By James Burnham

During the past year and a half, in the Socialist

Appeal and the New International we have been pub-

lishing considerable material dealing with India.

Many of our readers were unable to understand this

preoccupation; some even complained, and insisted

that we should get down to more practical matters.

ready make clear that nothing could be more "practi-

We know little enough, it is true, of what is actual-

ly going on now in India. But let us review what we

can piece together from the heavily censored dis-

patches. And let us do so against the background of

India, with its 350,000 inhabitants, is the richest

of all Britain's possesions, the key and crux of the

Empire. No shred of independence or democracy has

ever been allowed to disturb London's steady exploit-

During the course of the last war, it was not, then,

so entirely simple to persuade Ind a to line up active-

ly on the side of her democratice dictator. But vague

promises of independence or at least dominion status

to follow the war, the treachery of the native bour-

geoisic and of its spokesman, Gandhi, together with

the inexperience of the masses, put the fraud across.

ain's battlefields to fight Britain's war-all of them,

by a crowning irony, equipped and paid by India

(just as the civil servants, retired to England, have

their pensions paid by grateful India). Besides these

soldiers, India poured material goods and wealth into

The war was won, and Britain's phrases about de-

mocracy and independence were put in mothballs

against the next rainy day. Bombers strafing the na-

But these matters, alas for London, were not alto-

tive villages took the place of promises.

Another Day, Another Way

India sent approximately 1,400,000 soldiers to Brit-

ation of its great human and material resources.

cal" than the Indian question.

India's relation to the last war.

India Fights for Democracy

The first seven weeks of the second world war al-

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MAX SHACHTMAN

FELIX MORROW

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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
- 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.
- 16. An independent Labor Party.
- 11. Workers' Defense Guards against vigilante and Fascist attacks.
- 12. Full social, political and economic equality for the Negro people.

# Stalin in Estonia

Otto D. Tolischus, the N. Y. Times' Berlin correspondent, sends his paper a cable from Talfinn, the capital of Estonia, which contains things that are more than merely interestingthey are important and significant.

pecially hard pressed by Premier-Foreign Com- cracy in its alliance with the Hitlerites, who repmissar Vyacheslaff M. Molotoff and his aides resent the second of the two imperialist camps for even greater concessions than Russia finally at war. beaming benignly, and, putting his arms around plete impartiality: A plague on both your housthe visitor's shoulder, remarked:

great Russians.'

"Repeating the same method in a similar con- cause that is not the choice before the workers. ference with another Foreign Minister, he is supposed to have varied the remark as follows: ers, of the peasants and of the colonial slaves

" . . . . None of these (Baltic) countries is afraid of its own Communists; there are few ments are fully capable of handling these as well as any other pro-Russian elements. However, according to current anecdotes, Mr. Stalin has reassured the Baltic statesmen on this point

"'What you do with your own communists," he is quoted as having said, 'is your own busi- themselves: In New York, there are thousands ness. They are Trotskyists anyhow. If you must, shoot them, and if you can't handle them, I'll help you.'

"According to one report, he is supposed to have gone so far as to admit: 'You know, communism has not worked here so well either."

"As a matter of fact, attempts of Baltic communists to 'tovarisch' Soviet Russian commisions that come to the Baltic capitals to arrange the details of garrisoning are curtly waved aside by the Russian officers and in Vilna self appointed Soviets who started to shoot bourgeois leaders before the Russian troops arrived are reported to have been executed by these troops or taken to Moscow."

It may be argued that Tolischus' story is based upon anecdotes and rumor, and that there is no real proof that Stalin actually said what he is quoted as saying. We are perfectly ready to acknowledge the validity of this argument. But we nevertheless beg to insist that we incline to accept the story as veracious for the very good reason at it corresponds faithfully to everything we know about Stalin-his policies, his character, his methods and his course.

Demonstrate, therefore, your opposition to imperialist war and to the plans to drag this country into it. Roll up a powerful vote for the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party!

