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Fight with the Socialist Workers Party for:

1. A JOB AND A DECENT LIVING FOR EVERY WORKER.
2. OPEN THE IDLE FACTORIES — OPERATE THEM UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL.
3. A TWENTY-BILLION DOLLAR FEDERAL PUBLIC WORKS AND HOUSING PROGRAM.
4. THIRTY-THIRTY—\$30 WEEKLY MINIMUM WAGE—30-HOUR WEEKLY MAXIMUM FOR ALL WORKERS ON ALL JOBS.
5. \$30 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.

What FDR Really Said About Sending Men

On Wednesday, July 10, Roosevelt sent a special message to Congress, proposing an additional five billion dollars for armaments, making a total of fourteen billion dollars for arms that he has asked for so far this session.

That afternoon and the next morning the papers came out with screaming headlines: "FDR Pledges Not to Send Men Overseas"; "Bars Sending Men Abroad"; "Pledges Americans Will Not Fight Overseas."

Roosevelt must have been grateful to the press for those headlines. For they went far to calm the fears of many who had believed that Roosevelt was preparing for war.

But Roosevelt didn't say what the newspapers credited him with saying. The newspapers had interpreted what he said—but theirs was a false interpretation.

What Roosevelt actually said was: "We will not send men to take part in European wars." That's a very carefully-phrased sentence, designed to give rise to such false interpretations as the newspapers made of it—but meaning actually something very different.

It is phrased that way so that, in the event that he does send troops to Europe, Roosevelt can say:

"I have never said that I would not send men to Europe. What I did say was that I would not send men to take part in European wars. But this war is not a European war. We are now involved in it. It is therefore our war and it is ridiculous to suppose that when we are involved in a war, we should not send soldiers to any section of the front, be it in Europe or in Asia or in South America. I have never promised not to fight on all fronts in a war."

That's what Roosevelt would say. And, technically, he would be right.

It's a pretty shabby trick, of course. Roosevelt uses a lawyer's formula, the papers deliberately misinterpret it, the people read the newspapers, sigh with relief and think they are no longer in danger of being dragged into war—and that leaves it so much easier for Roosevelt to go on plunging this country toward war.

As a matter of fact, however, even if Roosevelt promised in plain English never to send our boys overseas, that would still be no guarantee that he wouldn't send them. Just remember what Woodrow Wilson did! He ran in 1916 on a pledge to keep this country out of war.

Roosevelt is neither better nor worse than Wilson. When Wall Street decides we shall enter the war, Roosevelt will obey his master's voice just as Wilson did, and regardless of any promises that he has previously made.

The fact that Roosevelt doesn't lie as completely as did Wilson, but contents himself with a weasel formulation—that can only mean that we are closer to war than America was in November, 1916! Even on the eve of a new presidential election, when every assurance of continuing peace means votes, Roosevelt cannot give even a formal assurance against war—because he KNOWS how close to war we are.

But in any event no worker should guide himself by what the Democrats and Republicans say. What do they do? They join in voting billion after billion for arms—for war. They join in voting for regimenting Labor and conscripting us. Their actions tell the story—not their words.

Japan Hires O'Ryan

Lots of people know Major General John F. O'Ryan as a more or less professional super-patriot. Practically nobody has known, until now, that he is really an economic and trade expert of considerable degree.

All these years the general has been hiding his light under a bushel of red-white-and-blue-ism. But now it shines forth by itself—only it turns out to be the rising sunlight of the Japanese. For the general, without honor in his own country as an authority on international trade, has found a truer appreciation of his worth in the precincts of the Japan Economic Federation—a Japanese government agency for promoting foreign trade.

The Federation so fully appreciated the general's worth in the field of economics that it is paying him \$15,000—not exactly pin money—to make an economic survey affecting trade relations between Japan and American exporters and importers. Should the general's labors as an expert extend beyond three months, he is to collect \$5,000 per month for each additional month worked.

These facts came to light when Gen. O'Ryan felt obliged to register with the State Department as an agent representing foreign interests. He denied in his registration that he was exactly an agent because, he said, there was no element of control by his principal. We are sure that the same modesty, which has impelled the general to conceal his unsuspected ability as a trade expert all these years, must have made him extremely reluctant to register in this public manner. Perhaps knowledge of the matter slipped out unintentionally and he thought he had better come out with it.

Considering all that we are hearing these days about fifth columns and treachery in the high army, navy, and government quarters of many nations, it is refreshing to think that a real patriot like Gen. O'Ryan, with his intimate knowledge of the War Department and the workings of the U.S. army, would sell nothing to Japan but his abilities as a trade surveyor. Maybe the general really figures that by taking \$15,000 from Japan in good American money he is performing a patriotic act by reducing Japan's foreign exchange balance. Nobody, anyway, would think of calling him a Fifth Columnist.

