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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. \$30 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.

Two "Peace" Parties

The Republican party, meeting in national convention this week, will declare itself the peace party and throw upon the Democratic party the onus of being the war party. Three weeks later the Democratic party will meet in national convention, declare itself the peace party and warn that Republican policies if carried out would lead to war. Meanwhile both parties as a whole join in Congress to vote for every armament bill, including those providing for sale of government armament to Britain and France and, in a word, there isn't the slightest difference between the pro-war perspectives of the two parties. Both, too, conceive it necessary to hog-tie the labor movement; Roosevelt warns the workers not to strike, they get together to disembowel the Wagner Labor, Walsh-Healey and Wage and Hour Acts, strike blows at labor under the guise of anti-alien laws, etc., etc. "National unity," the unity of the capitalist class for the coming war, is already complete.

Why, then, label each other the war party? That is particularly preposterous since it is an open secret that Roosevelt's proposal for a coalition government with the Republicans was accepted by Colonel Knox and other authoritative Republican leaders. The reason why they label each other the war-party is the same reason which decided both parties, on second thought, not to go through with the coalition government. For the unity of the entire capitalist class, the unity of the "New Deal" and Wall Street, if publicly symbolized by a coalition government, or by a cessation of competition between the two parties, might have very dangerous consequences. The spectacle of the bourgeoisie harmoniously working hand in glove to drag this country into war might very well be sufficient provocation to drive the working class into outspoken opposition to the war policies of the government, and into great strikes and demonstrations to back up its anti-war feelings.

Even after the Gallup poll of a few weeks ago showed 93% of the people opposed to American entry into the war, official Washington hoped that Hitler's ensuing successes would reverse quickly the state of public opinion. But the ever-increasing volume of mail to Congress shows no diminution of the anti-war sentiment; "only a minute proportion of it advocates active participation in the war" the June 16 New York Times mournfully comments.

This vast sentiment against American involvement in the war, formless, chaotic, uncritical though it is, is a force whose power the bourgeoisie fears. It would be a tactical stupidity to confront this overwhelming desire for peace with a coalition government of the two parties. The people against the parties which are supposed to represent them—that conclusion would become too clearly evident. The feelings of the workers are outraged enough by the spectacle of U.S. Steel Stettinius and General Motors Knudsen sitting in the government in the guise of mem-

bers of an "advisory" National Defense Council; to go further and to have the Republican party actually enter the government might be the final outrage which would drive the labor movement into action against the government of war-makers. Hence the coalition government was dropped. Hence each party dubs itself the peace party and throws boxing gloves at the other. Never did two corrupt managers connive a more fraudulent fight between two venal prizefighters.

Equally fraudulent is the game being played by Senator Wheeler and a few other Democrats and Republicans. Wheeler threatens to bolt the Democratic party if it becomes the "war party." But examine his record on all the crucial votes in connection with Roosevelt's war drive, and you will find him voting for practically all the major proposals on which Democrats and Republicans have united. It is ABC that these proposals constitute the road to war; that while adopted with lip-service to "peace" these proposals are driving the nation to a point where there will be no turning back from actual warfare. Yet Wheeler votes for the whole program. His is merely a "left" variety of the game which both the Democratic and the Republican parties are playing.

For Wheeler himself—a second-string politician on the make—and the other politicians who play the same game, it's good business. He draws to himself the attention of the great masses desirous of peace to whom he offers a seeming alternative to the leadership of the Democratic and Republican parties. Moreover he is helped in getting the attention of the masses by John L. Lewis, who needs a bloc with Wheeler as a face-saving device in the transition from Lewis' vociferous anti-war speeches of a few weeks ago to the status he is seeking as a collaborator in the government. (His commendation of Roosevelt's appointment of Hillman to the Defense Council indicates Lewis' course). Thus Wheeler serves to channelize the "left" discontent with the government's war policies, in the end channelizing it... right back to support of the government.

And this deliberate process of breaking up and keeping disunited the peace-seeking masses of the people is necessarily carried out by the most deliberate hypocrisy. The speeches the Democrats and Republicans make against each other, always largely compounded of play-acting, now becomes the most outrageous buffoonery. None of them can possibly believe what they are saying, for they have just left the Congressional committee-rooms in which they have amicably collaborated on all measures. But like actors paid to go through their parts, they go through the clowning necessary to pulling the customers in. What a swinish spectacle! And all of it done naturally, with the usual exhortations of the immorality and deceit of which Hitler alone is guilty. Such is the process of "democracy."

