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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.

**Roosevelt's War Plans**

The whole policy of the Roosevelt government since the outbreak of war in Europe has made this country a virtual “non-combatant belligerent” on the side of the Allies. Roosevelt has publicly declared a policy of backing the Allies to the hilt and although his favorite phrase is “measures short of war” there is no doubt whatever that he would and will plunge this country into war when the time is ripe.

That is why Nazi publication of Polish official documents, quoting William C. Bullitt, U.S. ambassador to Paris as saying that this country would get into the war later on, created only a minor sensation.

In Washington the documents were promptly denounced as “forgeries.” This would be a natural accusation, since all the big boss governments have in their time used proved forgeries to serve political ends. Correspondents in Berlin who viewed the documents, however, were, in the words of the New York Times dispatch, “inclined to accept them as genuine.”

The documents consisted mainly of reports by Polish envoys abroad on conversations with American diplomats. Count Potocki, Polish ambassador in Washington, reporting a talk he had with Bullitt in 1938, quoted him as saying: “If war were to break out, we certainly would not participate in the beginning but we will in the finish.” Joseph Kennedy, ambassador at London, was credited with taking part in securing the British guarantee to Poland. Roosevelt himself was quoted indirectly as urging the Western powers to abandon the Munich policy of compromise with Hitler.

Obviously it needed no documents issued at Berlin, forged or otherwise, to establish these well-known facts. As the *Herald-Tribune* remarked on March 31: “The remarks in the German White Paper could be forgeries from beginning to end and still reflect his (Roosevelt's) true sentiments accurately.” The *Tribune* hastened to say that it agreed with Roosevelt's “objectives” in foreign policy but deplored his “methods.”

The Republican and isolationist opposition to Roosevelt has kept hands off the Nazi “White Paper” because it sees no political capital to be gained from quoting Nazi-sponsored documents against Roosevelt. And the Republicans, on their part, are no less pro-Ally in the war than Roosevelt, and the War Deal would like nothing better than a chance to tar its domestic opponents with the Nazi brush.

But the essential fact needs no Nazi documents, authentic or false, to serve as proof. The Washington administration is trying to commit the country to a virtual belligerent position in the war. Under the screen of promises to keep us out Roosevelt is planning to drag us in.

**The GM Elections**

The Socialist Workers Party is wholeheartedly in favor of the CIO in the NLRB elections in the General Motors plants on April 17. The CIO is the only progressive force in the industry, the genuine representative of the workers in G.M. and in the auto industry generally. The “union” of William Green and Homer Martin in auto has no real existence outside the swank hotel rooms of the AFL organizers. It is a power only for disruption and for dirty deals with the motor barons. A vote for the CIO is a vote for an auto workers union and against the anti-labor corporation.

The union must win in order to exist, and in winning the election as sole bargaining representative it will be in a much stronger position to make the corporation live up to its agreements.

Yet the biggest problem will not be solved by the election—it will only be brought into the foreground. Immediately after the voting negotiations will begin for a new agreement. In these negotiations the union must come face to face with the most vital issues, just as it confronted them in Briggs, Chrysler and other auto corporations in the past period.

In both Briggs and Chrysler, the UAW-CIO carried the NLRB vote by sweeping majorities. Still these powerful locals were compelled by the obstinate attitude of the corporations to strike—in Briggs even before the NLRB election—in order to obtain an agreement which in any way satisfied the needs of the workers. The strikes were militantly conducted by the Briggs and Chrysler workers and ended in agreements that seemed to bring “victories” to the union men. The “victories” were not durable or basic. The union had not struck for demands that would relieve unemployment and insecurity. As a result the Briggs local is today lost in a hopeless maze of seniority problems and the Chrysler workers are questioning the advisability of the long tie-up.

The strikes were necessary and justified. The mistake lay in the failure to cope with the main problems of unemployment, insecurity and the low annual wage. Until an attempt is made to grapple with these problems, the UAW motor will operate only on one cylinder. Yet no one need look into a crystal bowl for the answer. He has merely to read the proceedings of the last UAW convention one year ago in Cleveland.

At that convention, the delegates unanimously went on record favoring the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay. That demand is the only logical and practical answer to the problems of the auto workers, especially the auto workers in General Motors. By cutting down the hours, thousands of auto workers will be re-employed, the most difficult seniority knots untangled, greater security for those employed will be obtained and the danger of degeneration of the unemployed into a scab army will be reduced to a minimum.

