### SOCIALIST APPEAL

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### FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

### ON THE WAR FRONT:

For:

- 1. Military training of workers, financed by the government, under control of the trade unions.
- 2. The establishment of special officers' training camps, financed by the government and controlled by the trade unions, to train workers to become officers.
- 3. Confiscation of all war profits-all company books to be open for trade union inspection.
- 4. Expropriation of all war industries and their operation under workers'
- 5. Trade union wages for all workers drafted into the army.
- 6. Full equality for Negroes in the armed forces-Down with Jim Crowism.
- 7. An end to secret diplomacy.
- 8. A people's referendum on any and all wars.

#### AT HOME:

For:

- 1. A job and decent living for every worker.
- 2. Thirty-thirty-\$30 weekly minimum wage-30 hour weekly maximum for for all workers on all jobs.
- 3. \$30 weekly old age and disability
- 4. Full social, political and economic equality for the Negro people.
- 5. Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and fascist attacks.
- 6. A twenty-billion dollar Federal public works and housing program to provide jobs for the unemployed.
- 7. Expropriate the Sixty Families.
- 8. An Independent Labor Party based on the Trade Unions.
- 9. A Worker's and Farmer's Government.

## Encouraging Vote

One of the most encouraging indications of national trend in the election was the vote cast in Minnesota for Grace Carlson.

She ran on the ballot as the representative of the "Trotskyist Anti-War Party" and her program. was a clear cut revolutionary socialist program.

In the Twin Cities where the campaign was centered she received 2,782 votes, topping all the other left wing parties.

In the state as a whole she received 5,743 votes, only 203 votes less than that received by Thomas-Krueger running on a pacifist program.

The 3,000 votes in the outlying districts despite the fact Carlson could not campaign there due to limited funds indicates that the poor farmers are ready to lock arms with the workers in a revolutionary solution to the capitalist crisis and war.

What this vote proves beyond all doubt is that the national political situation is ripe for the organization of an independent labor party.

With the slogan PUT A WORKERS AND FARMERS GOVERNMENT IN WASHING-TON, such a party could dominate the political arena.

## Professor Spills Beans

The ruling class attempts to utelize every institution in the nation as a means for maintaining its rule. In the army it organizes a caste of officers to command the armed forces and so control the military power of the nation for its own ends as a class.

The ruling class attempts to utilize every inthe capitalist will through a staff of trained seals who applaud the existing regime, cover up all its sores, and who oppose the very idea of the workers controlling anything.

The ruling class likewise perverts the educational system, staffing it with professors who fill the minds of the youth with lies and misrepresentations about the nature of the capitalist system. Naturally the capitalists and their defenders

deny all this or cover it up. But occasionally they make a slip and the reality is exposed.

Thus the press reports Dr. Dixon Ryan Fox, president of Union College, of having declared on November 9:

"If capitalism, even under strain, leaves education in the lurch, it loses one of its credits and increases its own danger. The threat for the rich is that the whole edifice of capitalism may be destroyed ... through lack of respect for the works of capitalism. Strain or no strain, capitalism is not at present giving enough to sustain that respect, so far as this one criterion is concerned;"

The rulers who sit in Wall Street understand better than this university president that in the coming period it is not a question from their point of view of simply teaching "respect" for capitalism, but of going beyond that and teaching the masses how to fight for capitalism. The important school now is the military training camp.

Just as we oppose the bourgeois perversion of education in the schools in peacetime, so we oppose the bourgeois perversion of military education in time of war.

Just as we are for the workers obtaining a Marxist education and eventually converting the educational system into an instrument that will correspond to the interests of the working class instead of the bourgeoisie, so we are for the workers not only gaining a military education but of themselves controlling that military education; hence our slogan:

FOR TRADE UNION CONTROL OF MILI-TARY TRAINING!

SHORT SHORT STORY: H. G. Wells called the British army, in a pamphlet now being distributed, an organization of "yessirs led by Hawhaws." Which is another reason why the army should be under the control of the trade unions.

### Moscow Celebrates

In the early days of the Third International, the diplomats sent abroad to represent the Soviet Union acted as centers for the dissemination of revolutionary propaganda and as the connection between the Soviet Union and the working class throughout the rest of the world.

Contrast this with the present function of the Moscow diplomatic representatives!

On November 7, at the Soviet Embassy in Washington, Ambassador Constantine A. Oumansky held a celebration of the anniversary of the Russian Revolution of 1917.