# **Election Issues**

What are the issues in the present election

campaign in New York?

stand on the same ground. Michael Quill, the way to the Fourth International. It was precisely who emphasize other, "non-municipal" issues remember their comrade-in-arms, their martyr in the election.

Now, slum clearance and decent housing are undoubtedly an acute problem in New York. The Socialist Workers Party has taken a bold position on the question and proposed a drastic solution for it. But what meaning could housing have to millions who would die on the battlefield if the United States entered the war and to the millions for whom the same United States would become a huge concentration camp under military dictatorship?

County reorganization, the smashing of the bureaucratic corruption that eats at the vitals of the city-that is an issue, without doubt. The government machine is an Augean stable that must be cleaned out by the workers. But if war were imposed on the country, the present bureaucratism and corruption in New York would look like a colonial town meeting democracy in comparison with the regime that would be es-

An increased school budget, a vast change to improve the educational set-up in the citythese are issues. But what would happen to education in the city if war came and every teacher were compelled to become a lying agent of the American war machine, poisoning the minds of every pupil and student?

A radical reorganization of the transit system in the city is an issue. We demand the confiscation of the subways and their management by the workers. But what can any talk of improving the transit situation in New York mean if the "transit" facilities in prospect for the workers are the troop ships that Roosevelt and Co. are planning to send into the war?

And so it is with all the other "strictly municipal issues." They are all subordinated to the paramount issue of the day: the war question.

In this election, there is but one party that takes an uncompromising and unalterable stand in opposition to the imperialist war and to both camps in it.

The capitalist politicians and candidates, and the official candidates of the American Labor Party, are already committed to one of the imperialist camps-the Anglo-French. They are committed to support of American imperialism's plans and ambitions.

The Stalinist candidates, with their belated and pretended opposition to "imperialist war," "When one Baltic Foreign Minister was es- are in actuality supporting the Kremlin bureau-

es! Down with both imperialist gangs!

"Never mind, I'll protect you from these We do not choose between the two camps, Hitler or Roosevelt, Hitler or Chamberlain, be-

There is a third camp, the camp of the work-"You know, these militarists want every- throughout the world. That is our camp. That thing, but I am a politician and I can compro- one we will fight for, as we have consistently fought for it in the past.

That camp has the opportunity to express itself demonstratively in the current election in of them and the native authoritarian govern- New York, and to express itself on the issue that overshadows all others: the war issue.

> By rolling up the biggest possible vote for the Socialist Workers Party candidates, the workers of New York can give the war-mongering masters of this country serious and undigestible food for thought. They will say to of workers who, in spite of all efforts to prevent them from taking a position on the question, decided to vote for the most revolutionary and intransigent opponents of the war. There is a threat to our dirty work that must be taken

## Ignace Reiss

### The Second Anniversary of His Death -by Leon Trotsky

More than two years ago, Ignace Reiss, an old Bolshevik, a devoted and outstanding revolutionist, broke openly with the Stalin regime. He left his important post in the GPU, returned his Order of Lenin ("It is below my dignity to wear it together with the executioners of the best representatives of the working class'-he wrote to the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party on July 17, 1937), and he openly joined the ranks of the Fourth International in order to "begin all over again, in order to save social-

To Reiss' letter Stalin answered with the bullets of his hired assassins. The riddled body of Reiss was found on the outskirts of Lausanne on the night of Sept. 5. But the assassins, spurred by Stalin, did their work carelessly, in a hurry, and failed to cover up their tracks. The Swiss police, without any special difficulty, succeeded in establishing that the murder was perpetrated by the GPU.

In breaking with Stalin, Reiss knew very well According to the capitalist candidates, the is- -better than anyone else-what awaited him, sues are municipal, the issues of "good govern- but Stalin could not terrorize him. Together with ment." The American Labor Party spokesmen other genuine revolutionists, Reiss found his Stalinist "independent" candidate, takes the same for this, for the world revolution, that he gave view. He even goes so far as to condemn those his life. In him the younger generation will ever and unwavering fighter.

