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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' control.
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 peoples' 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 all workers on all jobs.
3. \$30 weekly old age and disability pension.
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 Workers' and Farmers' Government.

Roosevelt's Speech

President Roosevelt's "fireside chat" last Sunday night was the equivalent of a military engagement of considerable magnitude. Roosevelt, proponent of measures "short of war" to aid Britain, in this speech went up almost to the final point short of an actual declaration of war in aligning this country on the world war front.

Roosevelt dropped all diplomatic pretenses as far as the fundamental issues were concerned. He served notice on the Axis that U. S. imperialism regards itself as the prime object of the tripartite alliance. He ruled out any question of a "negotiated" peace and in doing so accepted on behalf of American imperialism the gage thrown down by German imperialism, which has already indicated that it likewise regards this war as an "all-or-nothing" affair.

To the American people, the president offered only the thinnest of pious hopes that this country will be spared from war. He made it clear that when he talks about "peace" he actually means the "peace" that will ensue only when the German forces have been defeated by force of arms. His speech was, in effect, a call for expediting U. S. industrial mobilization in preparation for the approaching, greater battles of the war.

He said he wanted to keep us, our children, and our grand-children "out of a last-ditch war." Firm alliances now to Britain, he implied, would enable us to fight that war one ditch removed, rather than at the last ditch.

"The United States," he said, "has no right or reason to encourage talk of peace until the day shall come when there is a clear intention on the part of the aggressor nations to abandon all thought of dominating or conquering the world."

It is clear that these "aggressor nations" will be brought to such abandonment only by the pressure of superior military force. It is equally clear that Roosevelt is declaring that either Germany dominates the world or the United States dominates the world. He quoted Hitler as declaring there could be no compromise in this struggle, and he definitely accepted the challenge. It is now merely a question of the tempo at which the country can be prepared and finally plunged into the conflict.

Roosevelt, representing the real masters of this country, has thus told us several things as plainly as he dares at this stage:

1. This country is before long to plunge into a war that has world-domination as its stake.

2. Even now this country is no more neutral than Italy was before it entered on Germany's side last June. The New York Times found a phrase to describe our present position: it is not merely "non-belligerence." It is now "dynamic non-belligerence." In plain language this means,

we are one brief step removed from the status of an out-and-out belligerent.

3. Roosevelt warned in plain language that American labor is to be yoked, and yoked right now, to the war wheels of the bosses. He expects the war arms drive to proceed, he said, "without interruption by strikes or lockouts." He also, it is true, chided industrialists who are extracting dollar for dollar against plant expansion. With them, as we know, the government deals in terms of concessions. But with labor, it will increasingly deal with an iron hand.

4. Finally, Roosevelt warned that the arms drive will of necessity involve a lowering of our standard of living. This is the real meaning of his remark that industries producing consumer goods will yield, if need be, to conversion of their plants into war material producing units.

The United States is no longer merely on the road to war. The United States is at war. This is the premise from which all thought, all action must now proceed.

We are for an irreconcilable struggle by the labor movement in defense of its rights and its needs, in wartime as in peacetime. Precisely for that reason, we don't want to hear any more mud-headed and cowardly speeches from labor "statesmen" about the unfairness of the government doing this or that to the labor movement "in peacetime." No, it's not peacetime. Let us face this fact openly, and go on from there.

Stalin's New Life

One of the first fruits of Stalinist pamphleteering for the new year is a little pamphlet entitled "Soviet Jews—A New Way of Life," issued by ICOR, the Stalinist "mass" organization which, since Biro-Bidjan was created in 1928, has been singing its virtues. Incidentally, it is not accidental that the cover of this new pamphlet shows an idyllic picture of happy Jewish collective farmers in the Crimea. For, after thirteen years of state-sponsored Jewish colonization in Biro-Bidjan, even the Stalinist statistics of this pamphlet claim only a Jewish population there "in the neighborhood of 50,000." During that period, ICOR has raised in the capitalist world on behalf of the Jews of Biro-Bidjan, enough money to buy a collective farm for each of those "in the neighborhood of 50,000."