Among those who came to celebrate the October revolution together with Stalin's diplomatic flunkey were Jesse Jones, Secretary of Commerce and Federal Loan Administrator; Sumner Welles, Under-Secretary of State, Joseph E Davis, special assistant to the Secretary of State, Henry F. Grady, Assistant Secretary of State, and the chiefs of many divisions in the State Department.

Delegations were also present from the capitalist governments of Great Britain, Germany, Japan, China, and Finland.

The festive occasion was in marked contrast to previous celebrations, the press reported.

It is well-known that Oumansky, an old GPU agent, is the connecting link between Stalin and all GPU activities in North America. It is absolutely certain that Oumansky was in charge of organizing the assassination of Trotsky.

The representatives of the bourgeoisie could well congratulate Oumansky and Stalin on this anniversary of the October revolution.

They raised their glasses not to the worker's state and to extension of the workers' revolution, but to a pick-axe dripping with blood,

### REMEMBER WHEN THEY SAID THIS?

"German fascism is the instigator of the most raging capitalist reaction, of bloody oppression of the workers, the toiling peasants, the national minorities and the entire German people ... To concentrate our battle fire against German faseism, as the principal instigator of war and the mortal enemy of the Soviet Union and the proletarian revolution, is the duty of every revolutionary." (Ercoli, at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, quoted in The Fight for Peace, Workers Library Publishers, 1935.

### With Bombs

November 11, 1940, the 22nd Anniversary of the signing of the Armistice which ended the "War to End All Wars," was marked by extensive celebrations throughout the world.

Germany, which formerly failed to observe Armistice Day in the manner of the Allied nations, celebrated the occasion for the first time with a simple but impressive ceremony, which included the dropping of several hundred tons of high explosives on London.

Great Britain, with its traditional flair for pomp and ceremony, honored the day with the shooting down of 25 Axis planes and fraternal greetings delivered in Berlin by a fleet of bombers.

French and Belgian officials, in a moving gesture of peace toward their former foes, drank a good-will toast in Munich beer. The French and Belgian people maintained a solemn 24-hour silence, an extension of the two-minute ceremonial silence of previous years.

In the United States, an inspiring ceremony was conducted before the tomb of the Unknown Soldier, which included a stirring address by President Roosevelt, broadcast over a coast-tocoast hook-up to the millions of America's future Unknown Soldiers.

# Roosevelt and Wall St.

### Roosevelt Planned War Program From First Term On; Economic Crisis Forces Move To Aid Big Business

By ART PREIS

The "New Deal" was indeed short-lived. As early as June 1935 Roosevelt had declared, "All the basic innovations of the New Deal are completed." Business appeasement became the key-note of his 1936 campaign.

Relief appropriations began to be tapered off. The Federal Emergency Relief Administration was then liquidated at the initiation of Roosevelt. From June 1935-November 1935, six million jobless families faced outright starvation What F.D.R. saved in this period was partially added to the 1936 WPA appropriation for use just prior to the 1936 election campaign.

But from the very start of his Presidential career, Roosevelt held war appropriations.

It must be remembered that these appropriations were approvterm" policy taking precedence "escape." over all divisive domestic issues.

These appropriations were the the time, in an epoch of world capitalism would dispute with breeds war. armed might for control of the

world markets and resources. drive with his famous "Quaran- of Wall Street, September 7, made because his patriotic sacrifices on tine the Aggressors" speech in this fact crystal clear, declaring: the NDAC promise to net his cor-Chicago, October, 1937. It was timed for the precipitate business collapse following a flash-in-thepan "boom," which had reached its peak in August, 1937.

It was at this point that Roos evelt openly abandoned the methods of priming the pump from the bottom, to greasing it at the top. Roosevelt began in earnest to give direct "relief" to the capital or heavy goods industries, steel auto, railroads, etq. The augmented arms program was intended, in part, to provide immediate profits, to the capital goods industries, whose continued depression charted the chronic fever of American and world cap italism.

But beyond this was an impel ling drive toward imperialist war, the inevitable outgrowth of

By the beginning of Roosevelt's second term, it became transpar ently clear to Roosevelt that his New Deal "reforms" could never cure the deadly ills of American economy. At the peak of the Roosevelt business "boom" in 1937. a national census had revealed 11,000,000 unemployed as living symptoms of the chronic capital-

ist disease. For the inability of American capitalism, despite all internal measures, to unload huge unmar ketable surpluses on the domestic market drives it to seek markets abroad. And this task is hampered by the equally stale-mated capitalist nations everywhere.

