

In the Labor Unions

By B. J. WIDICK

Green Repeats

It isn't taking long for the conservative American labor leaders to show their true colors in the war crisis.

William Green, AFL president came out this week for the slogan "Let the People Vote on War." ONLY, he was talking about Germany!

The German people don't want war. Let Hitler let them vote and they'll all vote for peace. Green says. Correct!

But how about setting a fine example for them? How about Mr. Green shouting "Let the People Vote on War in the United States!" Green is as silent on this as Hitler is in Germany. If it's a democratic right of the people of Germany to vote on war, why isn't it for the American people? We say it is.

Green's actions show that he is going to pursue completely the exact course of betrayal he followed in 1917-18. Green is going to help enlist American workers in this present world slaughter.

Lewis Is Smarter

John L. Lewis, president of the CIO, is a trifle smarter in his approach.

Speaking on Labor Day, Lewis declared properly that the American workers want no war or any part of it. This is the sentiment of the huge majority of workers. They have nothing to get from war.

So what does Lewis propose the American workers do to keep out of war? Fight for a popular referendum? No! Fight against repeal of the neutrality bill? No! What program does Lewis have to offer? None!

Instead, Lewis very insidiously prepares the minds of the CIO workers to participate in another world war. "The CIO is the bulwark of democracy. The true defender of democracy!" Remember that one? President Wilson, aided by John L. Lewis, among others, used that in 1917-18 to recruit the American workers in the last phoney war to save the world for democracy.

Mr. Lewis also showed what he has in mind by another speech given that day by James B. Carey, secretary of the national CIO (who obviously spoke with John L.'s approval).

Carey said he didn't like the present War Resources Board. Did Carey object to the dictatorial powers given it by President Roosevelt? Of course not. Did he point out that the creation of this board was a major step in preparing for American participation in the world war? Hardly! That this board was going to run industry the way it saw fit and the hell with wages, hours and working conditions? Not one word of serious criticism.

Mr. Carey objects because labor doesn't have a representative on this union-busting, strike-breaking, dictatorial board. You see, it isn't fair, according to Mr. Carey, to allow the bosses to break the unions during war-time. They've got to be assisted by a labor faker.

Would anyone be surprised if Carey's candidate for this post of labor representative on the War Resources Board was Mr. Lewis?

Sugar-Coating

The American labor leaders have enough contact with their rank and file to know that no one, even the golden-voiced F.D.R., is going to sell them on the idea of giving up their lives in another war in which the whole show is exposed before hand.

The War Resources Board is a crude set-up at present. Too many J. P. Morgan men on it. Too many known opponents of Organized Labor. Hard to sell that kind of an outfit to workers. Hard to make anyone believe in the baloney of "war for democracy" when such flagrant rule of the bosses is revealed.

What the CIO leaders are trying to do is show Roosevelt and Wall Street the "correct" way to enlist the workers in another slaughter. Give them a post here and there. (What's one vote among ten, especially when it's sewed up too for the bosses.) Give the workers the illusion that they are having something to say about how the slaughter is being conducted. Then maybe they'll fight. Maybe.

The War and the Nazi-Soviet Pact

By Leon Trotsky

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fears the army and fears Hitler. Stalin requires peace—at any price.

Before Hohenzollern Germany toppled under the blows of the war coalition, it dealt a mortal blow to the Czarist regime; furthermore the Western Allies egged on the Russian liberal bourgeoisie and even supported the plans for a palace revolution. The present incumbents of the Kremlin asked themselves anxiously: may not this historical incident repeat itself in a new way? Had the Soviet oligarchy been capable of self-sacrifice or at least the slightest degree of self-denial in the military interests of the U.S.S.R., it would not have decapitated and demoralized the army.

The simpletons who are "pro-Soviet" deem it self-evident that the Kremlin hopes to overthrow Hitler. The case is otherwise. Without revolution the overthrow of Hitler is inconceivable. A victorious revolution in Germany would raise the class-consciousness of the broad masses in the U.S.S.R. to a very high level and render impossible the further existence of the Moscow tyranny. The Kremlin prefers the status quo, with Hitler as its ally.

