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FELIX MORROW

Associate Editors: EMANUEL GARRETT

#### 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
- 5. Thirty dollar weekly old-age and disability
- 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.

# Why FDR Wants War

The anti-war resolution adopted by the Pittsburgh conference of the CIO United Project Workers Organizing Committee (printed elsewhere in this issue) breathes a spirit of such earnest sincerity and-more important-grim determination to fight the war-makers, that it may seem carping to make some criticisms of it.

Unlike the isolationists, the signatories of the Pittsburgh resolution start out with a realistic understanding of a number of basic facts: that the war tends to become a world war, that the M-Day plans are primarily directed against labor, that to fight against the wars waged by capitalists means to fight for the needs of the workers, that labor only loses by such wars. One has only to compare this resolution to the Labor Day "anti-war" speech of John L. Lewis to see the fundamental difference between a serious, honest approach and that of a trade union bureaucrat seeking to take advantage of anti-war

But the Pittsburgh resolution is exceedingly naive when it says that "the only motives which force us into wars" are the profits of the munitions makers. These profits are a link in the chain, and that is why it is so important to stop Roosevelt's attempt to lift the embargo on munitions shipments. But it is only one link, and scarcely the most important one.

Roosevelt is taking the road toward war, not only at the behest of the munitions makers, but as the executive of the entire American capitalist class. He is taking the road to war because that is the capitalist way out of the economic crisis raging since 1929. For ten years the capitalists tried other ways: Hoover's way, and then the various shifts and turns of the "New Deal". For ten years they tried internal methods of getting capitalism to run again. All these methods, as we predicted, failed. And, as we predicted, the capitalists have now turned to the external meth-

Not merely for the gigantic profits of trade in munitions and other products with Anglo-French imperialism, but-more important-to join the one imperialist gang against Hitler's imperialist gang in re-dividing the world, and then to shoulder aside as much as possible America's Anglo-French partners in order to take the lion's share of the swag for the American bosses. At the end of this another Versailles Treaty, breeding still more wars, separated by "peace" in the form of great economic crises. That's what it's all about, and not basically about munitions profits.

A clear and realistic understanding of the motivation of the war-makers is the first weapon needed by the labor movement in mobilizing against the Roosevelt war plans.

## Smash the Frameup

On "evidence" provided by FBI agents sent into the Minneapolis WPA strike by Attorney General Murphy, a Federal grand jury has indicted 103 strikers. "You can't strike against the government," Roosevelt threatened-though there's nothing in the Constitution or the law to that effect-and his lieutenant Murphy carried out the threat. They hung the indictments on the flimsy thread provided by a provision of the Roosevelt-Woodrum Relief Law which prohibits "interference" with WPA workers. Trials are to take place shortly.

Minnesota labor got a stiff dose of government and state prosecution in the last war for democracy. Minnesota labor understands that Roosevelt is taking the road that Wilson travelled, and that Roosevelt is moving even more swiftly than his predecessor. What Attorney General Daugherty didn't get around to until 1918 and 1919, Murphy is already up to.

The answer of Minnesota labor has been inspiringly decisive. The Central Labor Union of Minneapolis, comprising the entire labor movement, has set up a WPA Defense Committee which is raising the necessary bail, taking care of the prisoners and their families, providing attorneys, and fighting the case before the bar of public opinion. The St. Paul Trades and Labor Assembly, speaking for the labor movement of Minneapolis' twin city, has established a committee empowered to cooperate to the full with the Minneapolis defense body. The Minnesota Federation of Labor, now in session, will undoubtedly join in the defense and, moreover, will have submitted to it a proposal for a one-day general strike against the frame-up.

But the Minnesota labor movement should not stand alone in this fight. The finnacial burdens should be shared by the whole American labor movement, for the issues involved affect the future of every section of organized labor. If the government succeeds in railroading the defendants, that means that strikes will be outlawed not only on WPA and all work in government agencies, but on all public works for any national, state or municipal agency and, for that matter, on any job under government contract. Shipbuilding, munitions, chemicals, steel-all the multitudinous fields in which the Roosevelt administration sticks its nose and lets out a contract -will operate under the shadow of a successful frame-up in Minneapolis.