The collapse of the internal economies of every capitalist nation in the world has meant an intensified fight over exploiting foreign holdings, over defending these holdings from competitors and expanding into new areas,

American and British capitalism arrived first on the imperialist "ground floor." The "late" nations, like Germany and Japan, must "hi-jack" their way in. Thus two sets of gangsters fight for the right to thrust "protection" on

World capitalism, of which the American sector is the most highly developed, struggles wildly in a straight-jacket of contradictions. The re-arming of German capitalism was done with the aid and consent of British and American imperialism, an off-set to French control on the European continent. French capital has had a thousand drive to split the Willkie cam links with German. Even while or immobilize it with a sort of their opposing troops slaughtered each other, French steel flowed the war drive, if you reject "un into Germany; German coal, into ity," I will blast you as saboteurs

General Motors, whose chief ex- tells them in effect. ecutive, William S. Knudsen, heads the National Defense Complants produced 36,000 autos. In as Knox, Landon and their crowd plus tremendous 'equipment for of Roosevelt's commanding posi-Oil is half-owner of the Hydrier- intention of crawling over the ry L. Stimson and Frank Knox, werks Poelitz, which supplies syn. wall. thetic fuel for the German war tanks and planes.

While aiding German production, labor to the earth.

American markets. German methods of direct barter of manufactured surpluses for raw materials are violently denounced. With the aid of the British blockade South America is deprived of the

German and European market. Corn piles up in Argentina Chilean nitrate exports shrink Brazil sadly contemplates 6 million bags of unmarketable coffee. The U.S. cannot absorb these products. No wonder one Chilean delegate at the Pan-American conference, considering Roosevelt's plea for unification of the Western Hemisphere countries against the menace of Nazi dictatorship, declared, "Freedom is no satisfaction if you cannot sell your crops."

Now the Roosevelt administra an "ace in the hole." Starting tion offers \$500,000,000 through with 1933, war appropriations be the Export-Import Bank to buy gan to sky-rocket. Each year up Latin American surpluses, thus thereafter the arms budget was indirectly financing U. S. exports. accelerated; and each succeeding This is likewise one of the ways appropriation was termed "the in which the "cash and carry" greatest in America's peace-time clause of the Neutrality Act can history." By 1939, the Roosevelt be evaded; America lends the administration extracted from the cash to Argentina, for instance, cheek, masses over 10 billion dollars in which buys up war materials to re-sell to Great Britain.

ed by Democrats and Republicans the less it travels. Driven to mad- Steel profits increasing 1740 peralike. For they were the material ness, it smashes itself against the cent in the first half of 1940 over expression of the real policy of prison bars of profits. Through 1939. America's ruling class, its "long- the violence of war, it seeks its

War will come, with or without Roosevelt intensified his war Germany or Japan. The Magazine

"We will not (at least for several months) consider joining the war 'unless the war comes to us'. Germany has been scrupulously careful to avoid any incident which would give us an excuse to declare war, could well hold against us for aiding and abetting her enemy. Administration spokesmen have made it clear that there is no doubt that if England is defeated the war will come to us. AND NOT NECESSARILY THROUGH ANY OVERT ACT OF GERMANY (our emphas-

The Magazine of Wall Street

# **WALL STREET**

(Continued from Page 1) of "democratic" rights-for them

What still divides Roosevelt and his opponents in the same capitalist camp is to a great degree their differences on the tactics most effectively achieve this type of labor "unity." Roosevelt still holds for methods of "persuasion," that is winning labor to sacrifice itself voluntarily to the war aims of the bosses. Willkie and the sector of the capltalists he represents want to cut out the "kidding around" and

of a well-directed club. In addition, the Willkie gang does not intend to forfeit its divigions of the spoils. As "His Majesty's Loyal Opposition" they figure to put enough heat on Roos evelt on domestic issues to extract all the take possible. At the same time, the results of the election have demonstrated that the Willkie backing is a solid wall of the most reactionary elements ers differently. which will be re-enforced in the next four years in readiness for

settle the matter with one blow

#### real grab. NATIONAL UNITY A FICTION

Roosevelt in his turn, is em ploying the "National black-mail threat. If you impede of "national defense," Roosevelt

To a certain degree, Roosevelt' strategy will succeed-at leas mission, owns the huge Adam auto with a certain section of Republi plants in Germany. In 1933, these cans. Such Republican big-wigs 1938, they produced 140,000 units, who are willing to make the most the Nazi war machine. Standard tion, have already signified their

American policy toward South when the Willkie group gets an fire-side way of telling Wall Street. America, of which Roosevelt has opening to cut into the war spoils, "Don't shove, boys! You don't been a chief exponent, likewise and when the increasing burdens need more than your snout in the reflects this fantastic pattern, of the coming war begin to crush [trough!