Serves Imperialist Aims

Caught off guard by the pact, the Kremlin's professional apologists now attempt to argue that our former prognoses contemplated an aggressive military alliance between Moscow and Berlin, whereas in reality only a pacifist agreement of "non-aggression" was concluded. Miserable sophistry! We never spoke of an aggressive military alliance in the direct sense of the term. On the contrary, we always started from the fact that the international policy of the Kremlin was determined by the new aristocracy's interests in preserving itself, by its dread of the people, by its incapacity to conduct a war. Any international combination has some value for the Soviet bureaucracy insofar as it liberates it from the necessity of resorting to the force of armed workers and peasants. And yet the German-Russian Pact is a military alliance in the full sense of the word, for it serves the aims of aggressive imperialist war.

In the last war Germany was defeated primarily because of the lack of raw materials of the U.S.S.R. It is not accidental that the concluding of the political pact was preceded by the concluding of a trade agreement. Moscow is far from any thought of renouncing it. On the contrary, in his speech yesterday before the Supreme Council, Molotov stressed above all the exceptional economic advantages of the friendship with Hitler. The pact of non-aggression, that is, a passive attitude toward German aggression, is thus rounded out by a treaty of economic collaboration in the interest of the aggression. The pact assures Hitler the possibility of utilizing Soviet raw materials exactly as Italy in its attack on Ethiopia utilized Russian oil. While the military experts of England and France in Moscow studied the Baltic map from the point of view of military operations between the U.S.S.R. and Germany, the German and Soviet experts at the very same time were considering what measures to take in order to safe-guard maritime routes in the Baltic sea for continuous trade relations during war-time.

Occupation of Poland will assure contiguous boundaries with the Soviet Union and a further development of economic relations. Such is the essence of the pact. In Mein Kampf Hitler declares that an alliance between two states which does not have as its aim the prosecution of war "is absurd and sterile." The German-Soviet pact is neither absurd nor sterile—it is a military alliance with a division of roles: Hitler conducts the military operations, Stalin acts as his quartermaster. And still there are people who seriously assert that the objective of the present Kremlin is world revolution!

Lenin's Policy Was Different

With Chicherin as Minister of Foreign Affairs in Lenin's government, Soviet foreign policy considered its real task to be the international triumph of socialism, and sought, incidentally, to utilize the antagonisms among the great powers with the aim of defending the Soviet Republic. With Litvinov, the program of world revolution was supplanted by concern for the maintenance of the status quo through a system of "collective security." But when the idea of "collective security" neared partial realization, the Kremlin became alarmed at the military obligations which were entailed. Litvinov was replaced by Molotov who knows no obligation other than that of preserving unimpaired the interests of the ruling caste. Chicherin's policy, that is, Lenin's essentially, was long ago decreed a policy of romanticism. For a certain time Litvinov's policy was considered the policy of realism. The policy of Stalin-Molotov is a policy of unadulterated cynicism.

"In a united front of peace-loving nations which are really opposed to aggression the Soviet Union cannot fail to participate in the front ranks," Molotov declared at the Supreme Council three months ago. What appalling irony in those words now! The Soviet Union has taken its place in the rear ranks of those states which up to yesterday the Kremlin persistently denounced as the aggressors.

What the Kremlin Gains

The immediate advantages the Kremlin government receives from the alliance with Hitler are quite tangible. The U.S.S.R. remains out of war. Hitler removes from the immediate agenda his campaign for a "greater Ukraine." Japan remains isolated. With the postponement of the war danger on the western frontier, one can envisage at the same time, as a consequence, a weakening of the pressure on the eastern frontier, perhaps even the conclusion of an agreement with Japan. It is quite likely, moreover, that in exchange for Poland, Hitler will give Moscow freedom of action in regard to the Baltic states bordering the U.S.S.R. However, though the "advantages" may be great, they are at best of an episodic nature and their sole guarantee is Rib-

