

**SOCIALIST APPEAL**

Vol. III, No. 8 February 17, 1939

Published twice a week by the  
SOCIALIST APPEAL PUBLISHING ASS'N  
at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.  
Telephone: ALgonquin 4-8547

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for six months.  
Foreign: \$3.00 per year, \$1.50 for six months. Bundle  
orders: 2 cents per copy in United States; 3 cents per  
copy in all foreign countries. Single copies: 3 cents.  
Entered as second-class matter September 1, 1937  
at the post office at New York, New York, under  
the act of March 3, 1879.

Editor:  
**MAX SHACHTMAN**  
Associate Editors:  
**HAROLD ROBERTS** **FELIX MORROW**  
Staff Members:  
**EMANUEL GARRETT** **JOSEPH HANSEN**  
Business Manager:  
**S. STANLEY**

**FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST  
WORKERS PARTY FOR:**

1. A job and a decent wage for every worker.
2. Open the idle factories—operate them under workers' control.
3. A Twenty-Billion dollar Federal public works and housing program.
4. Thirty-thirty! \$30-weekly minimum wage—30-hour weekly maximum for all workers on all jobs.
5. Thirty dollar weekly old-age and disability pension.
6. Expropriate the Sixty Families.
7. All war funds to the unemployed.
8. A people's referendum on any and all wars.
9. No secret diplomacy.
10. An independent Labor party.
11. Workers Defense Guards against Vigilante and Fascist attacks.

**Rebel India Marches Again**

A few weeks back, Captain Anthony Eden—smooth mouthpiece for the British imperialists—was over here trying to convince the American people how virtuous, democratic and upright the masters of the British Empire are.

But evidently Chamberlain, Eden and the whole lot of slave masters that lord it over the world-wide Empire of Mother England haven't succeeded in convincing anyone—least of all the 365,000,000 enslaved people of India.

News coming to us from all parts of this vast country show that the British raj is in dire straits. Millions of organized peasants are on the march against British and native landlords. In Burma—a British Province—10,000 hunger marchers descended upon the city of Mandalay militantly to present their grievances to the government.

In Dhekanal, a state ruled over by a feudal Prince, the people are up in arms against his bloody dictatorship. Jute workers of Calcutta, textile workers and printers of Cawnpore, sugar workers in Burma—all are conducting aggressive battles and strikes.

Rebel India is marching forward towards independence and freedom!

And how do the hypocritical "democrats" of England reply to this mass movement of the people? In Dhekanal, 79 peasants have been killed in the last month by His Majesty's Scottish Guards; in Burma the British provocateurs precipitate race riots of Hindu against Moslem—and then cold-bloodily shoot both groups down. And above all, the British are preparing to set up a one-man military dictatorship over all of India. They call this scheme of theirs "Federation." Actually, it is a Slave Federation, with the British imperialists wielding the whip.

The India Nationalist Congress—now controlled by the elements grouped around the Congress Socialist Party—has demanded complete freedom within six months. It remains to be seen whether the Congress will persevere along this line. The great mass movements of the India people of the past have been dispersed time and again by the weakness and often by the outright treachery of the Nationalist leaders.

The entire civilized world and above all the international working class cannot but rejoice that the rule of Britain's dictators over India is being challenged, and will hope that this time it will be smashed forever. English imperialism has made of India a country bowed down with poverty, taxation, ignorance and oppression on an unparalleled scale. The uprising of its mass population will signify a revival in the entire movement of the colonial peoples against their foreign oppressors.

Minnesota House of Representatives rejects a bill to permit legislators and other officials convicted of receiving bribes to hold office again after seven years. One doesn't talk of the rope in the house of the hanged.

**"Dangerous Nonsense"**

Before a meeting sponsored by 28 distinguished scientists in the Waldorf-Astoria hotel on Lincoln's birthday, Henry A. Wallace, Secretary of Agriculture, characterized as "pure scientific faking" the Nazi propaganda that the so-called Aryans are superior to all other races and therefore have the right to dominate over them.

