

A Vote for Shachtman and Paine Is a Vote Against War!

The U.S.S.R. In the War

By Leon Trotsky

[The following is a section of a long article by Comrade Trotsky on the "U.S.S.R. in War." The article in full will be published in the November number of the New Internationalist. The conclusions of Comrade Trotsky have been endorsed by the plenum of the National Committee and his article is published as an elucidation and evaluation of the new events on the basis of the fundamental position of the party.]

On the Question of Occupied Territories

As I am writing these lines the question of the territories occupied by the Red Army still remains obscure. The cable dispatches contradict each other, since both sides lie a great deal; but the actual relationships on the scene are no doubt still extremely unsettled. Most of the occupied territories will doubtlessly become part of the USSR. In what form?

Let us for a moment conceive that in accordance with the treaty with Hitler, the Moscow government leaves untouched the rights of private property in the occupied areas and limits itself to "control" after the Fascist pattern. Such a concession would have a deep-going principled character and might become a starting point for a new chapter in the history of the Soviet regime; and consequently a starting point for a new appraisal on our part of the nature of the Soviet state.

It is more likely, however, that in the territories scheduled to become a part of the USSR, the Moscow government will carry through the expropriation of the large land owners and statification of the means of production. This variant is most probable not because the bureaucracy remains true to the socialist program but because it is neither desirous nor capable of sharing the power, and the privileges the latter entails, with the old ruling classes in the

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Behind the Lines

By GEORGE STERN

Ever since the consummation of the Stalin-Hitler pact, the remaining Communist Parties have been threshing about like headless snakes. Even in the agony of their passing, however, they continue to serve not the interests of the workers of the world but the vilest ends of capitalist reaction.

More, almost, than any other single factor in the history of the past 15 years, Stalin's Comintern has been responsible for the disorientation and dispersal of the forces that could have transformed the world into a workers' commonwealth instead of the foul charnel house that it has become.

Stalin's pact with Hitler, the brazen rapacity of the Polish invasion, the cynical yoking of the Baltic states to the Kremlin's chariot, are only the most recently forged links in the chain that Stalin has been fashioning for years and with which he has shackled and tortured the international revolutionary movement.

What a contemptible figure is cut by the Stalinist bureaucrat or so-called intellectual fellow-traveler who accepted without blinking the strangling of the revolution in China, Germany, Austria, France, and Spain—who supported without flinching the murderous purge and the witchcraft trials of the old Bolsheviks—and now finds himself suddenly "betrayed" by the pact with Hitler!

The break-up of Stalin's parties in various countries has for at least six years been one of the prime requisites for the further successful development of a genuine revolutionary movement in the working class. Had that break-up come under the

relentless pressure of fresh revolutionary forces, these parties would have been swept under foot by the forward marching legions of workers everywhere in open struggle for the overthrow of capitalism.

But thanks largely to the Stalinists themselves, the workers were abandoned in one country after another to the talons of Fascist reaction and finally to the carnage of a new world war. Stalin bent the International of Lenin into a pliable tool which he used without scruple not to serve the international interests of the workers but the national interests of his own ruling clique. Now he has cast it aside to lean for awhile on the stronger arm of Hitler. The Communist Parties, split, discredited, hated, and deserted by the masses everywhere, are falling easy prey to wartime police reaction directed by the bosses they served so well.

In France the most powerful section of the Comintern was crushed into the dust. There was no one to defend it, no one even to raise his voice in protest. The party that a little more than a brief year ago owned the allegiance of millions of militant workers has been snuffed out by order of its erstwhile hero, Daladier, amid the cheers and applause of its erstwhile ally, Leon Blum. Only his elevation to power by the Stalin-supported People's Front and the effective dispersal of the revolutionary forces by the People's Front has made this possible.

Stalin's "betrayal" lies not in his pact with Hitler but in the powerful role he played in destroying the mighty working class movement that could have crushed Hitlerism before it seized power and that almost engulfed French capitalism three years ago. His "betrayal" lies not in his invasion of Poland or his subjection of the Baltic States. It lies in the snuffing out of the Spanish revolution for which he was, above all else, responsible.