By Dwight Macdonald-

# SPARKS IN THE NEWS

Footnote on International Law

In a recent issue of Time, John J. Clarke, of Beverley Hills, California, says more in two sentences than has been said to date in the entire Neutrality Law debate in Congress. Mr. Clarke's sentences: "The President's message on Neutrality evidenced a desire to return to International Law The interesting thing about International Law is that the only way to enforce it is by war."

The Swag

The old-fashioned nineteenth century type of imperialist conquest was, in essence, straight robbery. But it was veiled by the fact it was indirect-a matter of "spheres of influence," of "opening up new markets" and "bringing civilization to backward peoples." "Take up the white man's burden!" exhorted Kipling in 1899, presenting imperialism as a Salvation Army movement to uplift the darker-skinned peoples of the

The Nazis have stripped away these pretensions from imperialism, as they have carried other tendencies of capitalism to their blunt, naked logical conclusion. Hitler's imperialism is reduced to its simplest terms; as direct a matter of banditry as any bank robbery. When the Reichswehr moves into a new country, its first concern is The Swag. Banks, insurance companies, fraternal and trade union funds-all possible reservoirs of cash and credit, are picked clean, their assets being immediately transferred to Berlin. The Reichswehr functions as a strongarm crew for the Reichsbank.

This is a factor which has a real effect on Hitler's economic staying-power in the war. Every new conquest is, in the most concrete financial terms, a loss to the Allies and a gain to Hitler. The German Institute for Bank Research and Science recently issued a report on Polish industries. This showed that 43% of the total shares in Polish corporations are held by foreign capital-an index to the backward nature of Polish economy and one explanation for the so dramatically exposed hollowness and rottenness of the Polish ruling class. Of these shares, some \$60,610,000 worth were owned by French interests, some \$52,600,000 by American interests, and so on. All of this loot now goes into the Reich's coffers -except, of course, for Comrade Stalin's cut.

#### The Great International Bank Robbery

Truth Is Beginning to

Clear a Path for Itself

The sums just mentioned are invested in plant and equipment, and are not readily convertible into cash, the most pressing need of the Nazi state in this war. No doubt the Reichswehr has been also sending back to Berlin large amounts of cold cash from Poland just as it did from Czechoslovakia. But these conquests have also opened up to the Reich another reservoir of gold: the Bank for International Settlements, an insti-

With the beginning of the war and the clamp-

ing down of a rigid censorship by the belliger-

ents, only the lies of national unity made their

way into the press. What had become of the rev-

olutionary working class movements in Germany

and in Great Britain, in France and in the rest of

Europe-to all these questions the blackout of

In the World of Labor

By Paul G. Stevens:

tution in Basel, Switzerland, whose resources are owned jointly by the central banks of the world. Writing in the NY Times of October 22, R. H. Fetridge describes this international bank stickup. Every time the Reichswehr takes over a country, the Reichsbank takes over its gold deposits in the B.I.S. The Czechoslovak job netted \$25,000,000 in gold, Danzig and Poland have yielded an undisclosed additional sum. "Despite angry protests from Great Britain," writes Mr. Fetridge, "no way has been found to prevent the transfers of these gold deposits." The Bank of London was able to prevent Hitler getting hold of the Czech gold on deposit in London, but the B.I.S. is in neutral Switzerland.

#### The Hitler Mob Takes Over

Furthermore, the Nazis now have working control of the B.I.S. When the bank was founded, each of the chief nations participating had 19,-000 shares-England, France, Germany, the United States, Italy, Japan, and Belgium. But naturally every fresh Nazi conquest has added shares to the original 19,000. Poland alone has yielded 4,000 BIS shares. Germany now holds the imposing total of 31,700 shares. The English and French members of the bank's board refuse to attend meetings any more. They would like to liquidate the bank, but there is a provision in the by-laws that this can be done only by a threefourths vote of the shareholders, a majority impossible to get without Germany and her friends.

The board meetings of the BIS these days must be comic affairs, with the Nazi bandits solemnly insisting on everything being done according to full legal forms. They have not only stuck up the bank, but have at the same time installed themselves as its chief stockholders. And to add spice to the joke, the new president of the bank is an American T.H. McKittrick, of the respectable old banking firm of Higginson & Co.