Never mind how few Jews live in Biro-Bidjan. It is more important to appreciate the "new way of life," which this pamphlet describes so warmly. Such breadth, such universality of culture! Take, for example, the sub-section of this pamphlet entitled, "German Refugees and the Soviet Union." The interlocutor is speaking to representative Soviet Jews, and asks them, "But don't you think you Soviet Jews should appeal to your government to allow the German Jews to come in?"

"We don't want them here," was the answer. Then, just to make sure you get the point that this is not just an individual's answer, nor merely a Jewish answer, the interlocutor goes on: "Do you Soviet Jews oppose their admission?" That provides the springboard for an authoritative declaration:

"When I say 'we,' I mean all of us, not just Jews. The German Jews are almost all bourgeois or bourgeois-minded. They hate us. After they get here they'd only make trouble for us and for themselves. Let them go to Palestine or America."

And even that isn't enough. The interlocutor again speaks: "I'm sure after what they've gone through they'd be grateful for a haven." Whereupon the voice of the Soviet "new way of life" answers:

"Only until they've had a hot bath and had their bellies full... We can do without them."

So this is how they talk in "a new way of life."

And this horrible, swinish outlook is brazenly peddled by Stalin, satellite of Hitler, in the name of the Soviet Union, that is to say, in the name of the October Revolution!

Halifax Is Real

There has been a quite-understandable awkwardness in the press comment on the appointment of Lord Halifax as Britain's ambassador to the United States; an awkwardness which, in the case of the labor and liberal press has turned into downright embarrassment. For no editorial agility can successfully fit Lord Halifax into the current myth of a "transformed," "socialist," "labor-led" England. When editorial agility attempts the task, you get some really weird results, as witness these unbelievable sentences from *The Nation*:

"Until his unfortunate appointment as Foreign Secretary, Lord Halifax had enjoyed a reputation as an enlightened Tory, and as Viceroy of India he had shown an unprecedented breadth of imagination. We hope the American atmosphere will assist the resurrection of the Halifax of the twenties." That is to say, of the Halifax who was ruthless dictator over four hundred million unwilling inhabitants of India. If you want the details, just look up *The Nation* of the twenties.

The liberals might as well reconcile themselves to many an embarrassed moment, when Lord Halifax gets here. The lovely lady created by reading Harold J. Laski and listening to Sir Walter Citrine is apt to be rudely rent in many spots, for Halifax, true representative of the British ruling class and not of its labor flunkies, is as real as hell. As real as those subway "shelters" in which the workers of London are packed in, while their betters dine, dance and sleep in luxurious underground palaces.

How Stalin Celebrated The 23rd Anniversary

Not One Mention of the Fight Against Fascism Was Included Among the 43 Slogans Issued For the November 7th Ceremony

By JOHN G. WRIGHT

On the occasion of the Twenty-Third Anniversary of the October Revolution, Stalin prohibited the raising of a single anti-fascist slogan in the Soviet Union. Likewise taboo were any and all anti-war or anti-imperialist slogans. As a matter of fact, the mere mention of fascism, war, imperialism, victims of fascism, colonial peoples, class-war prisoners, refugees, was proscribed. In the 42 official slogans issued by the Kremlin for the November 7th celebrations, capitalism itself, let alone the bourgeoisie, is not referred to directly.

The sole mention of the world situation was contained in the following slogan: "Long Live the Foreign Policy of the Soviet Government! The policy of Peace Between Peoples and Assuring the Security of Our Fatherland!" In other words: Long Live the Hitler-Stalin pact!

Even such a ritualistic slogan repeated for years as "Long Live the Soviet Power in the Whole World!" was omitted in 1940.

In 1935, at the beginning of the "People's Front" policy—remember?—the slogans issued by Stalin for the Eighteenth Anniversary included: "Our Flaming Greetings to the Proletarians and Toilers of France, the Vanguard Fighters Against Fascism, Against Imperialist War!" In 1940—silence.

Also, in 1935, "Bolshevik Greetings to the Revolutionary Proletariat of Germany! Long Live the Heroic Communist Party of Germany! Long Live Comrade THAELMANN! Let Us Tear Him From the Clutches of the Fascist Hangmen!" In 1940, the Kremlin was too busy shaking the hands of fascist diplomats to worry about Thaelmann, the German Communist Party, the Spanish people, or any other victims of Stalin's treacherous and fatal policies.

