

SOCIALIST APPEAL

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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. Thirty dollar 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.

Gene Debs' Words

Our St. Paul comrades are conducting a mayoral election campaign. Appropriately for these grim days of war, their campaign centers on the war issue. Campaigning in a city where thousands of workers still lovingly remember Eugene V. Debs, whose revolutionary anti-war tradition our party continues, our comrades sent us, for inclusion in a special St. Paul edition of the *Socialist Appeal*, some excerpts from Debs' famous Canton speech. We take this opportunity to reprint these unforgettable words of Debs, for which the United States government sentenced him to ten years in prison. What Debs said in 1918, the Socialist Workers Party affirms today. Excerpts from his famous speech of June 16, 1918, follow:

I hate, I loathe, I despise junkers and junkerdom. I have no earthly use for the junkers of Germany, and not one particle more use for the junkers in the United States.

The master class has always declared the wars; the subject class has always fought the battles. The master class has had all to gain and nothing to lose, while the subject class has had nothing to gain and all to lose—especially their lives.

To turn your back on the corrupt Republican Party and the corrupt Democratic Party—the gold-dust lackeys of the ruling class, counts for something. It counts for still more after you have stepped out of those popular and corrupt capitalist parties to join a minority party that has an ideal, that stands for a principle and fights for a cause. This will be the most important change you have ever made.

The capitalists are continually talking about your patriotic duty. It is not THEIR but your patriotic duty that they are concerned about. There is a decided difference. Their patriotic duty never takes them to the firing line or chucks them into the trenches.

Yes, in good time we are going to sweep into power in this nation and throughout the world. We are going to destroy all enslaving and degrading capitalist institutions and recreate them as free and humanizing institutions. The world is daily changing before our eyes. The sun of capitalism is setting; the sun of Socialism is rising. It is our duty to build the new nation and the free republic. We need industrial and social builders. We Socialists are the builders of the beautiful world that is to be. We are all pledged to do our part. We are inviting—aye, challenging you in the name of your own manhood and womanhood to join us and do your part.

Years ago I recognized my kinship with all living beings, and made up my mind that I was not one bit better than the meanest on earth. I said then, and I say now, that while there is a lower class, I am in it, while there is a criminal element, I am of it, and while there is a soul in prison I am not free.

We're Dogmatic

We revolutionary workers, it appears, are too "utopian." We say that this war is a result of the economic conflicts between imperialist nations; that so long as capitalism exists, so long will war be inevitable. Hence to bring real peace it is necessary to overthrow all the imperialist governments and establish the rule of the workers. That's not only too utopian; it's also dogmatic. So say all the good people who are in favor of peace.

And since the members of Norman Thomas' Socialist party are all good and well-meaning people, filled with the noblest sentiments and highest aspirations, they are not going to be dogmatists and utopians, they are going to make a serious effort to achieve peace.

So the "Socialist Call," in an editorial in the March 2 issue, boldly comes forth with the idea that the imperialist war now raging in Europe should be stopped . . . by mediation.

"Mediation Now" is the title of the editorial. And it says:

"Devere Allen's cables reporting unanimous opinion among the Scandinavian countries, Holland and Belgium, in favor of American leadership in mediation efforts are very impressive.

"These people don't love Hitler but they do know the facts about what war means. Some doubt and fear regarding Sumner Welles' own attitude (and the president's) are in order and may confirm some of the things we fear but the conclusion is inescapable that the well being of the world would be hastened by the right sort of mediation in behalf of the right sort of peace negotiations."

The "conclusion is inescapable" that "socialists" who write that kind of tripe are well along the way to serving the master class as errand boys. There is certainly no evidence to demonstrate that the American section of the Second International is not going to commit here the crimes of its European sections. And this stand on mediation is weighty evidence that Thomas is blood-brother to Leon Blum and the other Judas-goats in Europe.

If the master class is capable of the "right sort of mediation" and the "right sort of peace negotiations," then why should the workers wipe their power off the face of the earth? The "Socialist Call" editorial concludes, addressing "the world": "And if your negotiations are successful, we promise our cooperation in disarmament and in those economic arrangements upon which the future peace and happiness and prosperity of the world depends."

Cooperation to whom? The world? This world is the world of the master class. Cooperation with them for "disarmament"—that was the road to war from Versailles to Munich. Cooperation with them in "economic arrangements"—that was the enslavement of the peoples of Africa, Asia and South America.

None of this Judas-goat talk for us. We say to the rulers of this world: We're against your wars, and against your peace, against your "disarmament" fakery and against your economics, root and branch. No cooperation with you, but the irreconcilable class struggle against you.