American capital fights against the lie manufacturing over to the German penetration into Latin daily press, which is read by the workers.

Indeed, peace would be a major catastrophe for Wall Street While Willkie, the Wall Street mouthpiece, was attempting to de magogically corral anti-war senti ment, the Magazine of Wall Street September 7, was stating:

"There is not the slightest doubt that the American armament program will eventually produce an industrial boom the like of which we have never known before-PROVIDED WHOLLY UNEXPECTED WAR DEVELOPMENTS DO NOT PERMIT US TO SCALE DOWN THE EXPENDITURES NOW CONTEMPLATED (our emphasis)."

The article adds:

"For years we have been speculating about some major new industry that would be capable of stimulating the economy ... This is it.'

And how! And it's the chief reason why majority of Wall evelt's re-election with tongues in

Stetinius, U. S. Steel president and Roosevelt appointee to the Like a squirrel in a revolving National Defense Commission cage, the faster capitalism runs, isn't too broken up over U. S.

Knudsen can sleep easy knowing the Du Ponts won't starve on Roosevelt may "loathe war" and the \$113,575,460 net profits Gen-"hate war now more than ever," eral Motors cleared for the first calculated initial preparations for but he also loves capitalism. This six months of 1940, although only greater love dictates his course. 13 percent over the mere \$100, capitalist crisis, when American He is married to the system which 992,531 take for the first six months of 1939.

And John Biggers, president of any directly hostile act, either of the Libby-Owens-Ford glass monopoly, can't complain too loudly poration a 1940 profit increase of

95 percent. Wall Street calmly re-assured its following during the fake bluster by Roosevelt about "taking the profits out of war." As early as August, Forbes, an aubut we have done many things | thoritative big business monthly, which a victorious Germany declared, "What are new Federal taxes going to do to business pro fits? What happened during our last great re-arming period pro vides one clue. As the chart shows, Federal taxes took a big slice of corporate net income; but war orders so increased net income before taxes that the profits remaining after taxes had been paid were substantial."

Substantial indeed! For the acnever kids its own ruling-class companying chart reveals that net subscribers. Wall Street turns corporate profits for the four years preceding the last war averaged 3.8 billion dollars yearly; for the war years, 1916-1919, net profits were 6.9 billion dollars yearly, with a 1917 peak of 8.6 billion dollars.

When the Excess Profits bill was finally passed and signed by Roosevelt, it provided such a brazen guarantee of unlimited war profits, that even the expectant

Wall Street magnates gasped! And when the Russell-Overton Amendment, which permits th government to "take over" plants at a "fair rental" if the owner refuses "emergency" war orders, was attached to the Conscription bill-eliciting the cry of "state socialism" from Willkie-, Barrons, Wall Street financial weekly September 2, candidly admitted:

"It should be added that there is no sign of any intention on the part of anyone to misuse the power (to take over non-cooperative businesses). SO LONG AS KNUDSEN, BIG-GERS AND CO. ARE IN CON-TROL, THERE WON'T BE. (our emphasis)."

And they are in control, despite the efforts of Sidney Hillman, and the rest of the pro-Roosevelt labor stooges, to convince the work-

National Business magazine, in September, at the time when many corporations were refusing deense orders to bring pressure for a favorable Excess-Profits bill, re-"The Defense Commission is

defending business against charges of a capital strike, putting profits before patriotism, etc ... AND SO FAR IT HAS BEEN SUPPORTED IN THIS BY PRESIDENT ROOSE-VELT. CONTRARY TO EX-PECTATIONS, THE NEW DEAL REFORM ELEMENT HAS BEEN KEPT COM-PLETELY OUT OF THE DE-FENSE PICTURE."

Yes, Roosevelt in the saddle in Washington is riding for Wall Street. When, in the name of "National Unity," he placed Hentwo big-business Republicans, at But the fiction of "national un- the head of the War and Navy ity" will be exposed soon enough Departments, this was Roosevetl's

# **Go Forward**

### Prediction of Trotsky A Triumph Of Marxist Analysis

By JOSEPH HANSEN

Fourteen months ago, upon the invasion of Poland from the west by Hitler and from the east by the Red Army, the social democrats and those clinging to their coat tails were thrown into complete confusion by the complex events. With the disappearance of the Polish bourgeois government and the advance of Soviet troops, they were utterly incapable of foreseeing what might be expected to occur in the eastern occupied territories.

