not Milk and Honey for the 'Highly Paid' Building Workers

The Facts Show that the Average Weekly Income of these Labor "Aristocrats" Is \$11—Vigilant Unionism Is Their Sole Defense against Being Bled White by Banker-Boss

By RUTH JEFFREY

"Say, those union building workers striking for \$2 an hour on WPA don't get my sympathy. That makes \$80 for a 40-hour week. I'm a lawyer and I don't get any \$80 a week. I tell you, it's better to be a brick-layer!"

We have all heard remarks like these in the recent weeks of the national strike to preserve the prevailing wage on WPA construction jobs. So many people have in their minds a picture of a labor aristocracy fattening in the midst of the depression. Yet, if we stop to think, we all know the gaunt depression figure of the unemployed painter, plasterer, plumber, stone-worker.

It is time to get down to the truth about the wages of building and construction workers. Let us review the facts and the figures:

Unions estimate the total number of days it is possible for a building worker to work as 161 a year. This figure is arrived at through the following table, compiled on the basis of their own actual experience:
Total no. of days a year . . . 365
No. of Sundays . . . 52
Holidays by agreement . . . 313
Saturdays not worked . . . 306
Rainy days (13 yr. period) . . . 254
Cold days (43 yr. period) . . . 222
Aver. no. days consumed looking for work . . . 203
Aver. days sickness or absenteeism . . . 181
Aver. no. days lost waiting for material and delays caused by employers . . . 172
161

WHAT BUILDING WORKERS ACTUALLY EARN
 Building workers and their

families must be fed, clothed and housed, however, not 161 days in the year, but 365.

It is a matter of record, though that in the very best years of building activity, before the depression, construction workers averaged not more than 100 days of work during the year.

But these are not years of prosperity. Thomas A. Murray, President of the AFL Building and Construction Trades Council of New York, states that, since the depression descended ten years ago, workers have been considering themselves lucky to average 50 days of employment during the year.

The aristocracy of labor, it would then appear, has been subsisting for ten years now on an actual average weekly income of \$11 per week! During the 1933 depths of the depression, according to union records, this figure fell to \$8.50!

And these averages, as the Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers International Union put it, in a recent arbitration proceeding, "are tricky things too. For while there is an average, there are those below the average; and many of our members have been at the absolute zero point below the average, with no income whatever from the industry that has claimed their services and that continually demands that they be available for peak operations to be 'stuck on the walls as thick as they'll stick'."

THE INDUSTRY MUST SUPPORT ITS WORKERS

It adds, defending itself against a wage attack by the Master Builders Association of the bosses, "The employers may relate these wages to the man hours spent on the job. We relate them to the men called into this industry by the employers and we deny that there is any other just relation."

"No plea of poverty among employers," the union states, "can erase the staggering and condemning fact that this industry is starving our members to death and would be star-

ing them to death were the wage scale ten times its present amount. We do not know now employers, having assumed the role and functions of employers, can deny their responsibility."

There is no longer a place on the job for the worker who attains an average rate of speed; only the fastest are able to keep up with the pace set.

"From 1919 to 1929," reads the union brief referred to above, "the output per worker employed in the United States in industry increased approximately 43 per cent. The depression has brought an almost frenzied effort to step up further and more rapidly the output per man."

IRRESPONSIBLE BANKS BLEED THE WORKERS

We quote further from this highly revealing union document:

"Interest rates and multiple bonding and financing charges add burdens to the industry, which seems to know as a means of economy only the ancient device of cutting wages, so that the workers may bear the whole burden of loss, while the possessors of wealth retain all the avenues of gain."

Thus is outlined the actual situation in the construction industry. Union standards must be defended militantly, for they are the only factors in the entire industry which protect the workers from being bled completely white by the ruler-banks—which control financing, real estate and the supply and construction companies, and which for years have organized attacks upon wage standards.