Sharing the financial burden with the Minnesota unions is, therefore, an elementary obligation of the American trade union movement. But the financial aspect is secondary. Far more important is the necessity to arouse the organized workers of this country to the danger now concretised in the Minneapolis cases, to awaken every trade unionist and friend of labor and democratic rights, to the need for smashing the Minneapolis frame-up. Every union should take a stand in solidarity with the defendants against the prosecution. Every trade union paper should publish the story. Nothing will give the prosecution more cause to hesitate and back down, than a mountain of protests from the American trade union movement.

Copies of all resolutions should be sent to the Central Labor Union WPA Defense Committee, Eighth Street North, Minneapolis, Minnesota, and checks and money orders should be made out to the same body.

### Such Coincidences!

Recently we noted that the day after the Stalin-Hitler pact was announced the Soviet Pavilion at the World's Fair withdrew from exhibition the anti-Nazi film, Professor Mamlock. This was officially described by the Stalinists as a "coincidence". The N.Y. Times for Sept. 7 reports a whole series of such "coincidences" now taking place in the Soviet Union:

"Increasing signs of a desire to consider German susceptibilities are noted. Tolstoi's play, The Road to Victory, which deals with Germany's part in the wars of intervention, has been withdrawn from the schedule of the Vakhtangov Theatre. Such famous anti-fascist films as Professor Mamlock and The Oppenheimer Family have been withdrawn, as has also Eisenstein's Alexander Nevsky, although it deals with a Russo-German conflict as far back as 1214. All comments on anti-German films, historical or contemporary, are being deleted from the jubilee book on the development of the Soviet motion picture now in course of preparation."

#### A Manifesto -

# To the Oppressed Peoples of Latin America, Asia, Africa A New Wrinkle

the most dangerous poison for the masses. The true face of the pacifist democrats begins to be revealed in all its hideous nudity. Look at Gandhi, that senile saint of the Hindu capitalists! He drops his mask and changes his role of the humanitarian vegetarian prophet into that of recruiting sergeant in the service of British imperialism, the most infamous oppressor of India. The same despicable role is played by such petty-bourgeois nationalists as Nehru, M. N. Roy, etc.

#### Neither Hitler-Stalin Nor Chamberlain-Roosevelt

Oppressed peoples of Latin America! Enslaved peoples of Asia and Africa! Do not believe the lies of the imperialist powers! Do not march to war under the bloody and ignoble banner of imperialism! Chamberlain-Daladier want your skin, your bones that are exhausted by feudal and capitalist exploitation, in order to throw you into the mouths of the fascist cannons of Hitler! Japan wants to profit from your legitimate hatred of the imperialist bandits of London and Paris in order to exploit you, in the name of a vague Asiatic patriotism. Do not let yourselves be used! If Hitler-Mussolini come before you, arm in arm with the infamous Stalin, trying to exploit for their own benefit your justified fight against Anglo-French imperialism, do not listen to them: under the anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist demagogy of the Hitler-Stalin combine hides the hideous face of bestial fascism; drive them

Neither is Roosevelt more worthy of confidence. He works not for the defence of peace and democracy but for war, for the interests of Wall Street, for the exploitation of all the people of Latin America and Asia, for the domination of the world!

#### Hear Only the Voice of Your Brothers

The voice that you must hear is the voice of the toilers of the world, crucified anew by the unfaithful and traitorous leaders, from Stalin to Leon Blum, from Citrine to Toledano, from Browder to Green, Lewis and Co. This is the profound voice of your countrymen bent under the feudal yoke, it is the voice of the toilers of the cities and the fields who get nothing from life but the duty of not dying from hunger so that the strong-boxes of the super-rich may continue to be filled. That is the voice that you

The war that at this moment is devastating the fields of Europe and that will very soon embrace the whole world is not your war. It is an undertaking of the big thieves to see which shall be master of the world in the near future. Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America: profit from their war by awakening! There is only one national war in the world that can be just: that is your war! The war that only you, oppressed and enslaved peoples, will be able to lead: the war against the bankers and imperialists of Europe, the United States and Japan; the war for your national independence!