In 1935 the Kremlin, while selling oil to Mussolini, still remembered to send greetings to the "Popular Masses of Abyssinia, Courageously Defending Their Independence." China then received two greetings: 1) "Fraternal Greetings to the Heroic Working Class and all the Toiling Masses of China. Long Live the Communist Party of China!" 2) "The Imperialists are Dividing and Enslaving China! Greetings to the Chinese People Fighting for Their Emancipation and Independence!" In 1940, the colonial peoples are beneath the Kremlin's notice.

In 1935 so many slogans against Fascism were launched that to really do them justice we would have to reprint entire issues of *Pravda* (not to mention the *Daily Worker*). Let the following suffice: "Fascism is the Most Savage Offensive of Capitalism Against the Toiling Masses!"; "Fascism—this Means War of Aggression!"; "Fascism—This Means Hunger, Poverty, Misery!"; "Down With Fascism! Down With Capitalism!"; "Fuse Into a Single United Front for the Struggle Against Fascism—The Bitter Enemy of All Peoples!"; and so forth, and so on. In 1940—silence.

What, then, was the content of the 42 slogans of the Kremlin in 1940? It was mostly "greetings." Thus, the workers, engineers and technicians of Ferrous and Non-Ferrous Metallurgy received greetings with an injunction: "Fight to Increase the Production of Metal! Fight for its Quality!" The workers, engineers, etc. of the Machine-Building Industry were greeted: "More and Better Machinery! Workers, etc. of the Fuel and Electric Industries—More and Better Fuel! More and Better Electric Energy! Workers, etc. of the Chemical Industry—More Chemicals! Workers, etc. of the Building Trades, Build More and Better, and Cheaper! Workers, etc. of the Light and Textile Industries—More Calico, Silk, Cloth, Knitgoods, Footwear, and Clothing for the Citizens of the Soviet Land!" Workers, etc. of State and Cooperative Trade Networks—"Better Service to the Soviet Consumer!" "Fight For Cultural Soviet Trade in City and Country!" Etcetera. (*Pravda*, November 4, 1940).

Nor were the collective farmers forgotten. They got greetings, too, with orders for bigger and better crops, and, in particular, more meat.

A FEW STIFF DEMANDS ARE INCORPORATED

Another set of slogans dispensed with greetings and simply raised "demands": 1) "Create Mighty State Labor Reserves for Industry and Transport!" In other words, Long Live the October 2nd Laws Instituting Child Labor in the Soviet Union! 2) "The Struggle Against Laggards and Disorganizers of Production is the Struggle for Strengthening the Might of Our Fatherland and Its Red Army. Long Live Labor Discipline and Exemplary Order in the Enterprises of Our Fatherland!" In other words, the work-

ers were told to give three cheers for the June 26 labor laws which enslaved them, and which they are bitterly opposing.

The list of "Long-Live" slogans is too long to exhaust. A few will suffice:

- 1) Long Live the Soviet Trade Unions! (*purged in July*).
- 2) Long Live the Komsomols! (*purged in July*).
- 3) Long Live Our Working Class! (*chained to the factories*).
- 4) Long Live the Collective Peasantry! (*failed to fulfill quotas of grain deliveries to the state*).
- 5) Long Live the Soviet Intellectuals! (*none being purged*).
- 6) Long Live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union! (*now being purged, with the mass purge scheduled to be consummated by February 15, 1941, when the Eighteenth Party Conference convenes*).

TWO SIGNIFICANT SLOGANS TO EXAMINE

There are, however, two slogans among the 42 that merit special notice. First, there is the rather unexpected and sudden reference to "Our Socialist Espionage Service—the CHEKA," in connection with a slogan which calls for the strengthening of the Red Army. The *Cheka*, as is well known, was originally organized in the period of the Civil War. The Kremlin's secret police were first labelled the GPU and then renamed the NKVD because the other name had become so abhorrent. Why this return in 1940 to the *Cheka*? Is it to strike greater terror among the populace? Or is it a direct threat that police-terror is to be intensified and supplemented by martial courts? Undoubtedly, both the one and the other.

The second slogan follows verbatim: "Let Us Unfold the Criticism of Our Inadequacies! Let Us Strengthen Still More the Might and Organized Power of Our State!"