Thus ends another of the attempts made in the twenties to bring some law and order into world capitalism. The BIS was one of those experiments in international cooperation like the Kellogg Anti-War Declaration, the World Court, and the League of Nations. Its purpose was to provide an orderly way for adjusting international financial relationships in the chaotic post-war period. But its chief effect has been to aid the power which above all others refuses to abide by any of the rules of the game, and aggressively threatens the order and stability which the BIS was founded to establish. Just as the League of Nations was used as an instrument of power politics by the then strongest European imperialist group -England and France so the BIS is now being manipulated by the Nazis. Such is the inevitable fate of all such schemes to establish "order," "justice," and "cooperation" in a system which more and more reverts to the brute law of the jungle for its real, as against its officially proclaimed, code of conduct.

istically entitled "No Jingoism for Socialists.

Being in closer contact with the working class,

he knows that the wilder variety of social pa-

triotism just will not go over in the ranks. But

far more significant is a growing breach between

the parliamentary social patriots and the second

For example, in a special edition of the bulletin

of the No Conscription League-an organization

sponsored by the Independent Labor Party and

various pacifist groups-Rowland Hill, Chairman

"The official Labour leadership is the medium

through which the capitalist class is today at-

tempting to allay that suspicion (that this is a

war of imperialist conquest). It exploits Labour's

hatred and fear of Fascism for its own imperial-

ist ends." And he proposes: "The Trades Coun-

cils, as in the war years, in 1920 and 1926, take

on a greater importance. They must accept the

leadership that has been abdicated by the Labour

statesmen." The importance of this view, which

in itself is not new, can be realized only when

one remembers that this is an official of a trade

The stir in the Labour ranks is not confined to

this stratum alone, however. Even the political

people, particularly the usually timid centrists in

the party are beginning to raise their voices.

Thus, the Scottish Socialist Party, an official af-

filiate and quite a power in the Labour Party, has

taken the following action in a resolution passed

"The National Council of the Scottish Socialist

Party condemns the action of the Parliamentary

Labour Party in failing to oppose the passing of

the Emergency Powers Bill and declares that

this failure has allowed the ruling class of this

country to impose a Fascist dictatorship on the

people. The lack of opposition by the Labour Par-

ty to the rearmament program of the National

Government, their participation in National Ser-

vice schemes, their failure to adequately oppose

conscription and the final tragedy of the Labour

Party appealing to the workers to unite with

British imperialism to fight Fascism on the con-

tinent convinces the National Council of the Scot-

tish Socialist Party that the Labour Party Exec-

utive is utterly incompetent to lead the workers

in this crisis which threatens to embroil the peo-

ples of the world in a war of capitalist domina-

tion and we, therefore, demand the immediate res-

ignation of the Labour Party Executive en bloc;

the summoning of a special conference to deal

with the emergency situation and the redrafting

of the policy of the Labour Party insofar as in

Inconsistent and muddled as the conclusions

themselves are, the tenor of the attacks on the

social patriots is in itself impressive, because it

reflects the growing grumble among the rank and

ternational affairs are concerned."

union speaking, in just that capacity.

rank functionaries of the trade unions.

of the Bradford Trades Council, writes:

the British war machine.

Their

gether forgotten. Came a new war. The papers joyously announced that India had promptly followed the British parliament in declaring war against Germany. But it was Lord Linlithgow, the King's viceroy, not India, that had spoken.

Again the promises: as soon as the war is over, the problem of India's independence will be taken up. But, of course, not now; now there is business to be done, and all talk of independence must be dropped while hostilities last.

The promises no longer have power to charm. Day after day we read of the negotiations between the Viceroy and the leaders of the great Congress Party. Gandhi and his associates have tried hard enough to be loyal servants of British imperialism, but it is too much even for them. They are "anti-fascist" and especially "anti-Hitlerite," they want "the democracles to win the war against fascism," they proclaim; but they are "gravely disappointed over the white paper." If the war is for democracy, they find thems lves asking, then why not democracy for India? They cannot "actively support" the war on the basis which

A few days ago they took the first decisive step: They called upon the local governments of eight of the provinces, controlled by the Congress Party, to resign. These resignations will be an open act of nonconfidence in the war.