By the solemn decision of the convention, the delegates of hundreds of thousands of auto workers instructed their leaders to act in favor of the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay. But the leadership did not act for the 30 hour week, it did not mobilize the union to fight for the 30 hour week, it did not demand the 30 hour week from the corporations. It did not carry out the mandate of the convention.

Now the leadership of the UAW will soon have its opportunity again to meet in a room with the management of General Motors. It will be faced in that room with a choice that may make even strong hearts waver. Yet it must make the decision, there is no escape.

EITHER: Reuther, Thomas and the others will accept any kind of agreement they can get from the corporation, provided of course it makes certain concessions in bargaining rights and working conditions. And then they will attempt to force it on the G.M. workers on the grounds “it was the best they could get” under conditions where “the union is weak.” Following which they will come to the UAW convention on July 29 and demand to be re-elected to the Executive Board because of this “great victory.”

OR: they will take the bull by the horns—demand from General Motors that it grant the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay and proceed to mobilize the union for the eventuality that the corporation refuses to come across.

The choice Reuther and Thomas make will determine whether they are union leaders or just office holders. But whatever they do, the last word belongs to the rank and file in the G.M. and the other local unions.

**That Phoney Masked Marvel**



**In the World of Labor**

By Paul G. Stevens

**Heavy Sentences for the  
Revolutionary Anti-War Fighters**

We have just received the January number of *L'Etincelle*, the illegal organ of our Fourth Internationalist comrades in France. The regularity with which this little sheet is appearing, under the most harrowing conditions of government persecution, is truly amazing.

Thus, *L'Etincelle* reports, the entire press, from the paper of the pacifist Paul Faure to that of the fascist Colonel La Rocque, has been calling for a “clean-up” campaign. The radio blares its threats against our comrades daily. Recently, the renegade socialist L. O. Frossard—now a minister in the Reynaud cabinet—made a speech in parliament, calling for more drastic government action against the Fourth International.

Last week we reported the arrest of a new group of sixteen French Trotskyists. Now we learn from our French paper that two comrades previously arrested, the youth leaders Bourdois and Chuvin of Marseilles, have been sentenced to two years each. Comrade Lucien Weitz, the national secretary of the Workers and Peasants Socialist Youth League (JSOP)—who had been arrested before the outbreak of the war itself—has had an additional sentence of four years hung on him.

Recently the leaders of even the “moderate” Workers and Peasants Socialist Party (PSOP)—which had “purged” itself shortly before of the revolutionary Minority (including Lucien Weitz, Daniel Guerin and the Trotskyists)—have been seized by the government.

**Revolutionists Break with P.S.O.P.;  
Join Forces with 4th International**

The arrest of the PSOP leaders is, in a sense, ironical. For the latter, a combination of free masons and pacifists, refused to prepare for illegal work and insisted on carrying on as if the war had not broken out and as if no dictatorial regime had been installed. In fact, they had voted to expel the revolutionary Minority because the Minority, demanding that the party carry out in action its resolution for revolutionary struggle against war (revolutionary defeatism), adopted at the last convention of the PSOP, had pointed out that such action was possible only by illegal means and had proceeded in the localities where it was in control to act accordingly. Even the expulsion of the revolutionary defeatists and all the “legalism” of the free mason leaders of the PSOP could not save them from Daladier's axe.

The revolutionary PSOP Minority, under the leadership of Daniel Guerin—best known in America for his brilliant work, “Fascism and Big Business”—and Lucien Weitz, as well as the Trotskyist comrades who entered that party a year ago, have now joined in a body with the Committees of the Fourth International for joint work and for the building of a united party on the program of the Fourth International.

Among the items carried by *L'Etincelle* is a brief article on the war in Finland, from which the following are pertinent excerpts:

“The situation is clear: once again the leaders of the USSR have shown their disregard for the people and for their liberation. For years they have practiced the politics suited to the imperialist democracies. Now they are following a policy which aids the Fascist countries. That shows that they are themselves becoming more and more a small minority cut off from the working masses.

