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Fight with the Socialist Workers Party for:

- 1. A JOB AND A DECENT LIVING FOR EVERY WORKER.
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- ALL WARS. 9. NO SECRET DIPLOMACY.
- AN INDEPENDENT LABOR PARTY.
- WORKERS' DEFENSE GUARDS AGAINST VIGILANTE AND FASCIST ATTACKS.
- FULL SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC EQUALITY FOR THE NEGRO PEOPLE.

Roosevelt Is Trying To Drag Us Into War

(Continued from Page 1)

tish never overcame. Today again Uncle Sam is giving Britannia a bear hug-and picking her pockets. Precisely this fact, that U.S. capitalism finds it so easy to gain ground on the British, that American displacement of Britain as the chief world power can take place within the form of an alliance, determines Roosevelt's policy today as it did Wilson's in 1917.

A victorious Germany, on the other hand, would be a very dangerous rival to the United States. Just because it had no empire from which to draw riches, German capitalism has been driven since 1870 to develop a technological plant far superior to that of England and France. A Europe reorganized under German hegemony would confront American finance-capital in the world's markets as Britain never was able toabove all in South America. Hence Roosevelt's drive for the defeat of Germany.

Moreover Japan, America's most serious rival in the Far East, desires a German victory in preference to that of the Anglo-French-American bloc, for expansion in the Far East would be, in the first stage after victory, a secondary consideration for Germany. Whereas a German defeat would leave Britain and America free to put an end to Japan's "new order" in Asia.

Democracy and fascism have no more to do with these calculations of Roosevelt's government than they had to do with the calculations of Queen Wilhelmina or King Albert. In the last "war for democracy" the Allies included the most reactionary regime in the world, Russian Czarism. The European hegemony of French "democracy" from 1918 to 1933 was based on the military-bourgeois dictatorships of Poland, Jugoslavia and Rumania. The "democracies" would welcome Mussolini with open arms if he would only join them. Look at the bloody dictators of the South American "republics" with whom Roosevelt jointly signs a protest against Ger-

Nevertheless, it is a fact that the opposition to the war of a considerable section of the American working class is sapped by the hope that, as a by-product of the victory of the Allies, the advance of fascism will be stopped and it will disappear in Germany and Italy. This hope is sedulously cultivated by the "democratic" war-mongers and their lackeys in the labor movement.

To hope that an Allied victory will stop fascism is to forget all the lessons of the first World War. That "war for democracy" was won, was it not? But its results were Mussolini and Hitler and all the other reactionary regimes of Europe. A "democratic" victory would probably cause

Hitler and Mussolini to disappear-but it would only be the individuals. What they representthe starkly reactionary regimes of desperate capitalist states when they can no longer afford the overhead costs of democracy-would be spawned throughout the war-exhausted world in the wake of a "democratic" victory.

Hitler has no better weapon in his arsenal today than the spectacle of the trade union officialdom, the French "Socialist" and the British Labor parties, and the German Social-Democrats in emigration, supporting the war against Germany. The Nazi propagandists are thereby enabled to constantly din into the ears of the German workers: "Don't you see that the international solidarity of the working class is a sham? Your leaders deserted you and have become agents in the pay of Britain. The British and French workers' organizations are backing the war to dismember Germany. Remember what they did to us at Versailles! Internationalism is a lie." That is a powerful argument, which cannot but have its effect even on the thirteen million German workers who voted socialist and communist in the last election in 1932.

There are few more disgusting spectacles in the world than those groups of former trade union bureaucrats and stipendiaries of the German Social Democracy who, until Hitler came, were lackeys of German imperialism and who now propose to return to their sinecures behind "democratic" bayonets. They have become paid hirelings of Anglo-French imperialism. Among them, incidentally, are not a few ex-Stalinists, such as Willi Muenzenberg, who makes no bones about where he gets the money to run his "German Freedom" radio station in Paris. They are worth the money that Paris and London spend on them insofar as they manage to convince sections of the French and British workers that they are "authentic" representatives of the German workers and thus justify the war against Germany.

But they are not worth a penny of their hire, so far as concerns their effectiveness in causing German workers to revolt against Hitler. The very idea is laughable, that these venal hirelings can foment revolution in Germany. Consider: the Russian workers were strongly opposed to continuation of the war in July, 1917, and were giving ear to the Bolsheviks who were calling them to revolt against the war. Yet the Bolsheviks were nearly destroyed by the slander, made out of whole cloth, that they were hirelings of Germany, preaching against the war as an aid to Germany. Before the Bolsheviks could win a hearing again among the workers, they had to painstakingly prove their absolute innocence of any connections with Germany. Apply this example to the pro-Ally German "socialists"! What was a flimsy slander in the case of Lenin and Trotsky is an obvious and demonstrable truth in the case of these gentlemen. No decent German worker will listen to them.