Now, on the surface this may seem only an innocuous incantation of Stalin's "Bolshevik Self-Criticism"—but it is nothing of the sort. This ominous slogan quite clearly demands a greater centralization of power, and a further "strengthening" of the totalitarian apparatus. All "criticism" has been "unfolding" precisely in this direction. The coming weeks will reveal just how Stalin proposes to reinforce his own two hands the "Might and Organized Power of Our State."

They Honor John Reed— And Suppress His Book

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — William Z. (Zigzag) Foster, chairman of the Communist Party, spoke at a Memorial Anniversary meeting for John Reed, Harvard alumnus and American revolutionist, author of the great eyewitness chronicle of the Russian Revolution, "Ten Days That Shook The World."

Following Foster's eulogy of the great John Reed, several people took the floor for questions.

They inquired how the speaker could praise John Reed, and bask in his tradition, when John Reed's book is banned in the Soviet Union and suppressed by the Stalinists everywhere else.

Another question put to Foster was: "Isn't it also true that you wrote an extensive work in 1921, following a visit to the Soviet Union, entitled 'The Russian Revolution?' And isn't it also true that you went John Reed one better by failing to mention Stalin's name even once, while writing a special commendatory biographical sketch of Trotsky?"

Foster answered briefly: "The atmosphere was getting too warm to prolong the meeting. It was true, he opined, John Reed had overestimated Trotsky, as had others (i. e. himself).

Foster "forgot" to add that Reed's book bore an introduction written by Lenin—who also seemed to have shared Reed's "errors."

In 1937 the London News Chronicle sought permission from the Communist Party of Great Britain to reprint serially John Reed's "Ten Days That Shook The World." What happened was reported as follows in the London Evening Standard, Nov. 12, 1937:

"This contemporary account of the Bolshevik uprising was written by John Reed, the

American Communist, who was a close personal friend of Lenin. When he died in 1921 he left the British copyright in his book to the Communist Party."

"When the News-Chronicle approached the copyright owners for permission to serialize the book it was gladly given."

SWP PROTESTS JAILING OF PIERRE FRANK

The imprisonment of Pierre Frank, French revolutionist, by the British authorities, was protested to the British Embassy in Washington this week by the Socialist Workers Party.

The text of the S.W.P. communication was as follows:

Charge d'Affairs
British Embassy
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

We have received word from London that Pierre Frank, a well-known French revolutionist, has been sentenced by a London police tribunal to six months at hard labor.

The charge was that Pierre Frank had failed to register, as a foreigner, with the authorities. Frank, however, explained to the tribunal that he had been condemned in absentia as a revolutionist by the French government and felt that, had he registered with the British authorities in the usual way, he would have been turned over to the French government, despite the fact that

The Communists asked no fee, and made only one stipulation—that all reference to Trotsky should be eliminated from the text.

"Confronted with this modern version of Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark, the Liberal organ abandoned the project."

he was in England as a political refugee.

Frank's explanation appears to us as an eminently reasonable one for his failure to comply with a technical procedure required by British law. An explanation which should certainly have been accepted since he was being accused of nothing more than a mere technical violation. Instead, however, the explanation served only to harden the prejudiced tribunal against him. We are informed that the judge, upon hearing Frank's explanation, utilized it to denounce Frank as a "subversive person." Prejudice alone can explain the vindictive sentence of six months at hard labor for a mere technicality.

We protest this sentence and call upon the British authorities to release Pierre Frank and to accord him the democratic rights of a political refugee. Hounded out of France by the "democrats" who preferred Hitler to a resurgence of the French people, Frank now finds himself hounded by a government which claims to stand at the opposite pole to the Petain government which still seeks to imprison Frank. Elementary justice demands that this fighter for French liberty be given his liberty by the British government.

Very truly yours,
JAMES P. CANNON
National Secretary

The New Revelation According To Saint Norman Thomas

Conscientious objectors to draft registration, members of the Young Peoples Socialist League (Second International), recently argued their case before Federal Judge William Bondy.

Study the statement of Howard Schoenfeld, member of the Socialist Party, as printed in the pamphlet, "Why We Refused To Register":

"I respectfully submit that I am a Socialist, a firm believer in democracy, and, by training and belief, a pacifist, and that, as such, I cannot conscientiously take part in war, training for war, or in the surrendering of liberty, or in registration for such purposes."