### What is Behind These Events?

Is it too much to believe that the resignations of the provincial governments will turn out to be the first preliminary act-distorted, timorous, unsure as it is-in what will broaden into the Indian revolution? The call for the resignations was, from what of it has been reported, a most cowardly document. It warned against any civil disobedience any active opposition to the war. But in spite of all limitations, it was a heavy blow against the war and the Empire whose life is now staked on the war.

The Indian revolution begins, as have all colonial revolutions up to the present, under the leadership of the native bourgeoisie, represented outstandingly by Gandhi .From this follows the shamefaced, whining character of this first stage. The native bourgeoisie in reality wants only a larger share for itself of the profits sweated from the Indian workers and peasants -that is the concrete meaning of "independence" or "dominion status" in its mind.

But at its back the native bourgeoisie hears the awakening thunder of the masses. Its recent moves are its vacillating attempts to keep at the head of the coming movement of the masses, in order not to be overwhelmed. What have the masses been doing since the war started? Are they only half-consciously preparing, or are there already great strikes and demonstrations? The censorship does not let us know, but the comparatively drastic nature of the call for resignations seems to indicate broad and open ac-

### The Shoals Ahead

The Indian revolution has a stormy course to steer, but if it drives through it can set the world on fire. The outcome will depend upon the ability of the proletariat to organize itself independently, and, drawing the peasantry with it, to assume undisputed leadership in the struggle. This means an end to the dominance of Gandhi and those for whom he speaks.

But there are other very dangerous lines now cast in these troubled waters. The German and Russian agents, now working as a team under the Hitler-Stalin alliance are not idle. They are, for their own ends, making their efforts to guide the developing struggle into their own channels. They will be compelled to increase their intervention. An India divorced from London must mean, for them, an India attached to the camp of Berlin-Moscow; they fear a free and socialist India no less than London.

Their intervention, propagandistic now, will therefore have to be translated into arms when the time comes: which, because of the strategic situation, means Stalin's regiments in India.

But the future has ample promise that against every force of reaction the workers and peasants of India will conquer.

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.

#### the various propaganda machines barred an Only slowly the real truth is beginning to trickle through. In the past few issues of the So-

cialist Appeal we published the first dispatches from the countries at war indicating that the forces of the Fourth International are carrying on in Germa: 1, in France, in England and everywhere where the imperialist conflict has unfolded, as the international army for peace, under the slogans of the Socialist United States of Europe and the World Federation of Socialist Republics. Small in number, but compact and disciplined, bound together solidly by a system of ideas wrought and perfected in sixteen years of common struggle for the world revolution and against the most hideous betrayals of Stalinism and social democracy, the sections of the Fourth International already constitute, as these dispatches reveal, the clear-sighted and courageous Marxist vanguard of a working class for which the opportunity to take power is rapidly advancing amidst capitalist crisis and catastrophe. If there is any distinct difference in the situation today from that of 1914, it surely lies in the fact that the alternative to the disastrous war-the socialist world revolution—already has at its dis-

#### Tendencies Toward a Breakdown of National Unity in Great Britain

posal an instrument that is standing up under

The struggle of the Fourth International against social patriotism and for the revolutionary solution to war is naturally aided by events themselves. National unity is far more of a farce now than in the last war-even as a fiction for the

moment it is becoming more and more untenable. Take the example of Great Britain. To be sure the official Labour leaders are the same warmongering scoundrels that they have always been. A Hugh Dalton still disports himself of a jingoistic gem like the following:

"The war would end when above the war zones of Europe, with her allies Britannia ruled the waves."

But even a conservative social patriot like the Lord Provost of Glasgow, P. J. Dollan, finds this too much to stomach. In the same issue of the Forward, published there, which carries Dalton's great thought he publishes an article character-

THE BRONX BRANCH of the

Socialist Workers Party re-

quests all sympathizers and

friends who live in the West

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