We are not isolationists. We have nothing but contempt for that poorest of ideologies which declares that "what is going on in Europe is none of our business." What is happening in Europe is very much our business.

It is from this point of view that we say: if you want to help the German workers overthrow Hitler, then show them that the workers in the "democracies" are not ganging up with the bosses to dismember Germany. The German working class has a long and heroic tradition of struggle against German capitalism. Its trade unions, workers' schools and proletarian parties were a model for the workers of other countries. In 1918 it made a great socialist revolution that false leaders derailed. It was not their fault that Hitler triumphed. On the contrary, the German working class stood ready to die in the struggle against fascism.

Hitler triumphed only thanks to the corrupt bureaucracy of the Stalinists and the Social-Democracy. Under Stalin's orders the Stalinist leaders fled Germany without striking a blow. The corrupt Social-Democratic leaders tried to make their peace with Hitler; they voted endorsement of Hitler's foreign policy! Then he contemptuously dispersed them.

The leaders who so betrayed them will never again get hold of the leadership of the reviving German working class. The German workers will trust only themselves, only their own class strength and the revolutionary leadership which will express that class strength. And then they will write such a chapter in working class history as will wipe out every item of their degradation under Hitler!

That is the future of the German working class! We can speed its coming by extending our hand to them in class solidarity-against Hitler and against Roosevelt! Workers of all lands, unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains! You have a world to gain!

Unconditional Defense of USSR

In a previous column we quoted at length from a resolution adopted by the Revolutionary Socialist Party (P.S.R.), Belgian section of the Fourth International, on the question of the Soviet Union and the war. Herewith we wish to supplement this information with excerpts from an official letter dated April 2nd, which has been received here.

"Needless to tell you, we are disturbed by the split which has occurred among you. Nevertheless, if the differences are so deep as to paralyze your action, this split will no doubt reinforce your party as a whole. We have known similar situations in Belgium in our dealings with Vereeken and Co.

"We have received the Lebrun bulletin on the defense of the USSR. . . . I believe that Lebrun is departing from Marxism because he tends to base our policies on military conjunctures and subjective elements. . . . The party as a whole will be against his views. . . At the beginning of the Finnish war we deviated in the same sense, but we have rapidly corrected ourselves and finally adopted your position, as you have seen from the resolution recently sent you. We remain partisans of unconditional defense. . . ."

Will Stalinist Intrigues Lead Mexico to Bar Spanish Refugees?

A New York Times dispatch from Mexico City, dated May 6, carries the following news:

"Political agitation against the admission of further contingents of Spanish refugees has caused the Ministry of Government, in view of the approaching Presidential election, to issue an order that no more shall be admitted for the

"It is understood that 2,000 Spaniards, ready to sail from France for Mexico, have been obliged to return to concentration camps.'

It has been recognized for some time that in their shady maneuvers in Mexican national politics, the Stalinists are planning to concentrate Spanish Civil War veterans under their influence, for possible action in connection with the current election campaign. Apparently the above dispatch recounts the reaction in Mexico to such a move.

By their pernicious and underhanded intervention in Mexican politics, the Stalinists are thus endangering the very lives of thousands of distraught working class militants who had at last hoped to find refuge. Every friend of these militants must be aroused to expose and combat this reprehensible exploitation of their plight by the astardly Kremlin clique.

Nevertheless, working class organizations and friends of the Spanish class war veterans cannot confine themselves merely to a condemnation of Stalinism in this affair. Letters, telegrams, resolutions, must be sent at once to the Mexican government urging that-while the need for protection against shady Kremlin intrigues is understandable—the crimes of Stalinism must not be visited upon the heads of the worthy Spanish refugees, innocent of any connection with this gang. In France, forced labor or enrollment in the

left at the mercy of French imperialism. The Mexican government must be urged to give every consideration to them and to distinguish between genuine anti-fascist militants and GPU agents in considering visas.

Labor's Ranks in Motion as War Enters New Phase

Confirming the report given in these columns recently by our British comrade, the New York Times of May 6 carries a cable from London which gives the following precise information:

1. The city council of Cardiff in Wales took the lead in denying the use of parks and other open spaces to "Communists." Laborite members voted against this ban as a denial of the right of free

2. At the annual congress of the National Union of Distributive and Allied Workers at Blackpool, that union-while officially expressing concern against Stalinist propaganda-voted by a majority of 4,000 votes, to declare the "present war an imperialist war, waged in the interest of the capitalist class, and called on the whole trade union and labor movements to cease helping the government and use all their energy to end the hostilities."