“The country which they are thus leading towards defeat or towards increased enslavement nevertheless remains the country where the proletariat has chased out its capitalist oppressors; as such it remains the butt of all the hate and greed of the imperialists. The Red Army, supported by an as yet too feeble industry, does not suffice for its defense. Only a powerful and free anti-capitalist movement in the other countries can save it. Once the people of the USSR are freed of the menace of imperialist attack, they will be able to chase out their treacherous leaders and install their own dictatorship and, upon a revitalized technical base, they will be

able to introduce real socialism, the socialism of liberty.”

**A Resolution of the Belgian  
Revolutionary Socialist Party**

We have just received a resolution on the same subject from the Revolutionary Socialist Party (PSR), the Belgian section of the Fourth International. Excerpts follow:

“The aim of the campaign launched by international finance capital around Stalin's aggression in Finland is clear: to realize an imperialist united front against the USSR and to attempt thus to save the capitalist regime undermined by its own contradictions. . . .

“The real crime of Stalin. We are not among those who approve Stalin's action in Finland. From the first day we have said that this aggression is a crime. But wherein does Stalin's crime lie? Is it in the employment of military force, in the violation of frontiers? No. These are the criteria upon which the social democrats, the anarchists and the petty bourgeois base their condemnation of Stalin. . . . What gives the aggression of Stalin its reactionary and criminal character is the fact that it has been launched without the least regard for the sentiments of the Finnish workers and of the world proletariat. . . . By his high-handed manner, his cynicism, his contempt for the conscience of the workers, Stalin is weakening the USSR and the proletarian cause, throwing the masses of workers into confusion. In doing so, he plays into the hands of the bourgeoisie. . . .

“Precisely by the example of Belgium we see however, with what facility formal neutrality gives way to a system of imperialist pacts and how a war ‘for national defense’ is turned inevitably into a peace with annexations (the annexation of Eupen and Malmédy as well as of the former German colonies) . . . That does not mean that we approve of the annexation of Finland by Stalin. On the contrary, we are opposed to it. We are for the independence of Finland, but of a Soviet Finland. To be for the independence of bourgeois Finland at the same time as one is for the revolution in Finland—that is a contradictory position. The victory of the bourgeois Finnish army would inevitably signify the strengthening of the capitalist regime in Finland and the dictatorship of Mannerheim.

“The ideal thing for the Finnish workers to do would be to get rid of the Finnish bourgeoisie and at the same time to escape Stalinist annexation and the bureaucratic oppression which will result from it. But since this aim is hardly realizable by virtue of the unfavorable relationship of forces, they must choose the lesser of two evils: the victory of the Red Army. It goes without saying that they must utilize this victory profitably by pushing forward the expropriation of the Finnish landlords and capitalists, by getting close contact with the Soviet workers in order to ally themselves with them against the Stalinist bureaucracy. . . .

“The future of humanity lies in the world organization of production on the basis of socialized property and planning. In spite of Stalin, this acquisition of the October revolution still exists in the USSR and it is the absolute duty of the Soviet workers as well as of the workers in the entire world to defend it. . . . The overthrow of Stalin and his clique undoubtedly remains an imperative necessity for the Russian revolutionists, more imperative still because of this war which places the USSR in an extremely dangerous position. But the Soviet revolutionists can carry out that task only by proving themselves the best defenders of the USSR. A defeatist or just an indifferent attitude on their part can only reinforce the political positions of the bureaucracy. . . .

“Almost without international contact and working under the tremendous handicap of illegality and censorship, our Belgian and French comrades have reacted to the complicated events of the unfolding war with the same clear revolutionary attitude as our sections overseas. The Marxist program, it is evident, is an indispensable guide in stormy times and a guarantee for coordinated revolutionary action.

**Japan's Puppet  
Wang Reflects  
Master's Plight**

By GEORGE STERN

After nearly three years of costly and exhausting warfare and a dozen false starts, the Japanese imperialists have finally set up a puppet government to “rule” the territory they have conquered in China. Shaded in on a map, this territory appears to comprise about one-quarter of China—all the main industrial centers, all the railroads, virtually the entire coastline, the principal fertile valleys—with a population estimated at about 185,000,000.

Actually, the reality is much less impressive. The power of the puppet government is measured by the thin line of Japanese guns and bayonets guarding the long lines of communication that thread the conquered territory. Within those lines that power has not yet been able to assert itself unchallenged. Beyond those lines the main Chinese armies, still strong and intact, continue to resist the Japanese conquest.