The entire labor movement must be kept alive to the danger facing this group of unionized workers, who are under attack both by Congress, and by the Attorney General's office which calls them a "trust-restraining trade." The "New" Deal must not be permitted to succeed in its drive to aid the banks in smashing union wage scales in the construction industry. Support of the WPA strike for the prevailing wage must not be relaxed.

Has the Gallup Poll Become Part Of War Propaganda Machine?

(Continued from Page 1) cent, according to the Gallup figures. To be sure, this is still a majority of the people, but the Gallup news release (New York Times, September 10) emphasizes the decline in the vote.

A Different Question!
 (1) The question which was posed in the latest survey was worded as follows: "Should the Constitution be changed to require a national vote before Congress could draft men for war overseas?"

Although neither the Gallup news release nor the Times comments gives the slightest indication to the contrary, this question is NOT the Ludlow proposal for a war referendum but a DIFFERENT proposal. The Ludlow resolution calls for a national vote before the U.S. may enter into warfare. The Gallup question asks about a vote on the draft, assuming that the U.S. is already in the war.

Says the news release: "The question itself is based on the proposal of General Hugh Johnson. . . . Johnson made this proposal for a vote on the draft as a substitute for a vote on entering war, which he opposed. Representative Ham Fish was another who counterposed the draft-referendum to a war referendum. Yet the Gallup release and the Times blandly compare the percentages on the

two proposals, without mentioning that they are different and that they have evoked different line-ups even in the past.

Objections Don't Apply
 (2) The significance of this sleight-of-hand is easily demonstrated. The Institute's release mentioned that the strongest argument given by those opposed to the proposal, among the people who were canvassed, was "that such a vote would consume valuable time in a period of crisis. . . ."

From the point of view of the average man, this objection has many times more validity as an argument against a referendum on the draft after the U.S. was already in the war, than as an objection to a referendum on whether the U.S. should enter the war at all. Obviously, once war is declared, every minute counts for the mobilization of the war machine, but the same reasoning would not apply to the vote on whether we should enter the war.

(3) The question itself is a fake. While a constitutional amendment would be necessary to put the Ludlow resolution into effect, IT WOULD NOT BE NEEDED FOR A NATIONAL VOTE ON THE DRAFT. The Constitution specifically puts the war-making power in the hands of Congress, but a simple decision by the Congress is enough to effect a draft refer-

endum.

Were Negroes Consulted?

(4) The figures given by the Institute on regional distribution of the vote raise further questions. The principal factor in driving the vote for the proposal down was the South. Here, 63 per cent were against the referendum idea and only 37 per cent for. This is way out of line with the other regions. While the Institute has made no statement on its methods of sampling the Southern population, one may wonder whether they are like the Southern states' methods in handling electoral votes. How much weight was given to the Negro population in the South, and the sharecroppers? Or are we to believe that the Southern Negroes are more inclined to trust the Congress' discretion in drafting them for war than are the white workers in the North?

The region with the next highest percentage of anti-referendum votes is given as the West, traditionally a region of isolationist sentiment. Even New England gave returns more favorable to the referendum proposal.

If Dr. Gallup has enlisted in the War Board's propaganda section (and we cannot doubt that they would appreciate his services), he should cease posing as an impartial recorder of the public's pulse.

Their Government

By James Burnham

Roosevelt is back on top of the heap. When he realized that his internal policy was hopeless, that it was collapsing miserably, he gambled his entire stake on the war. And he won.

When he brings together his special session of Congress, he will resume the command that he lost in July. He will call the tune, and a big majority will swing into the dance. Full speed ahead toward the war!

But let us hope that no one will be so simple as to imagine that this will mean a revival of the New Deal. It will not be the dead Roosevelt of the dead New Deal who takes the helm, but the Roosevelt of the War Deal. And the War Deal will hand out short shrift to those who try to remind it of the old promises of "reform" and "the more abundant life."