No, there is no cause for rejoicing in this debacle of the Comintern. In its present form it heralds not only the disappearance of the Stalinist parties. It heralds also the victory of reaction. In their passing the Stalinists afford aid and comfort to the Leon Blums, the Alec Roses, and all their ilk whose only aim is to bind the workers of all countries to the war chariots of their masters. To us they leave the ruins from which we must try to begin rebuilding the movement that under a stainless banner will resume the march toward a workers' peace, workers' security, and a workers' world.

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BIG BUSINESS SEES NATION HERDED INTO WORLD SLAUGHTER BY SPRING

War Stand Key Issue, Says N. Y. Candidate

Shachtman Points to Anti-War Stand Taken By Several Unions

Pointing to the action of the Rochester Central Trades and Labor Council in adopting a resolution in support of a popular referendum on war and commenting on a similar resolution passed at the recent Duluth convention of the Minnesota State Federation of Labor, Max Shachtman, Councilman Candidate of the Socialist Workers Party for the Bronx, declared today that, "It is encouraging to note that certain sections of organized American labor are becoming increasingly aware of the dangers resident in permitting Congress and the President to retain their present war-making powers."

"No candidate who is up for election to the City Council this November can evade a forthright statement on this paramount issue of the popular war referendum and at the same time represent himself as a serious opponent of war," Shachtman stated.

Others Silent
"Of all the candidates put forward by the various political parties for election to the City Council," Shachtman declared, "not one has to this date expressed himself publicly for the popular referendum on war."

"Indeed, these individuals have merely accepted the leads given by their national figures," Shachtman pointed out. "President Roosevelt and former Secretary of State Henry Stimson, speaking for the Democratic and Republican parties when the Ludlow Amendment to the Constitution was before Congress last year, gave the lead to their respective organizations by stating their irrevocable opposition to the popular war referendum."

"That nothing of a public character can be expected from the various Councilman Candidates on this all-important issue was further indicated when from every quarter of political life in this city came testimonials of agreement with Roosevelt's pronouncement placing an embargo on all questions of a controversial nature," Shachtman continued.

"As for Mayor LaGuardia, he has his eyes glued on a post in any war cabinet selected by

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Denounces Roosevelt War Plans



George Lyman Paine, Manhattan candidate of the Socialist Workers Party for City Council, addressing a campaign meeting at the headquarters of the Upper West Side Branch. Comrade Paine spoke on the main issue in the municipal campaign—the fight against imperialist war.

ALP Takes Pro-War Line Under Cover of Attack on Stalinism

Move Against Discredited Stalinists Is in Reality a Blow at Genuine Anti-War Forces Who Rely on Labor's Own Might

By FELIX MORROW

The most flagrantly pro-war stand taken by any important labor group in this country was adopted by the state executive committee of the American Labor Party last Thursday, October 4.

Putting teeth into the decision, the state body the next day decided to require every ALP candidate to "re-affirm and to subscribe to" the pro-war resolution, and made provision that "any party candidate who fails, refuses or neglects to act in accordance with this decision of the state executive committee will be denied the nomination and support of the Labor party."

"Acid Test"
Alex Rose, state secretary, in announcing this decision stated that while it applied specifically only to candidates, the "resolution on the European

conflict" would be made the "acid test" of membership in the Labor party.

Characterizing Anglo-French imperialism as "the cause of the Western democracies that are fighting for the preservation of those democratic values and liberties which we in this country treasure so dearly," the war resolution says "the great majority of the American day when the remaining democracies on the European

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Somervell Announces New Wage Cut For WPA Clerks

NEW YORK CITY—In its mad drive to turn all WPA funds into war funds, the Roosevelt administration this week again cut WPA wages in this area.

The wages of 13,000 clerks have been cut \$5.20 to \$20.80 a month on direct orders from Washington, Lieut. Colonel Somervell, local WPA administrator announced.

NOTICE

An important meeting of all party and YPSL members will be held Sunday, October 15, 2 P.M. at Beethoven Hall, 210 East 5th St. Admission by red card only.