Further, "It (Selective Service Act) forces the citizen to study the methods of war and murder, which is in direct contradiction to the law of God and the commandment: THOU SHALT NOT KILL."

And still further, "Although I am a pacifist, I am not a member of any religious sect. I believe in God, the Kingdom of God on earth, and that we are all sons of God, and that, therefore, there is a common Brotherhood of Man. The Socialist Party of the U. S. A. is a group of people working in a practical manner toward the establishment of what I believe to be the Kingdom of God on earth..."

The Philosophy of Slaves

As a pacifist, a disbeliever in violence regardless of the class employing it or the cause which it upholds, Schoenfeld and his colleagues advocate a philosophy which would condemn the German and Italian workers, indeed all the oppressed masses of the world, to a perpetual slavery! It means submission to the armed force of the ruling classes and the complete disarming of the working classes.

When God and the Ten Commandments are invoked to give added weight to this conviction, these conscientious objectors find themselves in the realm of the capitalists entirely. The bourgeoisie have a virtual monopoly on divine revelation; the ruling class also argues the justice of imperialist war, and its naturally attendant evils such as conscription, on the basis of supernatural mandate. And the churches of all varieties lend a thousand times more impressive authority than even the most vehement conscientious objector can command. In either case, the workers can only take their word for it. Neither side can show any direct testimonials from the Lord.

Nowhere in the statements of Schoenfeld and his colleagues is there an awareness of the class struggle, of the class character of imperialist war, nor even the beginnings of a realistic program which the workers can utilize in an effective fashion against the boss war.

While a handful of conscientious objectors can afford to bask in self-righteous martyrdom, the billion-headed masses of the world cannot simply sit down and say, "We won't fight." And for the same reason that they cannot say, "We won't work."

So long as the workers cannot overthrow the system of war and exploitation, they cannot be simple "abstainers" from the system. Their wives and children must live. Mass suicide cannot change the hearts of the master class, which has waded through oceans of blood and mountains of slaughtered flesh in its rise to power and in the maintenance of its rule.

Pacifism, fortunately not a disease of the American working class, hasn't a leg to stand on.

In the end, it is precisely such pacifism which lends itself to the support of capitalism and the war system when the workers, who are not so pacifist, turn against the oppressors. This was amply proved by the conduct of the pacifists during the last war and, especially, during the Russian workers' revolution.

Norman Thomas Speaks His Piece

We see the implications of this in the statement of Norman Thomas in *The Call*, Socialist Party weekly, for December 14.

Thomas takes his stand on the U. S. Constitution and the Bill of Rights. In commending the constitutional case presented by the defense lawyers for Schoenfeld, and the other young Socialists, Thomas states:

"There is a difference between peace-time conscription and the war-time conscription upheld by the U. S. Supreme Court. It is amazing to what extent the peace-time draft law delegates power to the President and breaches the defenses of individual rights contained in the first ten amendments to the Constitution."

"Granting that the temper of the times makes it likely that the courts will sustain the constitutionality of the draft, it is a service to all of us to know where we stand constitutionally..."

"This is not and should not be just a Socialist Party cause. It should have wide-spread support from all opponents of PEACE-TIME military conscription..." (Our emphasis)

This Revelation according to Saint Thomas does not, in its logic, argue against conscription—just against conscription until war is declared, or until the U. S. Supreme Court puts the final seal of approval on peace-time conscription.

According to this, the worker youth dragged into the armed forces by the draft can now console themselves that it is really all very unconstitutional; as they can draw comfort from the thought, when they are actually under shot and shell, and the court has acted, that their situation has the full backing of the U. S. Supreme Court—and Norman Thomas.

What farcical figures the Norman Thomases cut, whether in the garb of parsons or constitutional lawyers! Not content with violating the jurisdiction of the capitalists in the domain of theology, the Thomases want to instruct the ruling class on the meaning of its constitution, interpreted and enforced by its courts and laws.

Meanwhile, the workers will continue to undergo the military training, and wear the uniforms and carry the arms which the ruling class thrusts upon them; for pacifism is alien to them, fortunately. In their own way and in their own good time they will find means to put a stop to war, irrespective of the opinions of divines, Supreme Court justices, or that amalgam of the best qualities of both these groups, Norman Thomas.