Stalinist Fakery

The International Executive Board of the United Automobile Workers Union met in Chicago and issued a unanimous endorsement of a third term for Roosevelt.

Strangely enough the Stalinist *Daily Worker* has yet to comment on the UAW board's action. The Stalinists are (still) opposed to Roosevelt. They control many UAW locals. None of them protested the board's action. The board's action was unanimous—but a good contingent of board members are Stalinists.

What's the explanation? Sheer duplicity, sheer Stalinist fakery. Principles are good, but union posts are better. Anyway the Kremlin's seeking a pact with Washington, whereupon all good Stalinists will again become patriots.

The same thing happened when the CIO executive board unanimously adopted its statement supporting the government's defense program.

The *Daily Worker* waxes wroth at the foul settlement of the demands of the aluminum workers. Its July 14 issue carries an editorial entitled, "National unity hoax hurts the workers." It points out that the Mellon monopoly has made 78 millions in aluminum in the last three years. "And yet," it points out, "the aluminum workers—asking a modest 10 cents per hour increase, which would have only amounted to \$4,000,000 according to the company itself—are chiseled down to a mere 2 cents per hour rise. This is what these 15,000 workers are handed out, after a two-weeks run-around."

Quite true. What the *Daily Worker* DOES NOT point out, however, is that the workers got chiseled down to a mere 2 cents per hour rise because their union, a CIO affiliate, agreed to that foul settlement. The union "happens" to be under John L. Lewis' thumb, and "happens" to carry a hefty load of Stalinist organizers. Hence the *Daily Worker* walks on eggs.

You don't have to imagine what the *Daily Worker* would have said about that foul settlement if the union hadn't been a semi-Stalinized CIO outfit. You merely have to read the rest of the same editorial, which is a diatribe against the International Ladies Garment Workers Union for having accepted a poor settlement for the dressmakers after a two-day stoppage.

The Stalinists will go down in history as the most brazen fakery that ever ruined a union.

In the World of Labor

Paul G. Stevens

British Fourth Internationalists Hold Successful National Confab

Right on the heels of the Emergency Conference of the Fourth International, we receive word that the Revolutionary Socialist League, British Section of the F.I., has just concluded a successful national conference "somewhere in England." Naturally, the meeting took place under illegal conditions. It had as the main point on its agenda the problem of combatting the drive against proletarian revolutionists undertaken by the Churchill government in the wake of the anti-revolutionary actions initiated by the Labour Party bureaucracy. The latter anticipated the reactionary moves of the ruling class by banning, on May 2, the Militant Labour League, left wing Labour organization, to whose work and publications (*The Militant*, etc.), our comrades have devoted their principal attention and effort.

In contradistinction to the pacifists and centrists of the Independent Labour Party, the conference condemned the use of Conscientious Objectors Tribunals as contrary to militant working class policy. It reaffirmed the Bolshevik stand of working for socialist revolutionary aims within the armed forces amidst the masses of drafted proletarians.

"The League had issued a resolution," the report of the conference in the Internal Bulletin of the R.S.L. reads, "concerning the Russo-Finnish war, which took the accepted line of the Fourth International and had put forward the immediate slogan of an embargo on arms for Finland. . . . A brief report on the International was given, including a summary of the American party dispute." The League's actions as well as the stand of the Fourth International towards the Soviet Union were endorsed by the delegates. No minority similar in views to that within the American party was in evidence.

In relation to the main practical task, the attitude to be adopted as a result of the ban against the Militant Labour League, the conference voted for a resolution from which we excerpt the following passages:

"1. This conference reaffirms the basic strategic line of the organization in the building of the new revolutionary party. This consists of work in the mass organizations, the Labour Party and the Trades Unions, in preparation for the radicalization of the masses arising out of the political and economic crisis of capitalism accentuated by imperialist war. . . .

"3. This tactic was based on a Marxist analysis of the current situation and of probable developments in the future. This analysis is in no way altered by the Labour Party ban. What is necessary therefore is not a new strategic line, but a tactic suitable for existing circumstances. . . .

In other words, our comrades have decided to find new means of continuing the tested policy of working close to the organized labor movement, instead of, as some dissident groups propose, deserting mass work for the existence of a sectarian propaganda circle. While maintaining relations with such groups which claim adherence to the F.I., in an effort to bring them into the organization, the conference rightfully refused to countenance any compromises with sectarianism.

USSR Closed to Refugees—As Stalinists "Weep" For Them

By RUTH JEFFREY

The Stalinist *Daily Worker*, for the past several weeks, has been shedding pious tears over the mistreatment of refugees in France. But for all its depth of feeling, the Stalinist organ nowhere suggests that the Soviet Union rescue these helpless victims of capitalist terror.