Secretary Wallace is something of an authority not only in the Democratic Party. He credits himself with authority too in the field of genetics. His studies in this field over a period of many years convinced

him, he said, that the Nazi doctrine of race superiority is a "mumbo-jumbo of dangerous nonsense."

We agree entirely with Mr. Wallace's characterization of the Nazi race-superiority doctrine as "pure scientific faking" and a "mumbo-jumbo of dangerous nonsense."

We wish merely to point out that exactly like the whole Democratic Party of which he is a distinguished representative, Mr. Wallace owes his present high-salaried position of power precisely to such "scientific faking," such "mumbo-jumbo," such "dangerous nonsense."

The Democratic Party could never have taken power in the United States in 1932 nor retained it in 1936 without the support of its ultra-reactionary wing in the South.

The strangle-hold of the Democratic Party in the South rests entirely on a vicious net-work of laws designed for no other purpose but to bar the Negroes from exercising their suffrage rights and from functioning in the "democratic process" which Mr. Wallace incidentally lauds in his speech commemorating Lincoln's birthday. The entire rationalization for these laws rests on the doctrine of Aryan race superiority, exactly the doctrine characterized as "scientific faking," "mumbo-jumbo," and "dangerous nonsense" by Mr. Wallace.

All the bestial repressions against which Roosevelt, Ickes, and now Wallace lavish so many words of sympathy and stigmatize so graphically, when they occur on the other side of the Atlantic—these are the pillars upon which their salaries and their political rule rests.

What does Mr. Wallace say about the Jim Crow laws which brought him into office, the lynchings, the blow torch on quivering flesh?

It is easy to point indignantly at Nazi brutality and with fine ironic phrases reduce their racial theories to the stench which is their natural level.

But Mr. Wallace, like all the other hypocrites wielding power in a "democracy," is much more discreet about the sewage in his own backyard.

The Rockefeller gift of a \$145,000 plot of ground to New York City brings his total of gifts to the city up to \$11,500,000. Thus raising the percentage disgorged to something like ninety-four hundredths of one per cent of what he's gouged out of us.

**Is the Money There?**

Every time the masses demand that the relief budget be extended, or even maintained, the capitalist politicians answer that there are no funds available.

The same answer is given when demands are made for a vast housing program, old-age pensions, and other elementary needs of the people crushed by the crisis. The truth is that funds, plenty of them, are available.

In one day (Feb. 12), the N. Y. Times reported the following news on its financial page:

The American Can Company and its subsidiaries reported for 1938 a net income of \$13,645,498, after deducting interest, depreciation, Federal income taxes, etc. The underpaid slaves of American Can will be tickled to death to learn this.

United States Tobacco, after similar deductions, reports a net profit for 1938 of \$3,358,135. And S. S. Kresge Company took the modest net profit of \$8,997,051.

The masses starve, live in slums, and wear rags. The corporations continue to draw heavy profits.

To feed, shelter and clothe the masses, funds are needed. They are available. All that is necessary is a power able and willing to put its hands on the funds.

The Roosevelt regime, now in power, is more interested in preserving the profits of the corporations than in preserving the lives of the masses.

The answer to the problem lies in the masses themselves—the workers—taking power. Once they have it, they will not hesitate to carry out the most elementary social duties of the day.

Great Britain played the part of the "good neighbor" at Munich, much as United States has towards Mexico and Brazil, declares Sir Charles Morgan-Webb, British economist.

**The Same Old Gang**

The promises made by President Roosevelt about what he would do for the "forgotten man" and the submerged one-third of the nation" would, if laid end to end, go a dozen times around the world.

He was going to clean out and clean up the Democratic party.

He was going to smash the "economic royalists."

He was going to put the "Tories" out of the running.

He was going to make American economic life a joy for the people and political life a paradise.

Now, nearing his sixth anniversary in the presidential office, one of the staunchest New Dealers in the country draws a woe-begone balance-sheet. Jay Franklin, Washington columnist of the N. Y. Post, writes the following sad summary on Feb. 7:

"... On the whole, the same men control business, banking and politics who controlled it before the Hoover depression."