PATRIOTEERS

"It will nevertheless be difficult for many Americans to understand how Britain [in taxing excess war profits 100 per cent] can expect anyone to make the tremendous extra productive effort required by war without some stimulus other than the vague one that it is necessary to save the country. The first thing that capital will require to work harder in war time is some assurance of a larger return."—Carlton Shiveley, financial editor, New York SUN.

Democracy Defined

We are indebted to the June 15 *New Leader*, war mongering organ of the Social Democratic Federation, for the following contribution to the definition of democracy:

"The international Trotskyite press is in a dither over the arrest and sentencing of nine of its people in France. All were caught fighting war efforts, spreading defeatist propaganda, and 'otherwise engaged in activities of a nature to hinder national defense.' Top punishment for this went to Charles Margne, a post-office employee. He was jailed, term to last five years. The others received three-year sentences and fines.

"What would have been their punishment had they engaged in the same activity in Germany? Would they even have had a trial?"

Since, as the *New Leader* well knows, our German comrades are engaged in the same activity in Germany, where hundreds have been put in prisons and concentration camps, and the nine sentenced in France are simply the latest arrested, the difference between democracy and fascism in war-time may therefore be defined as:

Under fascism proletarian revolutionists are imprisoned. Under democracy proletarian revolutionists are imprisoned. However, under democracy they are first given a trial.

Or, as the old-time vigilantes used to say: "Let's hear him before we hang him."

PRIZE OF PATRIOTISM

"In return for a rapid expansion in production undoubtedly industry will demand many concessions in the way of tax exemptions, amortization policies, relaxation of labor laws, et cetera."—WALL STREET JOURNAL, May 20, 1940.

Stab In the Back



- P.W.A. WIPED OUT
- W.P.A. SLASHED
- ANTI-ALIEN LAWS
- WALSH-HEALEY ACT SCUTTLED
- WAGNER ACT DISEMBOWELED
- "LABOR MUST NOT STRIKE"
- ETC.
- ETC.

Anti-Alien Prejudice Only Plays the Bosses' Game

By SAM MARCY

Time and again, defenders of non-citizen workers are confronted with the oft-repeated question: "Why don't they become citizens?" In order to cement the unity between the citizen and non-citizen workers, a clear and revealing answer should be given. Here it is.

There are about 4,000,000 non-citizens in this country. At least one-quarter of them are Latin-Americans. Yankee Imperialism, which has slotted to itself the role of "guardian" of all the Americas, which preaches with the most disgusting hypocrisy "unity of all Americas," "unity of the Western Hemisphere" and the like, systematically fosters the grossest discrimination and persecution of Latin American workers in this country.

During the World War, powerful American fruit exchanges, railroad companies and cotton companies were in great need of "cheap" labor. They imported Latin American workers, particularly Mexicans in the thousands, en masse, in direct violation of the United States contract labor laws.

Before importing them the employers did not require of these workers that they pass a literacy test, or warn them that they would have to pay excessive fees to become citizens and that if they couldn't become citizens they might some day be fingerprinted and forced to carry a registration card with them at all times. All that the employers required of them at that time was to be capable of working long hours, and lining the pockets of the bosses. When they were brought here they were herded like cattle into segregated areas.

Some ranches were particularly laid out so that they could not leave. The bosses tried to prevent them from being free to obtain jobs or higher wages elsewhere. Sometimes their shoes and clothing were taken away so they could not escape.

Living under such conditions it became practically impossible for the vast majority of them to obtain the educational requirements necessary to pass a literacy test for citizenship. The starvation wages which they received made it prohibitive for them to pay the excessive fees for naturalization. "A Mexican family living on relief in Colorado would have to stop eating for two months and a half to pay for the citizenship papers of one member of the family," says one observer. Is it any wonder that many of them do not become citizens? Shall we blame them—or the bosses responsible for their plight?

EXPENSE OF CITIZENSHIP IS A BIG ITEM

As far as the great mass of immigrants from the European countries are concerned, the obstacles to obtaining citizenship

papers are just as formidable. Especially true is this with regard to the expense involved. During the pre-depression era the fees used to be about five dollars. Now they average between \$20 and \$50. And if you add to that the expense for witnesses it may be even higher. To a worker who is employed at a fair wage it may not be a considerable sum, but to an unemployed or miserably-paid worker living in the segregated areas, such as "Little Italy," "Little Mexico" and the like, it is a very high price.

A great many alien workers are living on relief, since they are among the first to be discharged when industry slows up. In some states authorities have gone so far as to deny the right to aliens, who are on relief, to become citizens. A New Orleans judge ruled in 1936 that non-citizens on relief are barred from citizenship.