This has been the consistent record of the Stalinist press since the refugee question became a burning issue with Hitler's pogroms against the Jews.

It makes interesting reading today to look back on the excuses the *Daily Worker* fabricated for the exclusion of refugees from the USSR.

Pressed for reasons from their own membership, the Stalinist hacks finally set down, at the height of the Nazi pogroms of '38, an unsteady line.

On Nov. 28, 1938, the *Daily Worker* said, in an article by V. J. Jerome:

"The Soviet Union has at all times offered its territory as a haven to refugees from all the five continents.

"But the operation of this policy has to be understood in relation both to the international situation in the present period, and to the fundamental program of completing the construction of the classless society. . . . One must also realize that there are those Jewish refugees who, though fleeing from fascist terror, are in their class status and outlook, bourgeois or petty-bourgeois, and consequently, may not wish or may not be able to adjust themselves to a Socialist economy and culture. And, of course, everybody realizes that, particu-

larly in the present period, with the second imperialist world war already raging, the greatest vigilance must be observed against the penetration of carefully planted spies and other fascist agents."

It is interesting to note how we answered this in the *Socialist Appeal*, December 3, 1938:

"The Jerome alibi is a gross fraud. He dares not and cannot tell the real truth. For while the Stalinist parties abroad still go on the old line of urging the democracies to make war on the fascist powers, Stalin is already preparing the new line: rapprochement with Hitler, if Hitler will only agree.

"That is the explanation for Stalin's silence on the question of opening the doors of the Soviet Union to the refugees. Hitler does not approve of anyone's opening the doors to the Jews, and Stalin woos Hitler."

The December 17, 1938 *Appeal* also had the following to say regarding the line as previously put forward by Gannes in the Nov. 18 *Daily Worker*:

"According to Gannes, the fault for the failure of the Soviet Union to speak out (on behalf of the refugees) lies primarily with the British Tories. Why and how? Because they were responsible for not inviting the Soviet Union to the Evian conference last summer and will prevent an invitation to future conferences dealing with the problem of the refugees, thus 'barring the USSR from making its enormous contribution to the consideration of the refugee question' (quoted from Gannes)."

"Exactly how, however, the *Appeal* continued, 'the mere inclusion of the Soviet Union in any conference would be able to solve the problem is not made clear by

Our Australian Section Outlawed by Government

From Australian papers we learn that the Communist League of Australia, Section of the Fourth International, has been added to the list of organizations declared illegal by the Menzies government. The action against our Australian comrades was taken without an official decree, the police simply banning them from usual places where they have been holding meetings.

"Members of the Communist League of Australia," says the June 17 *Sydney Telegraph*, "were prevented by police from holding a meeting in the Domain yesterday. . . .

"A crowd of about 15,000 attended the Domain yesterday afternoon. There was a good sprinkling of khaki in the crowd but, for the first time for several Sundays, there was no organized demonstration by soldiers. . . .

"The police were acting under Commonwealth regulations issued on Saturday declaring illegal the Communist Party of Australia and several fascist organizations.

"The Communist League was not mentioned in the regulations. When its members began to set up their platform in the Domain, they were told by Inspector Ferguson that if they addressed the crowd they would be liable to arrest. The Communist Party had made no attempt to hold its regular Sunday Domain meeting.

"Mr. J. Kavanagh, who was to have been chairman of the meeting of the Communist League, said last night: 'Our party, followers of Leon Trotsky, was not on the banned list of organizations. We assumed that we would be allowed to speak. . . . (Telegraph, June 17).

Of course, the newspapers only give as much of the story as the censorship will permit, and a direct report from our comrades has not yet reached here. But several things are obvious even from the *Telegraph's* account: (1) A full-fledged government anti-red drive is under way. In other columns of the paper raids on organization headquarters and homes of individuals are reported. (2) The "spontaneous" actions of "outraged" soldiers did not succeed in breaking up the meetings of our comrades. In a previous issue we had reported that one such action in January was repulsed by a workers' meeting under the leadership of our comrades with complete success. (3) Apparently, as the figure of attendance shows—15,000 conceded by the bourgeois press—the meetings of our League were growing to such proportions as to require government action, if they were to be stopped. (4) Our comrades had also, apparently, taken over the leadership of large numbers of workers formerly under the leadership of the C.P. The chairman of the banned meeting, comrade Kavanagh, is, as readers of this column will recall, one of the leading Communist militants who quit the C.P. in the course of the past year.