bentrop's signature to a "scrap of paper." Meanwhile the war places questions of life and death on the order of the day for peoples, states, regimes, ruling classes. Germany is carrying out in stages her program of domination by war. With the help of England, she re-armed despite the opposition of France. With the help of Poland she isolated Czechoslovakia. With the help of the Soviet Union she not only wishes to enslave Poland but to destroy the old colonial empires. If Germany succeeds with the Kremlin's help in emerging victorious from the present war, that will signify mortal danger for the Soviet Union. Let us recall that directly after the Munich agreement, Dimitroff, secretary of the Comintern, made public—undoubtedly on Stalin's order—an explicit calendar of Hitler's future conquests. The occupation of Poland is scheduled in that calendar for the fall of 1939. Next in order follow: Yugoslavia, Rumania, Bulgaria, France, Belgium. . . And then, at the bottom, in the fall of 1941, the offensive is to begin against the Soviet Union. These revelations must undoubtedly be based upon information obtained by the Soviet espionage service. It is impossible, of course, to take this blue-print literally—the march of events introduces modifications into all such calculations. Nevertheless, the first link of the plan—occupation of Poland in the fall of 1939 is now being consummated. It is very likely that the brief delay of two years between the destruction of Poland, according to the plan, and the offensive against the Soviet Union is approximately correct. In the Kremlin they cannot help understanding this. It is not for nothing that they have proclaimed many times: "peace is indivisible." If Stalin notwithstanding becomes Hitler's quartermaster, it signifies that the ruling caste is no longer capable of thinking about tomorrow. Its formula is that of all doomed regimes: "after us the deluge."

Seals Doom of the Comintern

It would be a vain task to attempt at this time to predict the course of the war and the fate of its various participants, including those who still cherish the illusory hope of remaining outside of the catastrophe. It is given to no man to survey in its entirety this vast arena and turmoil of infinitely complex material and moral forces. Only the war itself will decide the destiny of the war. One of the major differences between the present war and the last one is the radio. It is first now that I see this clearly as I listen here in Coyoacan, a suburb of the Mexican capital, to speeches in the Berlin Reichstag and to news dispatches from London, Paris, and New York City. Thanks to the radio, people will depend much less than in the last war on totalitarian news from their own government and they will be infected much more rapidly by the moods of people in other countries. In this sphere the Kremlin has already suffered a great defeat. The Comintern, most important instrument of the Kremlin for influencing public opinion in other countries, is in reality the first victim of the German-Soviet pact. The fate of Poland has not yet been decided. But the Comintern is already a corpse. It is being forsaken from one side by the patriots and from the other by the internationalists. Tomorrow by radio we will undoubtedly hear the voices of the Communist leaders of yesterday revealing, in the interest of their respective governments, in all the languages of the civilized world, including Russian, the treason of the Kremlin.

The disintegration of the Comintern will not fail to deal an irreparable blow to the authority of the ruling caste in the consciousness of the broad masses of the Soviet Union itself. Thus the policy of cynicism which was designed to reinforce the position of the Stalinist oligarchy, will in reality speed the hour of its downfall.

The war will topple many things and many individuals. Artifice, trickery, frame-ups, and treasons will prove of no avail in escaping its severe judgment. But my article would be greatly misunderstood if it led to the conclusion that everything new introduced by the October Revolution into the life of mankind will be cast aside. I am profoundly convinced of the opposite. The new form of economy, freed from the insufferable fetters of the bureaucracy, will not only withstand this test of fire, but also serve as a basis for a new culture which, let us hope, will put an end to war forever.

LEON TROTSKY

Coyoacan, D.F. September 2, 1939

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SEAMEN WANT WAR BONUSES; TIE-UP SHIPS

(Continued from Page 1)

assure the men that war-risk insurance would be provided. Agent Thomas McGowan of CIO's National Maritime Union, who informed the crew of the discharge, said a new crew would be signed "if possible" by tonight through the NMU's agency.