And, we might add, the old gang will continue to control everything until labor stops relying on capitalist parties, leaders and governments—and puts into power a government of its own really capable of kicking the old gang out.

**Fact of the Week**

The Socialist Workers Party proposes a weekly minimum of \$30 pay for a maximum of 30 hours work. At the minimum rate of pay, 1,320,000 workers could be employed for one year at a total cost of \$2,000,000,000.

The Roosevelt war budget for the fiscal year 1940 is \$2,000,000,000.

**Intellectual Ex-Radicals And  
World Reaction**

The Crisis of the Disillusioned Fellow-Travelers of  
Bolshevism Is Not the Same as a "Crisis of Marxism"

By Leon Trotsky

During the last decade the older generation of the radical intelligentsia has been greatly influenced by Stalinism. Today the turn away from Stalinism in the advanced countries, at any rate, has been reaching ever wider proportions. Some are sincerely disappointed in their illusions while others are simply aware that the ship is in dangerous straits and are in a hurry to leave it. It would be naive to expect that the "disillusioned" should turn to Marxism with which, in the nature of things, they were never acquainted. For most intellectuals their departure from Stalinism signifies a complete break with the revolution and a passive reconciliation with nationalistic democracy. These "disillusioned" provide a culture medium *sui generis* for the bacilli of scepticism and pessimism.

They say: "It is impossible to do anything at the present time. Europe will fall wholly under the sway of Fascism anyway, and the bourgeoisie in the United States is far too powerful. The revolutionary roads lead nowhere. We must adapt ourselves to the democratic regime; we must defend it against all attacks. There is no future for the Fourth International, at all events, not for the next two or three decades..." and so forth and so on.

**Fellow Travellers Join  
The Disillusioned**

The ranks of the disillusioned include not only Stalinists but also the temporary fellow-travellers of Bolshevism. Victor Serge—to cite an instance—has recently announced that Bolshevism is passing through a crisis which presages in turn the "crisis of Marxism." In his theoretical innocence, Serge imagines himself the first to have made "this discovery. Yet, in every epoch of reaction, scores and hundreds of unstable revolutionists have risen

to announce the "crisis of Marxism"—the final, the crucial, the mortal crisis.

That the old Bolshevik party has spent itself, has degenerated and perished—that much is beyond controversy. But the ruin of a given historical party, which had for a certain period based itself upon the Marxian doctrine, does not at all signify the ruination of that doctrine. The defeat of an army does not invalidate the fundamental precepts of strategy. Should an artilleryman fire wide of the mark, that would by no means invalidate ballistics, that is, the algebra of artillery. If the army of the proletariat suffers a defeat, or if its party degenerates, then this does not at all invalidate Marxism, which is the algebra of revolution. That Victor Serge himself is passing through a "crisis," i.e., has become hopelessly confused like thousands of other intellectuals—is clear enough. But Victor Serge in crisis is not the crisis of Marxism.

**The Coming War Will  
Shatter All Illusions**

In any case, no serious revolutionist would think of using intellectuals in confusion, Stalinists in disillusion and sceptics in dejection as a yardstick with which to measure the march of history. World reaction has unquestionably assumed monstrous proportions nowadays. But thereby it has prepared the soil for the greatest revolutionary crisis. Fascism may perhaps seize upon the whole of Europe. But it will not be able to maintain itself there not only for a "thousand years," as Hitler dreams, but not even for a decade. The fascization of Europe means the monstrous aggravation of class and international contradictions.

It is absurd, unscientific, unhistorical to think that reaction will continue to unfold at the same gradual pace at which it has been

accumulating hitherto. Reaction signifies this, that the social contradictions are mechanically suppressed. At a certain stage, an explosion is inevitable. World reaction will be overthrown by the greatest catastrophe in world history, or, more correctly, by a series of revolutionary catastrophes. The coming war, which is now being awaited by everyone within the nearest future, will signify the crash of all illusions. Not only the illusions of reformism, pacifism and democratism but also the illusions of Fascism. Only one beacon will rise above the blood-drenched chaos—the beacon of Marxism.