The aim of the War Deal, on a world scale, is to bring the United States into the war in such a way that American imperialism will dictate the war settlement. Internally, the aim of the War Deal is, in the shortest possible time, to fasten on the people of the United States a totalitarian military dictatorship—a dictatorship which will never be lifted so long as American imperialism survives.

That will be the reward to the American people for dying in the "crusade against Hitler" abroad: totalitarian dictatorship at home.

Roosevelt on Easy Street

It is certain that Roosevelt plans to send this country into the war well before the party conventions next Spring. If he succeeds, he takes it for granted that his nomination for a third term (and his election) are in the bag. Who will dare oppose him? He will be able to take chief personal credit for the war, will he not? And he has good grounds for his anticipations.

Roosevelt is the leading, and most skillful war-monger in the United States. There is, in fact, substantial reason to believe that Roosevelt's march toward the war is considerably faster than that desired by the Sixty Families themselves, and by the economic needs of American imperialism. The Sixty Families would like a maximum interval for war-time super-profits under conditions of formal neutrality, with direct military intervention delayed until the decisive last stages of the war. Then, with all the European powers exhausted, they could make sure that "victory" would guarantee not merely the crushing of Germany—which is only one part of the purpose of the Sixty Families in the war—but firm dominance over their "allies" as well. American imperialism does not want any victors in this war except itself.

But all of Roosevelt's actions since his Chicago address of October, 1937, prove that he is impatient for the role of war-lord, that he wants to become "world-leader" from the outset—and, in the process, save his own political carcass from being thrown into discard.

It is reported on good authority that one big factor in Great Britain's decision to precipitate war this autumn was the fact that Roosevelt was entering the last year of his second term of office, and, without a war, would have had little chance for a third term. Though Great Britain would in any case have counted on U.S. aid, it would not have been so sure of enormous and rapid aid from another President.

Everyone is so convinced of Roosevelt's intentions that his declaration of the embargo required by the Neutrality Act had not the slightest dampening effect on the rise of the "war baby" stocks, or the stepped up speed of production of military planes for export. Roosevelt proposes, everyone knows, to transform large sections of American industry into a base of supplies for England and France which will be free of the risk of German bombers.

The Forgotten Man again Forgotten

Meanwhile, WPA dismissals are still continuing; the rolls are down below 2,000,000 now. It is no doubt unpatriotic to mention such details when everyone should be practising up for the trenches. Still worse, I imagine, to recall that, according to the record, it is not Hitler who has thrown 1,500,000 WPA workers into the streets in less than a year.

How convenient for Roosevelt, this war! Here is your blanket cure-all; no more talk is in order now about unemployment and starvation and misery and wretched houses and mounting debts and taxes. And here is your ticket for an express ride to a third term.

It is unutterably tragic that even a single worker believes he can defeat Hitlerism by supporting Roosevelt's war plans and his war to come. By such support we only strengthen Hitler at home, since he can then prove to the German workers that they are deserted by their brothers in other nations who fight to defend the colonies and profits of "their own" imperialisms. And in this country, by such support we give a free hand to reaction, we necessarily abandon all struggle for jobs and decent living conditions, and we accept in advance the totalitarian dictatorship which Roosevelt's subordinates and his Morgan-Rockefeller-Dupont War Resources Board have prepared to the last item. By such support we make certain the victory, not of Hitler perhaps, but of Hitlerism, throughout the world.

To Roosevelt's call for national unity in the crisis, it has never been so important to reply: Against the national unity of the imperialists! For unity of the working class in uncompromising class struggle against Roosevelt and his war and his reaction!

MASS MEETING Tuesday, Sept. 19, 8:30 p. m.

EUROPE IN FLAMES

Eyewitness Report of War-Torn Europe

Albert Goldman, Recently Returned from Europe, Will Speak

Irving Plaza, Irving Place at 15th St.

Auspices: Local New York, Socialist Workers Party, Fourth International. 116 University Place, N.Y.C. Admission 25c