The puppet government emerges from a situation of military stalemate. The Japanese army command has, indeed, already announced that it intends to advance no further. But even its attempts to broaden the foothold it won with great difficulty around Canton and Nanning in the Southwest have proved fruitless. Again and again sizeable expeditionary forces have been forced to return ignominiously to their bases at Nanning, Swatow, and Amoy, after finding the interior impenetrable.

**A Japanese Admission of Defeat**

What the Japanese militarists really hope for out of the new Nanking regime is a bridge to peace with Chiang Kai-shek. They have abandoned all their loudly-proclaimed intentions to wipe out every vestige of the Kuomintang. Instead, the puppet government is launched with all the Kuomintang trappings. It takes the same name as the Kuomintang government, the same general form, the same flag, the same titles and labels. Wang Ching-wei, puppet-in-chief, assumes the title of “acting president,” pending the “return” of the official president, Lin Sen, from Chungking.

This amounts to a Japanese admission of defeat. The Japanese now want the cheapest and quickest way out of the quagmire. The European war is already casting its shadow into the Pacific and the Japanese realize that they have to preserve their military strength for the greater tests that lie ahead. They can't throw their weight around in wartime diplomatic and military-political maneuvers so long as they remain bogged down in China.

Through their puppet government they hope, therefore, to re-establish some kind of “peace” in China through a deal with Chiang Kai-shek or some of his Kuomintang associates at Chungking. Secondly, they hope to use it as a diplomatic lever in their relations with France, Britain, and the United States, especially in the intricate bargaining that is going on to determine Japan's precise position in the war, its position toward Germany, and its position toward the Soviet Union.

**Wang Ching-wei's Record**

Meanwhile, to head their miserable little puppet government, the Japanese imperialists have accepted the services of the onetime leading “leftist” of the Kuomintang, Wang Ching-wei.

There is a rich subject here for the student of political personality. Wang is a man who in his time has professed to accept the most radical of political programs and who for a period of years was regarded as the chief spokesman of the radical petty bourgeoisie of the country. He was swept along on the crest of the great mass movement of workers and peasants which almost succeeded in bringing about the revolutionary transformation of China fifteen years ago. In 1927 he became the “most reliable ally” of Joseph Stalin.

When Chiang Kai-shek, then another of Stalin's revolutionary luminaries, turned on the mass movement and crushed it, Wang, after a brief period of clinging to lesser generals, finally crawled like the proverbial whipped cur into Chiang's camp. Side by side with Chiang from 1932 to 1937—with a few brief intervals of exile decreed by his master—Wang took part in the brutal regime of terror and repression and bloodsucking which ruled as the Kuomintang government at Nanking.

When Chiang and some of the other generals finally took up arms to resist the Japanese invaders who threatened their own power, Wang deserted again and crawled this time . . . to the Japanese, for his final and crowning act of capitulation.

As a political force, Wang has long since been spent. He lived off the capital of his 1927 radicalism until his entry in Chiang Kai-shek's camp lost him the little genuine prestige he had left, even among his petty bourgeois associates. Even his new masters, the Japanese, hold him in supreme contempt. When and if they make their deal with Chiang Kai-shek, Wang will complete the final cycle of his career by being kicked away again. By that time there will be no causes left for him to betray.

**HORROR ITEM**

Senator Vandenburg, (R., Mich.) says that “a Republican victory this fall is inevitable unless Providence has forsaken our country.”

**STATE OF THE NATION**

Twice convicted of nonfeasance and misfeasance, president Dr. Charles S. Miller of Slippery Rock (Penn.) State Teachers College was sentenced to pay the costs of the case by a judge who praised him for developing the college and turning out an undefeated football team.

Peggy McEvoy, in her column “That's Hollywood,” reports the following:

“A DUDE RANCH FOR DOGS  
This institution offers the following allurements to owners of pampered canines. If your dog is a husky fellow, he'll enjoy every minute of the sports—if his vitality is low, see how quickly he'll respond to the invigorating mountain air and our marvelous food.”

Dog Lovers are also finding some food for thought in this ominous query in a Tailwagger ad: “Does your doggie have D.O.? (Doggy Odor).” They are warned: “D.O. is a monstrous setback to a dog's personality.”

Brother John, picturesque figure on Los Angeles' skidrow, is taken to the police station after he was seen giving money to his companions. “I'm feeding the hungry,” he said. “I'm tired of having money. I wanted those hungry men on Main Street to be fed.” Naturally all right-minded people thought the man was nuts.