NEW YORK, Sept. 8.—Demands of seamen for war bonuses and life insurance for sailing vessels into the war zone held up the United States Line's President Roosevelt here for six hours Wednesday and may tie up the S.S. Manhattan of the same company, scheduled to sail Saturday.

The vessels of the United States Line are under contract to the National Maritime Union. When the war broke out, rank and file pressure forced adoption by the union of a motion demanding 40 per cent increase in wages, life insurance for unlicensed personnel of \$25,000 per man, and a \$250 bonus. These demands are hardly a drop in the bucket compared to the super-profits which the shipowners are reaping from the war situation.

Crews aboard ships scheduled to sail into the war zone expected, therefore, that they would receive the full backing of the union if they refused to sign on until the demands formulated by the union had been met.

Stalinists Lay Down

But then the Stalinist leaders of the union put their heads together with the officials of the United States Lines, and these worthies worked out an "escape clause." Upon a promise of the shipowners to "further negotiate," the union leaders advised the crew to sail the S.S. President Roosevelt. Members of the crew who refused to accept that advice and demanded an immediate settlement before the ship sailed were simply replaced by men sent from the N.M.U. offices.

"Negotiations" still continue. Nothing has been granted by the company. The refusal of the Stalinist leadership to force the operators to grant concessions now indicates the role they are prepared to play throughout the war.

When the S.S. Manhattan crew demanded that the company immediately settle the issue, the Stalinist leaders of the N.M.U. found a new "out." They wired Admiral Land, chairman of the U. S. Maritime Commission, that the union was receiving "absolutely no cooperation" from the commission in arranging protection for American seamen.

But for many months it has been settled policy for maritime unions not to cooperate with the commission, which is an open strike-breaking agency. The Sailors Union of the Pacific has so far thwarted the commission's attempt to replace union hiring halls by government halls, and all unions are boycotting the "training ships" of the commission, which are nothing but schools for finks. In bringing the commission into the picture the Stalinist leaders are facilitating its attempts to restrict union activities in the strategic maritime industries.

On the West coast seamen received bonuses for sailing into waters adjacent to Orient war zones. During the civil war in Spain ships under jurisdiction of west coast unions paid crews bonuses for sailing into Loyalist ports. The Sailors Union of the Pacific refused to man vessels bound for Franco ports.

A flagrant example of the way in which the boss press will be smearing legitimate union demands was the "liberal" New York Post's story of Sept. 7 on the seamen. "Seamen's Nazi sympathies threaten American sailings; stand in way of government's effort to bring its nationals home," was the headline. All the rats are gnawing away at the foundations of union conditions.

WORKERS' FORUM

The Effect of the Pact in Scotland

August 28, 1939

Dear S I am writing once more on the eve of a threatened upheaval of all of society—only this year the probability of war appears much greater than it was last year.

The latest betrayal of the workers of the world by Stalin—the Russo-German Pact, has left the workers of this country in a terrible state of confusion. The Daily Worker here disregarded the Pact for 3 days—didn't even mention anything about it. Then after the capitalist press had headlined it and ran it up and down its columns for 3 days straight, the Daily Worker came out with the official explanation right from the "holy father" himself, "that the pact was one of the greatest victories for socialism."

The C.P. line is still to oust Chamberlain and get a government which will sign a Pact with Russia—this despite the

fact that clause 4 of the German-Russian Pact directly contradicts such a policy.

Our comrades in Glasgow here have held open air meetings which were very well attended. They have some excellent speakers who defined and analysed the situation and then called for the workers to take the only way out—civil war against their rulers.

The Glasgow section is the best section of our British movement. All comrades are, with the exception of one, of working class origin, nearly all are working in heavy industries. They are well educated and versed in Marx, Engels and Lenin and are as sincere a group of revolutionaries as I have ever met.

With the new Emergency Powers Act here one hardly knows what they will be doing next. I believe they will establish a totalitarian regime, whether or not there is war.