That's the differences between us and these "socialists." Very practical people they are, with backbones as flexible as willows. But we, just the same, will remain dogmatic as hell on the key questions of the salvation of humanity.

"International Law"

If all the tomes that have been written on and about and around what is called "international law" could be brought together, they would probably fill a building at least as large as the New York Public Library. The amount of energy consumed in speechifying about it would probably have provided enough electric power to supply a good-sized city for a good many years.

Yet whenever it has come down to hard cases the same simple fact has always come to light: "international law" means the desires at a given moment of the power in the best position to enforce its will.

There can be no rule of international law under a regime of international anarchy—and this is exactly the kind of regime that exists and will continue to exist so long as the world consists of groups of capitalist powers constantly at war with one another by economic or military means.

There will be the rule of international law only in a world organized on an international basis, its material resources serving the interests of all races and all peoples. Such a world will be organized only when the boss-built barriers of profit-seeking greed are torn down by peoples aroused at last by the deception which makes them pay the toll of the greed of those who rule them. That means an end to capitalism and the launching of a socialist world. And that is the goal our party has made its own.

SPARKS IN THE NEWS

by Dwight Macdonald

American Class Consciousness

The most interesting thing in the new "U.S.A." issue of *Fortune* is the latest installment of the Fortune Survey. Just how accurate and scientifically unbiased this national poll is, I don't know. (It came remarkably close to the 1936 presidential election results.) But to the extent that it is an accurate reflection of public opinion, this month's installment makes sober reading. That the social and economic conditions for the transference of power from the bourgeoisie to the workers here, in this country, been ripe for some time—this, I think, can easily be demonstrated. But *Fortune's* Survey would seem to indicate that this is far from being yet reflected in mass consciousness.

The question was asked: "What word would you use to name the class in America you belong to?" To this, 47% answered "middle class", 15% said "working class", and 28% said they didn't know.

Another question: "Do you think the interests of employers and employees are, by their very nature, opposed, or are they basically the same?" 56% answered "the same", 25% said "opposed", the rest didn't know. Factory workers, as one would expect, were the most class-conscious here: here—and yet more of even this section of the masses thought class interests were "basically the same" (41%) than thought they were opposed (37%).

Asked: "What do you really think would be a satisfactory income for you?", exactly half of all answering named sums of \$2500 a year and under. It is true that even such an income is far below what most people get today, but to be content with so little shows a dangerous mood of humility and resignation among the masses.

The most ominous finding was that, while 49% thought anybody at any time should have the right of free speech, almost as many (44%) said they would "prohibit some". And of these latter, much the biggest proportion (40%) defined the "some" they would gag as "Browder, communists, reds, radicals, Thomas, socialists". The next biggest gag group was the 18% in favor of denying free speech to "Kuhn, Bund Leaders, Nazis, Fascists". This would seem to indicate that "reds" are about twice as unpopular in this country at the moment as fascists. (It would have been interesting and valuable to have had this same question asked before the Hitler-Stalin Pact. I venture to guess that the anti-"red" sentiment would have been appreciably weaker.)

The People Reject War

As the war drags on, its sterile, futile, reactionary character becomes increasingly clear to the American masses. In the first week of the war, the Gallup Poll asked the question: "If it appears that Germany is defeating England and France, should the United States declare war on Germany and send our army and navy to Europe to fight?" To this, 44% said "Yes", 56% said "No". The same question was asked a few weeks ago. This time 23% said "Yes", 77% "No". In the same way, the percentage of those who think the U. S. will stay out of the European war has risen from 54% last October to a current figure of 68%.

U. S. Fleet Readies April War 'Games' In the Pacific

(Continued from Page 1)

"maneuvering" in the Caribbean since the beginning of January. The relationship between these maneuvers and the expectation of American participation in the European war is stated, although carefully, by Hanson Baldwin, military expert of the New York Times, who wrote on Feb. 25:

"Of chief interest in the Caribbean exercises is the increasing attention being paid to the Dutch West Indies, particularly to Curacao and Aruba, and to British Trinidad. It is common talk in army and navy circles — though none can be found to confirm it — that a tacit and unwritten but nevertheless definite agreement exists between the United States and the British and Dutch governments which would permit the use of these islands by American naval forces and planes in the event of war against some other foreign power."

Then Baldwin goes on to show how these islands are already being used, citing the fact that "during last year's naval war games some naval planes and surface craft actually based for a time on one or more of these islands."