3. The same union, according to the Times dispatch, "mustered its fullest strength on a resolution ending the electoral truce with the Chamberlain government, which was carried against the will of the union leadership."

It looks as if the British working class has already surpassed the first stage—that of mere apathy-and entered on its second lap of anti-war struggle, that of militant protest. From publications of the Fourth International in England which have recently arrived here it appears that the third stage-that of organized action against the treacherous social-patriotic labor leadershipis not too far off. Next week we intend to go into greater length in dealing with British developments.

Cuban Section Declares Against **Petty-Bourgeois Opposition**

We have received the following brief resolutions from the Bolshevik-Leninist Party (Cuban Section of the Fourth International), dated May 1, 1940.

"1. Resolved: that we maintain the programmatic slogan of unconditional defense of the Soviet Union, considering that the development of events does not require any re-evaluation of that slogan.

"2. In the opinion of the Cuban section, the conduct of the opposition in appropriating press organs of the SWP is to be condemned as disloyal. But we leave for proper time, in the course of the next discussion, other points relating to the opposition in the SWP upon which the section will likewise express its opinion."

Havana, Cuba

(signed) Provisional Executive Committee General Secretary

Herewith is an interesting excerpt from a letter which we have received from a member of the I.K.D. (German Section of the Fourth International:

"Recently I received a rather lengthy report from my home in the Rhineland. According to this report feeling in all layers of the population is extremely depressing. The war of nerves seems to get on the nerves of the Germans themselves more and more. Here's an extraordinarily interesting symptom: the churches, Protestant as well as Catholic, have such overflow crowds every Sunday that many are turned away, whereas the official Nazi meetings and affairs are attended rather sparsely.

"Through a woman comrade in S., who has just got through serving three years' imprisonment, we have once again established connections with a number of our comrades in the prisons, above all in X. and Y. Our friends remain as before firmly with us and have even won new friends in the prisons."

Clothing Workers Open 13th Biennial Convention

(Continued from Page 1) -that in those days the Amal-

gamated supported the militant Socialist Party of those days and condemned as companyunionism in politics the support of the Democratic party!

camated is a tradition of class owerful union - on the picket

But then, in 1921, the bureau-

Result of Hillman Policy

The result? Last fall after the war broke out, and prices rose, the Amalgamated served notice on the industry that it was necessary to adjust wages. But nothing happened. Amid his empty The real tradition of the Amal- boasting Himman made a huried remark in his opening speech, struggle both in the industry and that "conditions did not make i n politics. A fighting, militant possible to make further demands program built the union, when the upon employers in the indu-New York clothing workers, so- stry . . . ". What conditions? Why rialist in their outlook, split from not? Hillman did not say and the class-collaborationist United could not say, because the failure Garment Workers in 1914. In the of the Amalgamated leadership usuing seven years they built to fight for better conditions for the Amalgamated into a great, the membership is indefensible.

Auto Workers' Example

Among Hillman's functions ratization of the union began. these days is negotiating with Hillman pushed the picket line General Motors, he and Vice Presinto the background and brought ident Murray of the CIO having forward the "round-table confer- taken over the job of settling for ence" with the bosses. Built in a the Auto Workers Union. But the split againt the "business union- auto workers aren't taking any ism" of the United, the Amalgam- old settlement. Like the clothing ated too became a business union. workers, they suffer from unem-

ployment. And they want some security. That is why they are raising their voices, calling upon the negotiators to fight for the 30 hour week at 40 hours pay as an immediate demand for inclusion in the next agreement with General Motors.

Militant clothing workers should watch how the auto workers handle Hillman. These Flint and Detroit workers, even though new to unionism, are showing Hillman a thing or

Russian Bulletin Out

March-April issue of the Bulletin of the Russian Opposition just off the press! "After the Finnish Experience"-Leon Trotsky reviews the Soviet-Finnish War and analyzes the "rotten" peace concluded by Stalin. "The World Situation"-answers to questions submitted to L. D. Trotsky by an American newspaper man. Also discussion articles on the "Russian question."