**Marxism Is the  
Strongest Reality**

Hegel was fond of saying: all that is rational is real. This means: every idea that corresponds to objective needs of development attains triumph and victory. No intellectually honest individual can deny that the analysis and prognosis made by the Bolshevik-Leninists (Fourth Internationalists) during the past 15 years have met and still meet with confirmation in the events of our time. It is precisely in this certainty of their correctness that the basic sections of the Fourth International are strong and immutable. The catastrophes of European and world capitalism which are hovering over mankind will clear the path before the steered cadres of the revolutionary Marxists.

Let the disillusioned ones bury their own dead. The working class is not a corpse. As hitherto, society rests upon it. It needs a new leadership. It will find this nowhere but in the Fourth International. All that is rational is real. Social democracy and Stalinism even today represent stupendous fictions. But the Fourth International is an impregnable reality.

**The Politics of Pope Pius**

The Spiritual Head of Almost One-Fifth of Mankind  
Was Not a "Man of Peace and Progress" but an Active  
And Consistent Advocate of a Program of Reaction

While the body of Pius XI lies in state within the magnificence of St. Peter's Cathedral, the sixty-two Cardinal Princes of the Roman Catholic Church are this week converging on Rome to take part in the election of his successor to the powerful office carrying absolute sway over an institution numbering among its members one-fifth of mankind.

Achille Ratti, who took the name of Pius XI when crowned as Pontiff in 1922, died, according to the reports, with the word "Peace" on his lips, and this has given the imperialist press of the entire world an opportunity to picture him to their readers as "The Pope of Peace." Long editorials praising "the Pope's life-long fight for peace" have appeared in all of the papers, their cynical hypocrisy evident enough from the constant war-mongering that now daily fills their columns.

**A Bulwark  
of Reaction**

The policy of Pius XI did not, of course, flow from any personal characteristics of his own, but from the position in which he was placed as head of a mighty institution rooted deep in the existing social structure. Compelled by the requirements of that position, as will be his successor, he functioned as a defender of the status quo on a world scale, as a consistent bulwark of social reaction.

Achille Ratti spent his 61 years in quiet and scholarly tasks. His public career did not begin until 1918 when, in May, he was sent as Papal representative to Poland. The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk had just been signed, and there is sound authority for the opinion that Ratti's original assignment was to attempt to undermine the Bolshevik regime so that the Russian armies could again be swung back into the imperialist slaughter on the side of the Allies.

This attempt failed, but he remained in Poland. When the Red Army swept into Poland and reached the gates of Warsaw, he was one of the few leading figures who remained in the city. He is credited with an important role in the defeat of the Red Army, a defeat that struck a shattering blow against the workers' state and helped block the extension of the revolution, thereby hurling European civilization back on the road that has led to fascism and Stalinism.

**Contributes to  
Rise of Fascism**

Upon his return to Italy in 1922, he was sent first to Milan, then in the midst of the struggles between the workers and the fascists. His achievements in help-

ing break the Milan general strike, earned him the admiring praise of the rising Mussolini.

When, a few months later, he was elected Pope, he began at once the policy of reconciliation with fascism, seeking only to guarantee the authority and privileges of the Church. The lengthy and skillful negotiations were finally climaxed by the signing of the Lateran Treaty with Mussolini in 1929.

He attempted the same policy at a more rapid rate in the case of Germany. On July 8, 1933, less than six months after Hitler had taken power, while the Nazis were in the midst of the first frightful terror against the workers and were completing the ruthless suppression of all oppositions, Pius signed a Concordat with Germany. Its terms have not been kept and difficulties have arisen; but the example of Italy proves that the aim of the Church is anti-Nazi only to the extent necessary to bring about an accommodation between Nazism and the Church which will safeguard the social position of the Church.