Revolutionary Greetings, H Glasgow, Scotland

The Answer Is Up To You

SHALL THE NEW INTERNATIONAL CEASE PUBLICATION OR CONTINUE?

Several weeks ago it was announced in these columns that The New International magazine might cease publication, unless readers came immediately to its support. This was accomplished at the time, and The New International continued to appear regularly. It has not missed a single issue since its revival in January 1938, almost two years ago.

For such an important publication as The New International to cease publication would unquestionably be a blow to the revolutionary movement in the United States and internationally. Indeed, now is the time more than ever for the powerful voice of The New International to assert itself in the struggle against war and imperialism and for the social revolution as the answer to the imperialist conflagration.

But the outbreak of war in Europe, while creating new opportunities for the left-wing and revolutionary forces has also created certain difficulties for the Socialist Appeal and immediately for The New International.

The New International is so much a world magazine that approximately one-third of its circulation and income has been derived from organizations and agents circulating the magazine in England, Scotland, Ireland, Canada, India, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, France, Belgium and other countries. Now the war is changing all this.

Censorship has already been clamped down on virtually every one of the above-mentioned countries and will, no doubt, both spread and be intensified. Already mails are being stopped, letters and packages opened, etc. While, unquestionably, in some way The New International will find its way into all these countries, despite all bans and censorship by the war powers, nevertheless the fact remains that with the advent of the European war The New International, for at least the duration of the war, loses a paid circulation of approximately 1,000 copies, and that likewise one-third of the revenue of The New International is automatically cut off.

Under these conditions The New International will not be able to continue publication for very long unless American readers of The New International and the Socialist Appeal, members and sympathizers of the Socialist Workers Party and the Y.P.S.L., (Fourth International), rise immediately to its support.

It would be a calamity to the Fourth International if The

New International suspends publication now at a time when its role is more important and decisive than ever.

A special effort will be made to insure publication of the October issue with the hope and expectation that its readers will rally immediately to insure its future.

Concretely, the following is required: 1. All S.W.P. and Y.P.S.L. units must pay up their bundle bills immediately!

2. All Party units should arrange quickly for a renewed and intensified drive for subscriptions. There are several hundred outstanding subscriptions to the magazine which ought and can be renewed if an organized effort is made by the membership. This is important now, in order to help make up in a good measure our loss of circulation and revenue from foreign countries.

3. We call upon readers and supporters of The New International to help the magazine in the following way:

- a. Send in a subscription! b. Send in a donation!

WAR CASTS SHADOW OVER LOS ANGELES LABOR DAY PARADE

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) LOS ANGELES, Sept. 5—One of the largest—and one of the soberest—Labor Day parades in the history of Los Angeles was held here. Some 80,000 workers, representing 200 American Federation of Labor locals, marched through downtown Los Angeles, winding up at City Hall. In nearby San Pedro, 20,000 more workers, of both the AFL and the CIO demonstrated in the streets of that city.

The usual hilarity and exuberance of both the marchers and the onlookers, however, was absent. The imperialist war, whose opening guns had already thundered in Europe, spread a pall over the enthusiasm that has marked this significant demonstration in previous years.

Distribute Leaflets

As one huge American flag, carried horizontally, passed along Broadway, one of Los Angeles' principal streets, there was no applause at all. A bystander expressed his surprise at this silence. His wife, more militant, less bewildered, answered his exclamation with the following words: "What can you expect? The war is not far off, and we all know who'll be doing the fighting!"

Members of the Socialist Workers Party, having correctly gauged in advance the mood that would be gripping the crowds, were on hand distributing many thousands of leaflets. "Let the People Vote on War!" demanded the leaflet. "Capitalism Breeds War! The Fight Against War is the Fight for Socialism! For a Workers and Farmers Government!"

The leaflets were well received. They were read, and they were preserved in pockets and in pocketbooks.

In addition, the Socialist Workers Party sold many copies of the latest issues of the Socialist Appeal and other party literature. A number of signatures were obtained on the petition "Let the People Vote on War."

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