Another obstacle to becoming a citizen is the lack of documentary proof of entry. This is sometimes due to failure to register the entry. A case in point is that of a nine year old boy held for deportation, because his mother, while bringing him to this country failed to register his entry. In many cases, however, the lack of documentary proof is due to the fact that the immigrants were brought here en masse, sometimes illegally, by powerful corporations who needed cheap labor, and no records were made at all.

IMPOSSIBLE FOR HOUSEWIVES TO MEET REQUIREMENTS

A very large proportion of the non-citizens are composed of

housewives. These—especially the ones living in the segregated areas—have never had an opportunity to acquire the educational requisites to become a citizen because of the long hours which house work entails. This is particularly true about those who have large families. Evening schools, where they might acquire some education, are prevalent only in the large industrial cities, and even these are being sharply curtailed.

There is also a group of aliens who cannot, under present laws, become citizens because of "illegal entry." The Commissioner General of Immigration in 1936 gave the following reason for the illegal entries: "The motives most commonly promoting illegal entry are a desire to join the family or relatives in this country, to find a refuge from oppression, to better oneself economically." What worker, even with a mere speck of class-consciousness, can condemn any alien from attempting to enter this country for any of the above reasons?

The working class is international in character. Its solidarity is based on the common bonds of exploitation and oppression. The American workers ought not to be blinded by the hatred against the alien workers which the capitalist class attempts to inculcate into them. Division between the native and foreign born workers can only help the ruling class to more thoroughly exploit the native workers.

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How Are Workers To Fight Against Hitlerism?

By ALBERT GOLDMAN

All the war-mongers from Roosevelt down to the small-fry Social Democrats play upon this fear of fascism to inculcate into the minds of the workers the idea that to support England, France or the United States in a war against Germany is a sacred duty.

To make the idea of supporting France, England, or the United States in the war with Germany more palatable to the workers, all the various types of democrats have recourse to the argument that the war is one between capitalist democracy and fascism.

No one would be foolish enough to deny the claim that capitalist democracy is better for the workers than fascism. To say that they are equally bad for the majority of workers would be to say something that is an obvious untruth.

If the present war were one for capitalist democracy against fascism it would be the duty of every class-conscious worker to give material (not political) support to the democratic regimes.

That is what the revolutionary Marxists did during the civil war in Spain. In the struggle between Franco and the Loyalist government, the advanced workers fought against Franco and thus gave military support to the Loyalist government representing capitalist democracy. It is true that the revolutionary Marxists, understanding that fascism could be defeated only by a workers' government, urged the workers to establish a Soviet Spain. But since a majority of the Spanish workers did not follow the revolutionary Marxists the latter chose to fight with the Loyalist government against the fascists.

Conditions, however, are different in a struggle between imperialist countries, such as England, France, the United States or Germany. In the present war what is involved is not capitalist democracy against fascism but colonies, markets, sources of raw material. And since that is the motive force of the war the workers must determine their attitude by that factor and not by secondary factors.

"But," say some workers, "We grant that this war is an imperialist war and that if the United States should intervene it would do so for its imperialist purposes. But the fact remains that the English and American variety of imperialism is better than the Hitler variety and as practical people we must fight for the better kind of imperialism. Imagine what would happen if Hitler should win."

Let workers who ask this question not forget that the German workers can ask the question: "Suppose the Allies win?" They already received a taste of an Allied victory in 1918. Their experience then was not of a nature as to make them contemplate another victory with great enthusiasm. The miserable Social-Democrats may be anxious for a victory of the Allied imperialists in the hope that they would once more be placed at the head of Germany to serve the Allies. But the workers of Germany understand that an Allied victory means complete subjection of their country to the Allies.

A victory for the Allies does not appear to be any better for the German workers than a victory of Hitler for the English and French workers.

And why should the African or Indian worker and peasant exploited by British imperialism worry about a defeat of British imperialism? Nor, in America, can the Negro worker and sharecropper of the South be much impressed with the idea that his lot would be worse under Hitler.

The trouble is that if the workers are presented with a choice of Allied or German imperialism the solution to the problem of defeating fascism is insoluble.

A solution is possible if one delves more deeply into the problem and looks upon the capitalist world as a whole and not upon the relative merits of each national section of that world. Looking upon that world as a whole reveals the incontestable fact that its economic system has reached a stage of decay making its destruction absolutely imperative.

If the capitalist world should continue to exist, whether the victory goes to the Allies or to Hitler, the workers can look forward to more frightful wars, more misery, more death. The workers can have no interest in saving any part of such a system. Their interest is in destroying it root and branch.

Once we see the problem as one which involves the destruction of the capitalist world and not the victory of one set of imperialists over another, then the task of the American workers or the workers of any other country becomes clear. They must begin the struggle against their own capitalism. And if they should win that struggle it would constitute a blow to fascism all over the world.