**Blesses War Against  
Ethiopians**

Not merely did the Church under Pius accept the pitiless war of Mussolini against Ethiopia; through the persons of some of the most prominent Cardinals and Bishops of Italy, the war was blessed and hailed as the means for carrying God and the true faith to the benighted black savages of Africa.

From the beginning of the Spanish War, the Vatican threw its entire influence on the side of the fascists. Denunciations of the "savagery" and "terror" of the "Reds" were spread throughout the world, while not one word was spoken by Rome at the unbelievable slaughter—not by Catholics but by Moors—of thousands of innocent civilians in the bull ring at Badajoz; and only vague general remarks, never mentioning Franco's armies directly, were published against the horrible bombings of unarmed cities.

On April 17, 1938, Pius sent the following telegram to the butcher, Franco:

"We are glad to hear vibrating in your Excellency's message the traditional faith of Catholic Spain, whose crown of faith is enriched for its better fortune by a new hero of Christian fortitude, and we send you with all our hearts the apostolic benediction, propitiatory of Divine favors."

**Sanctifies Private  
Property**

During these same years, in a remarkable series of encyclicals,

the Pope bitterly defended reaction from a moral, philosophical and theological point of view. In the encyclical "Quadragesimo Anno" and in a more recent (1937) encyclical, he attacked socialism and communism as the scourge of the world and proclaimed the eternal validity of the rights of private property—"the right to own private property has been given to man by nature or rather by the Creator Himself."

In an encyclical "On Christian Marriage" he put forward conceptions the effect of which could only be to reduce women to the condition of medieval serfs, and others whose arguments have been used widely in this country in the campaign against the Child Labor amendment.

He made blanket condemnations of modern art and music, and fostered the anti-scientific educational theories which have lately been gaining some strength in this country through the influence of the Catholic schools and of such men as Mortimer Adler, Scott Buchanan and Robert M. Hutchins.

**Freedom Dispers  
Religious Need**

That social actions and doctrines so antithetical to all the needs and aspirations of mankind should so widely influence hundreds of millions of workers and peasants can be explained only through the continuing need felt by the masses, deprived of human well-being now within their grasp, for the consolation of religious superstition. This need, we may be sure, will disappear only through the building of a new and joyous world of plenty and freedom.

There is almost certain to be a prolonged struggle over the election of the new Pope, which requires a two-thirds majority of the College of Cardinals. It is rumored that one faction of the Church headed by the Jesuits favors a leader who will adopt an outspoken anti-Hitler policy—that is, a policy of lining up the Church behind the democratic imperialism for the coming war. The bulk of the Italian Cardinals, who comprise a majority, dependent on Mussolini, will doubtless oppose any such affront to Mussolini's axis partner.

The difference, however, can in the long run be only secondary, since the Church by the very nature of the case is committed to the defense of the status quo; and the status quo can now be defended only by a deepening reaction in every sphere of human thought and activity.

**THEIR  
GOVERNMENT**

By James Burnham

While we draw up our final accounting of the Civil War in Spain, resolved that no bitter lesson of the staggering defeat shall be left unlearned, we must not forget to leave open a column for the record of Franklin Roosevelt. Roosevelt, you will have noticed from the papers, is soon to be leading us on the crusade to wipe fascism off the face of the earth. Before we put ourselves wholly into his hands, it would be circumspect to know as much as we can about our leader.

**"A State of War" ...  
China and Spain**

Shortly after the Spanish civil war began, Roosevelt, acting under the authority granted to the President under the provisions of the Neutrality Act, clamped down a governmental embargo on the shipments of munitions to either side. This step was in no way required by the Neutrality Act. The Neutrality Act states that an embargo must be applied when "a state of war exists"; but it leaves to the President the definition of just when that may be. It might seem absurd to argue over whether a "state of war" existed in Spain; but parliamentary language is often an absurdity.

The proof that responsibility for the embargo rests directly on Roosevelt, that his action was not required by the Neutrality Act, is furnished, of course, by the fact that so far as he is concerned no state of war has to this day existed in China, and consequently no embargo has been imposed on the Far Eastern combatants.