In other words, the secret agreement is already in effect and has been for some time. Another proof of what a false facade Roosevelt's "neutrality" is!

War preparations are by no means to be confined, however, to the navy.

"Most Active Year"

The army and national guard are in for a year, Baldwin informs us, that "promises to be the most active in their peacetime history"—which is not surprising since our rulers evidently are counting on the possibility that this year may become part of our "wartime" history!

In May in Texas and Louisiana 70,000 men of the regular army will engage in large-scale "games" and this will be supplemented by special training exercises in national guard encampments all over the country.

Against "Civil Disturbers" The regular army, as the mag-

This swing in public sentiment, which set in a few weeks after the war began, has forced the Roosevelt Administration to soft-pedal its jingoistic pro-Ally propaganda, and to backwater on its war plans. But it would be folly to imagine either that the Administration has given up its plans for getting the country into the war on the side of the "democracies", or that the present trend of public feeling cannot be reversed in the near future. No amount of popular hatred of war will by itself suffice to keep the country out of the present war. This mass sentiment must be organized and given expression by powerful labor and radical organizations if it is to play an important role.

But Capitalism Demands War

Regardless of what the masses think and want, the economic necessities of American capitalism press the nation inexorably towards participation in the war. The links of gold and steel which bind our economy to that of the rest of world imperialism are far stouter than the simple-minded, provincial "isolationist" believes. At the present time, for example, eleven billions of American money are in long-term investments abroad. Last year's exports were higher than in 1938, and the month of December, 1939, in particular, was 37% above December, 1938.

Furthermore, the character of this trade has changed in recent years in such a way as to link American economy more tightly to European wars. A comparison of the chief items of export in 1926-1930 with 1939, shows that raw cotton has had the biggest drop (11%), iron and steel mill products the biggest rise (9%). In general, decreases are in farm products and consumers' goods, while the increases are in such war materials as aircraft, oil, chemicals, iron and steel scrap. In a word, the United States ten years ago was the provisions of Europe, today is the armorer of Europe.

There is space here to mention only one other tie: the enormous flow of gold from Europe to the safe haven of this country in the last few years. Since 1934, *Fortune* estimates that \$10,500,000,000 of European gold has been received here; of which only \$2,800,000,000 was in settlement of foreign trade balances. The rest represented "a vast, unwelcome entrance of foreign capital" in the form of short-term bank balances and foreign investments in American securities.

According to a recent report of the U. S. Department of Commerce, this inflow of gold from Europe has been greatly stimulated by the war. In 1938 the total inflow was \$1,500,000,000; last year it was just double that figure, namely \$3,000,000,000. As soon as the war abroad becomes "serious", this torrent of gold pouring Westward across the Atlantic will set in motion an Eastward counter-current of American guns and copper and oil and chemicals. No capitalist government can withstand the gravitational pull of this economic interaction between America and Europe. It will become a question not of whether to enter the war, but purely as to how to get the country in. And this second problem can be solved by the ruling class more easily than the isolationists realize.

Behind the Lines

(Continued from Page 1)

The obvious comparisons between the Welles mission and the activities of Col. House in Europe in 1915 have already been widely drawn. House went to "explore" peace possibilities and all he succeeded in doing was helping the Allies to bring this country into the war on their side. It took nearly twenty years for the real facts about House to come to light. In the meanwhile this country went into the European holocaust.

But when the facts came to light about Welles' mission—and we hope it won't take 20 years to drag them into the light of day—it will probably be seen that Roosevelt was by no means repeating the naive essays into diplomacy made by Wilson.

Roosevelt knows the game of power politics and intends to play it all ways to the middle. His intention is to assert the supremacy of American imperialism and to use its power to dictate the course of the war and its settlement. To this end he is preparing to use the whole economic, military, and naval strength of the country.

This is the road to war. We must demand a clear accounting from the man in the White House. We demand as our right full knowledge of the diplomat maneuvers which he is trying to keep behind a smoke-screen of guesswork and newspaper speculation. No secret diplomacy! No confidence in Roosevelt as a "peace-maker"!

A TREASURE-CHEST OF REVOLUTIONARY MARXISM

—for a song

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Fritz Thyssen—Why He Flew From Germany

By OSCAR FISCHER

For several months now Fritz Thyssen has been in self-imposed exile—the same Thyssen who, second only to Krupp, was the most powerful representative of German heavy industry and at the same time one of the most generous contributors to Hitler's party.

Seldom has the crisis of Hitler's dictatorship been shown in sharper and clearer lines than in the emigration of this unscrupulous profiteer, who with his friends among the lords of the Rhineland heavy industry financed Hitler's initial rise to power.