Among our own ranks certain elements raised the question of changing our slogan of unconditional defense of the Soviet Union because of the Red Army invasion of Poland.

#### LEON TROTSKY'S ANALYSIS

Leon Trotsky analyzed the Polish events on September 25, 1939, in an article "The USSR in War" in the following lucid words:

"It is more likely, however, that in the territories scheduled to become a part of the USSR, the Moscow government will carry through the expropriation of the large land owners and statification of the means of production. This variant is most probable not because the bureaucracy remains true to the socialist program but because it is neither desirous nor capable. of sharing the power, and the privileges the latter entails, with the old ruling classes in the occupied territories. Here an analogy literally offers itself. The first Bonaparte halted the revolution by means of military dictatorship. However, when the French troops invaded Poland, Napoleon signed a decree: 'Serfdom is abolished.' This measure was dictated not by Napoleon's sympathies for the peasants, nor by democratic principles but rather by the fact that the Bonapartist dictatorship based itself not on feudal but on bourgeois property relations. Inasmuch as Stalin's Bonapartist dictatorship bases itself not on private but on state property, the invasion of Poland by the Red Army should, in the nature of the case, result in the abolition of private capitalist property. so as thus to bring the regime of the occupied territories into accord with the regime of the USSR."

Trotsky in his next paragraph explains that this change in property relations could not however cause us to favor the invasion of Poland by the Red Army, since it would be "achieved in military-bureaucratic fashion" and hence lower the capacity of the proletariat to defend the old conquests and to make new ones through socialist revolution.

Trotsky's conclusion was that class-conscious workers should condemn the invasion of Poland by the Red Army but continue their unconditional defense of the Soviet Union including the new territorial

Trotsky saw the invasion as providing a remarkable demonstration of the analysis of the Fourth International that the Soviet Union is still a workers' state but suffering from bureaucratic deformations. He concluded that there was nothing "new in the situation" which should cause us to change our position of unconditional defense of the Soviet Union,

## "IMPERIALIST OR

*QUASI-IMPERIALIST*" This analysis by Trotsky drew derision from all sides especially among those under the influence of the bourgeois war pressure. They declared that the invasion of Poland proved that there "was something entirely new in the situation," and that the Soviet Union had become an "imperialist" state seeking imperialist territorial gains.

James Burnham, for example, declared that the policy of the Soviet state had become "imperialist or quasi-imperialist." Max Shachtman declared in a resolution dated September 28, 1939, that "Stalin and the Red Army thus played a flatly counter-revolutionary role in Poland. The bitter realities of the recent events, most particularly of the events in Poland, dictate a revision of our previous concept of the 'unconditional defense of the Soviet Union."

Now it is possible to ascertain just who was right and who wrong in their analysis of the events in Poland-not that we expect either Burnham or Shachtman to acknowledge themselves wrong! In an article in the press, Ludwig Lore reports

that private capitalist property has been entirely abolished in the occupied territories of Poland. "The nationalization of big industrial enterprises

and banks . . . was the first," he states. Then came other important financial institutions. "The small and middle-sized industries were a

difficult matter," he continues. "No immediate nationalization was attempted. The owners remained in possession of their enterprises and were merely ordered to submit statements to the workers' delegates regarding the cost of production, wages paid, hours employed and working conditions generally. For every branch of industry and again for the individual concerns, councils consisting of representatives of the employees and the employers were established, which jointly fixed a 'just rate of profit' and supervised working and wage conditions.

"However that was a transitory situation. After seven months complete state ownership was established. According to a government statement, the dual regime of employers and employees control over production was 'ineffective and working to the disadvantage of state and industry,' wherefore abolition of private ownership in small and medium industries

"A similar situation was created in the trades. Wholesalers and retailers were given a period of grace in which to wind up their enterprises and to sell out their old stocks. After that the Soviet state trusts

refused to sell them supplies and private trade died." Already the Stalinist bureaucracy has purged the local organizations in the occupied territories of any elements who might prove anti-Stalinist. This was likewise predicted by Trotsky, when he warned that the workers of Poland must organize resistance against the crushing totalitarian hand of Moscow.

With nothing but the meager details furnished by the bourgeois press dealing mainly with the bare fact of the invasion by the Red Army, Trotsky was able from his analysis of the Soviet Union as a workers' state with bureaucratic deformations to predict with absolute accuracy the course which history actually took. A remarkable triumph of Marxian analysis!