We are not as yet in a position to know what course of action our Australian comrades are contemplating under the new conditions. But our knowledge of them and of the daring and courage which made possible their recent progress makes us confident that they will know how to surmount the new obstacles on their path, how to retain their contacts with the militant Australian workers, and to find the path toward building the party of the proletarian revolution in Australia. Our warmest greetings of solidarity to the Communist League of Australia!

Workers Cannot Be Isolationist With Regard to War

By ALBERT GOLDMAN

Too many class-conscious workers accept and spread the idea that since the war now raging in Europe is an imperialist war, therefore it is not a war in which the American workers should be interested. All that the American workers should do is to struggle for better conditions in this country and forget about what is going on across the Atlantic.

Such an attitude towards the war might be termed working-class isolationism. As sincere as this attitude is, it is far from being correct.

It is obviously true that the war is a bankers' war, a war in which rival imperialist forces have hurled millions of human beings into terrible misery and cruel slaughter for nothing more than their own profits. It is obviously true that the working masses will gain nothing out of their sacrifices by the victory of either side.

But it is not true that the American workers should not be interested in the war. It is not at all correct to say to the American workers: Let them fight and die over in Europe; we here are interested only in the struggle against the boss.

That is a form of isolationism to which the American workers dare not fall victim. If they do they are doomed to be sucked into the very imperialist war which they fear so much and which they think they can avoid by simply concentrating their efforts on the struggle at home.

If there is one simple truth that should sink into the mind of every worker it is that capitalism has developed to a point where not a single capitalist nation in the world can erect a wall around itself and thus succeed in leading its own existence without taking into consideration what is going on in the rest of the world. Before Hitler came to power he shouted loudly about autarchy, about making Germany a self-sufficient nation, but now he demands more and more living room by which is meant more and more countries to exploit. Imperialism has bound the whole capitalist world together economically and he who does not see that is blind to reality.

Three Kinds of "Isolationism"

Three types of isolationism exist in this country. The one type that is really entitled to the name is the one represented by the sincere person who thinks that the United States proper is perfectly able to shut itself off from the rest of the world and to create a self-sufficient economy with democracy prevailing in every loophole. According to these people, who have eyes that do not see, a beautiful paradise can be created in our country keeping fascism and social revolution beyond the frontiers.

If you talk to them about capitalism with its surplus products, its unemployment, markets, the necessity for investment of capital and such other regrettable but real things, they can only shrug their shoulders and point to the riches of this country as evidence that it needs no contact with the rest of the world. These people are completely oblivious to the real forces dominating the capitalist system.

The other types of isolationism are in reality forms of American imperialism. Most modest of all "isolationists" is the one who is satisfied with the Western Hemisphere. He would leave Asia, Europe and Australia strictly alone.

The third type of "isolationist" insists on adding the Far East as a section of the world designated by God and nature as specially reserved for American imperialism.

The world is, however, too small to permit the American "isolationists" peacefully to retain control over the Western Hemisphere and the Far East. There are other imperialist countries to reckon with. The far-seeing capitalists and their intellectual henchmen understand that any kind of isolationism is impossible and that the interests of American capitalism extend throughout the world. As against any of the "isolationists" Roosevelt, whose policies are clearly based on the supposition that the United States must play a dominating role in the whole world, is one thousand per cent correct.

Workers understanding and accepting the international character of the capitalist system will of course not accept Roosevelt's policies even though they reject the idea that isolation is possible for American capitalism. Understanding the true nature of capitalism, advanced workers will not counsel the masses to interest themselves only in their struggles for better conditions and to pay no attention to the war in Europe.

War Inevitable If Capitalism Remains

For it is as certain as anything can possibly be that if the workers permit the capitalist system to exist in this country, the war which is now confined to Europe will engulf them. If it will not be the present war it will be a continuation of it in the form of a third imperialist war.

It is therefore necessary for every worker to think seriously of the problem of how to stop the war in Europe. This can not be done by an attitude of indifference; by simply saying that we must stay out of it and concentrate our attention on the struggle for better conditions in this country.

We must of course fight for better conditions. It goes without saying that we must exert effort to prevent the capitalist government from dragging us into the war. Yes, we must do our utmost to prevent any social gains from being destroyed under any pretext.

But to confine ourselves to that struggle is not sufficient. Should the workers accept the idea that it is simply their task to fight the boss here and not pay any attention to the war they will end up where the French and British workers finished. They will have the war whether they like it or not and they will lose all their gains in addition.

The American workers must face the bitter truth. They must intervene in the war in Europe. They must try to transform that war into a real war against fascism. And that can be done only by destroying capitalism in the United States.

Yes, this is a bankers' war. But it is a war killing millions of workers; it is a war which is bound to reach us. It is a war which we must stop. And we can stop it only by overthrowing the capitalist system which is responsible for it.