#### Break with all the Agents of Imperialism

But in order that you should be able to profit from the war of the exploiting imperialist bandits, in order that you should be able to utilize it to conquer your national independence and liberty, one condition is indispensable: you must mercilessly drive from your ranks the open or disguised imperialist agents of every color, whether they be democrats or fascists. The former want to push you to war in the service of the British, French or American oppressor, the latter want to put you under the yoke of Hitler, the Mikado or Mussolini. Drive from your ranks, with equal firmness, the faithful agents of Stalin the traitor, yesterday still the raging partisans of the "democratic" war against the fascist aggressor, and today the defenders of the treacherous alliance between Stalin and Htiler!

#### Yankees—Policemen of World Reaction

The role of Yankee imperialism is no less reactionary than that of the European or Japanese imperialisms. The Yankee imperialists will be the reserve force of world reaction when, sickened by the horrors of the war, the enslaved peoples of the Orient stand up erect, chase out the British and French slave-drivers and proclaim their independence. The European imperialists, worn out by the war, will no longer have the strength to strangle the great revolution of the colonies. This task falls upon the less exhausted imperialists, the richest and most powerful ones, those of the United States. It is the historic responsibility of the American workers, with the aid of the oppressed peoples of Latin America, to prevent world capitalist reaction from achieving its

That is why the American workers and the Latin-American peoples must not let themselves be deceived by the lies about the "war for democracy". The reactionary governments of Latin America cannot defend democracy, for if democracy really existed in these controlled countries their peoples would have the means of refusing to go to this war for the profits of Wall Street.

#### Freedom for all the Oppressed!

Side by side with the millions of Latin America and of Asia, the African Negroes, the peoples of Algeria, Morocco, Tunis and Egypt who suffer under the heel of the "democratic" imperialists, will make comon cause with their brothers oppressed by Mussolini, Salazar and Franco. Together they will fight the common struggle against serving in the competing armies of imperialism. Together they will aim at one goal: the complete independence of the peoples of Africa, so long the prey of predatory capitalism.

The oppressed peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies must take into their own hands the right to decide their own destinies; they must take back their national riches which were stolen from them by the foreign capitalists; they must take back their land with the right to work it freely; they must take back the great means of production and the monop olies swallowed up by the foreign imperialists; they must take back the freedom of which they were deprived by the national feudal barons, allied with the foreign imperialist ban-

It is for these things that you must fight people of the oppressed countries of the world! The hour of this struggle will soon sound. The proletariat of Europe, of the United States, of the capitalist powers, will support you in this struggle for freedom. And with your aid, they will stop the inter-imperialist world war by transforming it into a war of the oppressed for freedom which will establish the only lasting peace, the peace of the workers, erected by the World Republic of Labor and Socialism!

Down with both the "Democratic" and Fas-

cist Imperialists! Down with the Inter-Imperialist War!

Down with Capitalism!

Long Live the War of the Colonial Peoples for their National Liberation!

Long Live the World Socialist Revolution! All-American and Pacific Buro Sub-Secretariat of the Fourth International.

# MANUSCRIPTS ASKED FOR JOHN DEWEY RESEARCH FELLOWSHIP

Professor Sidney Hook an- terest in the labor movement. nounced a contest for the first The contest is open to everyone award of a \$750.00 fellowship under the following rules: for "a piece of original research

work or a constructive analysis of a labor problem." The award will be made by a committee of judges consisting of Professors John Dewey and Sidney Hook, and Julius Hochman, wellknown labor leader. The name of the winner will be made public, and the chosen manuscript will be published by the JOHN DEWEY RESEARCH FEL-LOWSHIP, of which Professor Hook is Chairman.

The fellowship was founded by friends and admirers of Professor Dewey in honor of his approaching 80th birthday, in appreciation of his contributions to the labor movement and to human progress, and in the hope of stimulating wide in-

1. A full detailed outline of a proposed manuscript, the latter to be preferably of book size, must be submit-

> a-Relations of the labor movement and public school education; b-Philosophy of trade unionism in relation to the democratic way of

2. The outline is to be signed with a nom de plume. The real name and address of the contestant should be

placed in a sealed envel ope, with the nom de plume on the outside-the envelope to be attached to the outline submitted.

3. The manuscript must be completed within one year after date of award.

 One-third of the fellowship (\$250) will be presented to the winning contestant on acceptance of the outline, the balance (\$500) on acceptance by the judges of the completed manuscript. Outlines should be mailed to

ted on or before November Hillman M. Bishop, Secretary 30, 1939, covering an orig- of the Committee of the Cominal piece of research on mittee of Award, Government any problem of general Department, College of the City significance to the Ameri- of New York, 17 Lexington Avecan labor movement; for nue, New York, N. Y.