The more the war brings the internal condition of Germany into the open, the more "national unity" is shown to be a pure Goebbels fable, the more we hear the voice of the German masses rising in an ever strengthening crescendo of hate against the fascist bandits. The belief that fascism has before it a rule of a thousand years is belied by every straw in the wind; Thyssen has deserted the ship and safe in Switzerland, awaits its sinking.

Thyssen is by no means against a war. German imperialism was always pointed toward war. Its imperialist program was the realization of the "Drang Nach Osten," and to carry through this program was to have been Hitler's role. The men who gave the Nazis financial support before their seizure of power were, in general from the ranks of finance capitalists. After the experiences of the last world war, they wanted, with the help of England and France, and whenever possible the United States, to avoid the risk of another war. German imperialism hoped to arrive at a compromise, if not an actual alliance, at the expense of the Soviet Union. And Hitler was to have been the commander-in-chief of this war against the U.S.S.R. That was his historical role; it was for that that he had been underwritten; it was for that that the state power had been surrendered to him.

But Hitler has not fulfilled the expectations of his underwriters. Out of the expected destruction of Russia has come a partnership. Germany has once more become engaged in a war, whose outcome is in the highest degree unpredictable, which entails a great risk of defeat or internal collapse. Hitler has destroyed the prestige that fascism had among the owning classes of all countries as the vanguard in the fight against " bolshevism".

Partnership Offers Too Little

The rule of the Stalinist bureaucracy is certainly not more secure than that of the Hitler clique. Both face the danger of internal convulsions, and both face the probability that they will not be able to survive these convulsions.

For Thyssen, then, there is every reason to seek a new and better security. It would be false to assume that Thyssen emigrated merely because of personal desire and as an individual. He is not so much an emigrant as an emissary, a representative of a whole stratum of the German bourgeoisie, to work for the security of German capitalism.

There can be no doubt that Thyssen, and those whose agent he is, are seeking an understanding with England and France. And in this they are not seeking what is not to be found. It is well known that England and France are not conducting the war in order to replace Hitler with a socialist Germany. More, if they were certain that after Hitler could come only a social revolution, they would make peace today. They hesitated long enough before risking the war and were much more concerned with alleviating Hitler's problems as much as possible. Some of these negotiations have already been made public, and more still are to be found in the secret files of diplomacy.

Hitler's Aid for Britain's

All attempts of the German bourgeoisie to come to an understanding with England and France over the head of Hitler must depend on the kind of state that will follow Hitler. It is noteworthy that the only point of her war aims on which England has openly insisted is that Hitler must go. Evidently the matter is handled thus in order not to exclude an understanding with the German bourgeoisie and military clique.

Hitler therefore is no longer a very stable partner of Stalin; it is quite possible that he will not survive the war. In that event all that will remain of the pact with Stalin is a petty bargaining point in the hands of the German bourgeoisie in reaching an agreement with England. They will peddle Stalin's friendship against improved business relations with England and France. And apparently Thyssen has full power to speak for the group he represents concerning these business relations and a turn in German politics: a new post-Hitler capitalist Germany will eventually also require its Lebensraum. This is already understood by England and France; the Lebensraum must only be in the east. Germany must assist England and France in opening up the east and making it accessible to the "civilized world".

The interests of German capitalism are not always and at every point identical with the interests of the fascist bureaucracy. There is a differentiation when the acts of the dictatorship, being no longer able to guarantee it, endanger the existence of the capitalist commercial set-up. In the face of such a danger capitalism immediately seeks another support to prevent a social revolution. This point is now drawing near. Thyssen's emigration is a search for that other support.

The "emigrant" Thyssen—he is rather the ambassador of a Germany that put itself under the protection of fascist bands and is now for their liquidation; he is the symbol of brutal exploitation and oppression (no less "democratic" than fascist). This personage speaks of a new Germany—a Germany in which the plunder of the masses will be permanently established. Decisive for him is that he can no longer believe in the terror of the Hitler bands as a guarantee for the exploitation of the German people. And that is why he is endeavoring to secure English and French guarantees.

Hitler has expropriated the property of Thyssen. Who would want to fight for the overthrow of Hitler only in order to give Thyssen back his former power? On the contrary, this expropriation must be carried through and maintained in the coming Germany. The dependence of Thyssen and his class upon French bayonets will be proved as false as his hope in Hitler; they will see their Drang nach Osten not completed but swept away without a trace. The future of Germany and of Europe demand it.