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In the World of Labor By Paul G. Stevens Foreign Legion are the only alternatives for the heroic fighters against Franco. They must not be left at the mercy of Franch importalism. The

Almost simultaneously with the unleashing of the Nazi offensive against the Low Countries, Stalin struck his long postponed and long contemplated blow at Voroshilov. Moscow was stunned by the removal of the latter from the important post he held since 1925, and his replacement by an obscure underling, Timo-

Voroshilov's fate was sealed some time ago. Leon Sedov, shortly before he was murdered by the GPU, forecasted the removal, in February 1938 in an article, "Voroshilov Is Next," written for the Bulletin of the Russian Opposition. After a penetrating analysis of the Red Army purge, Sedov summed up his conclusions as follows:

"Voroshilov's 'liquidation' is being carefully and methodically prepared by Stalin. It is naturally impossible to fix the date definitively. Stalin doesn't himself know the date just now. Unforeseen circumstances may hasten or postpone the liquidation." But, added Sedov, for Voroshilov there is no escape. Events

have borne out this prediction. Just what is the significance of Stalins' latest purge of the Red Army? For it is precisely that-a purge. Overshadowing the liquidation of Voroshilov is the liquidation of thousands upon thousands of political commissars and their underlings who functioned in the military soviets in recent years and throughout the Polish and Finnish invasions. All of them have been swept out at a single stroke. A few have been "promoted" like Voroshilov, that is kicked upstairs temporarily, while the overwhelming majority have

unquestionably been demoted, arrested, exiled or shot. Stalin originally introduced the military soviets solely for political considerations. As Sedov pointed out, through these soviets Stalin strengthened his control over the army tops and to a certain extent decentralized the powerful military apparatus, thus weakening the position of Voroshilov as the head of this apparatus. These military soviets were indispensable for the original Red Army purge. The fact that by the introduction of the military soviets and the purge he was decapitating the army, and undermining its power as the military arm of the workers' state, did not even enter into Stalin's calculations. The maintenance of his regime comes ahead of all other considerations.

Alarmed as Stalin is at the increasing war threat to the USSR, it can be stated with certainty that his latest move does not at all flow from a desire to restore the striking power of the Soviet military forces. The official explanations which try to represent the latest purge in precisely this light serve only as a convenient cover. Today, as in the past, Stalin is motivated solely by the maintenance of his rule.

His apparatus of repression, of which the army is one of the vital cogs, has been undergoing a process of disintegration. This was revealed, incidentally, by the h experience. Stalin is trying to bolster it up h "preventive" measures. Now his blows are directed against the members of his innermost circle. Is Molotov next? The actual order of elimination does not really matter. Not a single one of Stalin's henchmen can escape Voroshilov's fate, as the convulsions of the doomed regime become more and more violent.

To tighten his weakening grip on the beheaded army, Stalin has been forced to do something he did not dare before. Among other things, he restored the rank of general. It may appear to be a slight thing that this rank of "general"-the most hated "title" among the masses, a term most closely connected with the memory of the Czars regime-has finally been revived. But it is in reality a very significant symptom. Stalin is staking everything on the new officer caste which now acquires an enormous specific weight, and a degree of power and independence never before attained by the Soviet officer corps, and this-under war-time conditions. But Stalin's newlycreated marshalls and generals will not save him.

Attorney-General Robert H. Jackson declares that Department of Justice officers "must be the first to obey the law". Which would sure cut down their territory considerably.

An INS dispatch from Cali, Columbia, states that two unidentified Americans were killed when a party of geologists were attacked by natives. The geologists were travelling through the Barco region searching for likely oil land. Maybe the natives had heard what happens when oil is found on their land.

"In the interest of dignity," Walter E. Alessandroni, secretary of the citizens' committee on arrangements at the coming Republican national convention, announces that the sale of hot dogs will barred in the convenion hall. They will abide no rival to their own brand of baloney.

Otis C. Hulet, founder and president of the Burlington, Wisconsin, Liars Club, Inc., reporting on this year's crop of whoppers, stated that "we had to make sure that no dilomat's speeches had been substituted for a contestant's lie."

Says E. K. Higdon in the Christian Century: "Three hundred and twenty-five million illiterates in India constitute one of the most difficult problems in social reconstruction known to the present day. Indebtedness, poverty, ill health, low physical vitality, superstition and fear all come trooping at the heels of illiteracy." Before the British came to India, bringing "civilization," India had as high a literacy rate as Britain.

A. V. Shotwell, Omaha attorney, keynoted the Sarpy county, Nebraska, Republican convention on the theme: "the real issue in this campaign is Americanism." A Democrat heard him and invited Shotwell to address the Democratic convention. Shotwell obliged. The difference between the two old parties could be put in the eye of a needle-and it would rattle.

The War and the American Workers

Why Roosevelt's War Machine Is Dragging Us Into the War

- The Mass Slaughter in Holland and Belgium. A New Stage in the War.
 - What will be the Role of Stalin and the Soviet Union.

Speakers:

JAMES P. CANNON ALBERT GOLDMAN

FRI., MAY 17, 8 P.M. **IRVING PLAZA**

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