The effect of the embargo on Spain is notoriously known. It cut munition shipments to the Loyalists virtually to a smuggled minimum, since no nations except Mexico and occasionally on a small scale France would carry out their trans-shipment from the United States. When it was discovered that a few airplanes and machine guns were reaching Madrid through Mexico, suits were immediately instituted against the shippers in this country.

**But the Embargo Did  
Not Hurt Franco**

Trans-shipments to Franco, in contrast, were an everyday occurrence. Boat after boat sailed away from U. S. ports, paid a legalizing courtesy call to a Portuguese, Channel or North Sea harbor, and discharged their loads in Franco territory. Especially numerous were the neat black bombs which, taking off from Baltimore, ended their journeys among the mangled bodies of the women and children of Valencia or Madrid or Barcelona.

When the volunteers began leaving this country on a large scale to join the International Brigade, the comment of Roosevelt's State Department was a declaration that all American citizens fighting in a "foreign army" would have their passports cancelled and would lose their citizenship, and that non-citizens would not be permitted to return. Only the pressure of mass opinion compelled this threat to lapse into passivity.

**American Consuls  
Protected ... Property**

During the war the U. S. consular officials have remained on the job. Their chief assignment has been to keep a careful eye on American property—International Telephone & Telegraph's monopoly, the plants of General Motors. They have made clear to the Loyalists that whoever was to win the war, the U. S. corporations intended to guard their own; and thus they contributed to the sabotage and elimination of workers' ownership and control, the weakening of which so irremediably undermined the anti-fascist struggle.

In short, with respect to the Spanish civil war Roosevelt has played exactly the same part as Chamberlain and Blum-Daladier. He is merely one other sworn member of the gang. Through his telegraphic and diplomatic intervention, Roosevelt was as fully present at Munich as if he also had sat around the green table, and he participated as directly in the bloody deal. In the same way he was a member with full if not formalized rights in the infamous Non-Intervention Committee through which imperialism did its strangling and choking of the Spanish workers and peasants. Wherein did his policy differ from that of Chamberlain? Only in the slightly different brand of demagoguery used to put it across.

**Roosevelt Did Not Betray  
His Own Interests**

Was Roosevelt, then, one of the "betrayers" of the Spanish workers? Let us not be naive, or hypocritical. A man can betray only his own cause; when he helps defeat the enemy he is not a betrayer but a good soldier. And Roosevelt's cause is not the cause of the Spanish workers.

To Roosevelt, "the defense of democracy" quite correctly means, when translated into more concrete language, the defense of the interests of U. S. imperialism. Faced with the actual choice in Spain, U. S. imperialism—like every other imperialism—and Roosevelt as its governmental director preferred the victory of Franco as the lesser evil. They did so because, in spite of what Browder and Norman Thomas and The Nation tried to tell them, they knew that the only alternative to a Franco victory was not a victory for the bourgeois-democratic government of Negri but the victory of the Spanish proletarian revolution. And anything, anything whatever, is for imperialism, for any imperialism, preferable to the proletarian revolution.

As always in serious matters, not words or ideals, but the class criterion proved to be decisive.

**Labor Looks Through  
The Press**

By ARTHUR HOPKINS

President Wilkins of Oberlin College urges revision of the neutrality act to forbid sale of implements of war to any foreign nation. "It is obviously absurd," he says, "that we should strengthen the military hand of a potentially hostile state." But it's damned good business—for the bosses.

Advertisement: "For 27 cents, Porto Rican nighties, hand embroidered and hand appliqued, meant to cost much more!" Isn't it just dandy that those Porto Rican girls aren't as "unreasonable" as our American girls, and are "willing" to work for five cents a day?

Senator Henrik Shipstead of Minnesota, in "explaining" his vote against the \$725,000,000 relief appropriation, which failed of passage by one vote, says: "I will vote for more money later, if necessary." Meanwhile the unemployed lopped off relief rolls can sleep in the parks and eat grass. The Senator is noted for his "dry humor," but the unemployed might appreciate it more if he had waited for summertime to display it.