#### 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.

# 1 The Stalinist

. "the character of the war now developing is that of a struggle between two rival imperialist groups for the domination of the world.

"Poland has been made the excuse for the outbreak of this war as Belgium became the pretext for the development of the last world war. . . .

"The character of this war in no principle respect can be said to differ from that of the late World War.

"This war has nothing to offer the masses of any participating country except death and destruction, further miseries and burdens."

Incredible as it may seem, these simple statements of fact are now uttered by the general secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, Earl Browder, (Daily Worker, Sept. 13).

And to round out the picture he declared that to understand the role of Poland "we have to refer to the fascist character of the government of Poland itself. This was a government which only a few months ago participated with Hitler in the dismemberment of Czechoslovakia.

"This government in the past oppressed, and still continues up to the present to oppress nationalities within its own frontiers."

These words are by the same Browder who only the other day howled for a war of England and France against German Fascism.

#### What Browder Said Until Yesterday

Yesterday he painted the Polish government as the genuine spokesman of the Polish people, the true defender of their national independence.

Yesterday he denounced as "counter-revolutionary Trotskyism" the view that the impending war would be a repetition of the war of 1914-1918, that is, an imperialist war waged under the hypocritical slogan of defense of small nations. He scurrilously attacked as "Fascist agents" those who pointed to the fascist and imperialist nature of the Polish government.

Today, at the dictates of the Kremlin master. Browder's tune has changed. Stalin's agents have to explain why their paymaster has signed a pact with Hitler which directly aids the latter's attack on the Polish people. So they discover that the imperialist governments are nothing but . . . imperialist governments! They can no longer defend the war as a just war, because otherwise how can they explain Stalin's direct material and moral aid to

Then the war-"the struggle between two rival imperialist groups for the domination of the world" (Browder)-it appears should not be supported by the working class in any country? Browder remains silent on this question!

#### Browder's Comrades Back 'Imperialist War''

A week ago he endorsed the support of the war by the French and English Communist Parties. In a Daily Worker editorial (September 6), entitled "Symbol of the French Communist Party"

"Maurice Thorez, general secretary of the great French Communist Party, has presented himself for military service with the army of

"Now that Munich has led to war, Thorez, the Communist leader beloved of the French people, offers his life to defend the national security of

And the next day, a special cable to the Daily Worker from London reports that the Communist Party "vigorously proclaimed that it continues to work more actively than ever' to help win the war against fascist aggression' ".

The French Stalinists support the war in the name of "the national security of France."

The English Stalinists support the war in the name of the struggle "against fascist aggression." This is the same war which Browder correctly says "has nothing to offer the masses of any participating country except death and destruction. further miseries and burdens."!

All of Browder's explanations of the Stalin-Hitler pact and the new policy of the Communist Party only increase the confusion and bewilderment in the Stalinist ranks.

#### Covering Up the Nazi Alliance

Browder's condemnation of the war as imperialist on both sides is for the sole purpose of serving the interests of the Stalin dictatorship in a new period-the period of the Stalin-Hitler pact. For the present, this requires an attack on British and French imperialism, and an increased agitation for a Roosevelt-Stalin alliance against Japan and any other powers threatening Russia. But the program to be persuasive, must be put forward as flowing not from Stalinist but from American interests. That is why the Communist Party increases its drive for rallying the workers behind Roosevelt's "national unity" and his war moves. However, events are moving very rapidly.

Roosevelt is traveling at lightning speed towards involvement of the United States in the war on the side of England and France. In fact he has already doe so by his declaration that the government will defend Canada—an active ally of Britain and France-against any attack. Since the interests of Stalin are at present not in that direction, the Communist party will begin a flank attack on this

The policy of the American Communist Party will be determined at each stage by the dictates of the autocrat of the Kremlin. If Stalin makes an open military alliance with Hitler for the partition of Poland and the Baltic states-of course, under the slogan of "national independence" of the Ukrainians, etc.!-then the Communist Party will come into more open conflict with Roosevelt

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

EUROPE IN FLAMES

Eyewitness Report of War-Torn Europe

Albert Goldman, Just 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