Bosses Get "Inside Stuff" on Strategy Of F. D. R. War Deal

Glimpses Behind the Scenes in Washington In Special Service for Business Men Show Extent of "War Spirit" in Washington

If any reader of the *Appeal* still has any last lingering doubts as to the definiteness of the plans of the War Deal for swinging the nation into the imperialist slaughter abroad, he should get hold of the *Kiplinger Washington Letter* for the last few weeks, and in particular those for September 16 and 23.

The *Kiplinger Letter* is a well-known compilation of "inside stuff" on governmental activities in Washington. It is written weekly by a staff who have excellent contacts with the highest government circles. "CIRCULATED PRIVATELY TO BUSINESS MEN" reads its letterhead. Kiplinger aims to provide frank and realistic information which can be depended on as a guide to business policy. The *Letter* goes out

to tens of thousands of executives and corporations who pay well for the service. Its data can be relied on to be accurate and objective. When hard cash is at stake, business men want cold facts, not propaganda.

What, then, does the Kiplinger agency have to say about the current policies of the War Deal? First of all, what of the general attitude of the Administration towards American entry into the war on the side of the Allies? Kiplinger answers:

The war spirit in Washington, within EXECUTIVE branch of govt., is greater than throughout the country, especially the interior. By this is meant the possibility that U.S. may get into the war. There are complex ifs-&-ands . . . prospects are far from clear . . . but . . .

The point is this: Within our officialdom, not for quotation, there's VERY MUCH more opinion that the U.S. MAY be drawn into the war than appears in formal official utterances as published.

IN VERY HIGH official circles (not the slightest doubt of it) there is solemn talk of the "possibility" of U.S. in war "by January."

Our government, particularly at the TOP, is acting on the theory that the U.S. "may" be at war "sooner than the general public suspects". That's not precise, but that's the way it is put. . . it shows the spirit.

It is our opinion that the Executive branch of our government is putting up a front

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'THE DECLARATION OF PANAMA'--ROOSEVELT DRIVES TO WAR

The energetic young Sumner Welles, under-secretary of State, is now on his way back to Washington from Panama with a juicy present for the Sixty Families in his pocket. The "Declaration of Panama", which Welles drove through the conference of the twenty-one American "republics", against the opposition of a number of them headed by Chile, will go down in history as a very remarkable document indeed.

The Declaration contains many pious references to the solidarity of the American nations, their neutrality, their resolve to aid each other and to keep out of the war. But its key section is of course that which defines the "neutral zone" around the Americas.

Extent of "Neutral" Zone

This neutral zone extends from 300 to 600 miles into the ocean from the shores of America, from the latitude of Canada's southern border to the last tip of South America.

The zone thus includes all of the Caribbean, the islands both west and east of South America, and even Bermuda. Within this area all "belligerent acts" are to be forbidden. This means that within this area no ships are to be molested by the warring powers, and no military acts of any kind carried out on land or at sea.

Let us see what is involved here:

The zone includes more than a hundred territories and possessions of European powers, chiefly British and French and a few Dutch. All of these are therefore declared to be immune from attack by enemy powers—that is, by Germany.

If submarines or raiding cruisers wish to attack ships transporting goods from an American port to Europe, their best chance is to lie in wait near the port, or, in the case of the Central and Northern South American ports, in among the narrow channels through which the ships must pass in the Carib-

bean. In this way it is clearly easier to spot the ships than in the vast reaches of the open sea. But, by the terms of the declaration, ships cannot be attacked within the neutral zone.

War Aim of U.S. Imperialism

Here, too, the declaration is aimed primarily at Germany, and in several senses. Ships with goods for Britain or France would sail with safety to the edge of the neutral zone, half way across the Atlantic, and would there be taken up by convoys. The British squadrons now compelled to do duty within the area would be released for work elsewhere. The U.S. navy would be, in effect, convoy to French and British ships to the edge of the zone. Ships for Germany, on the other hand, would not appreciably benefit, since Germany has no large surface fleet, and since they would still have to pass the almost insurmountable blockade of the Channel, the North Sea and the Baltic.

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