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FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY FOR:

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On Labor Unity

President Roosevelt was instrumental in initiating the negotiations for unity between the A.F.L. and C.I.O. For Roosevelt unity means avoiding the necessity of taking sides; it means a greater chance of getting a united labor vote for his party; it means fewer jurisdictional squabbles and consequently a more effective prosecution of any war that he may drag us into.

To these reasons the intelligent worker is utterly indifferent. He has more important reasons of his own for desiring and demanding unity—unity based on the acceptance of industrial unionism in the mass production industries.

The achievement of unity in the ranks of labor would, at the present time, constitute a tremendous stride forward. It would increase the defensive power of the working class, something that is absolutely necessary now when reactionary forces are mobilizing to take back every concession labor has gained in the last several years; it would, perhaps, stimulate an organizing campaign such as the separation of the C.I.O. from the A.F.L. was responsible for.

To some it may seem curious that both the breach and the healing of the breach in the ranks of organized labor can bring about similar results. That is nevertheless the case. The organization of the workers in the mass production industries on an industrial basis was so vital that the separation of the C.I.O. from the A.F.L. to achieve that objective was more than justified. That split set the workers into motion with progressive results that are well known to everybody.

And now that industrial unionism has succeeded in organizing some of the mass production industries, the unification of the forces of labor—always on condition that industrial unionism in the mass production industries is to be taken for granted—would arouse great enthusiasm among the workers and might well lead to another great influx of workers into the ranks of organized labor.

The only ones who will really benefit henceforward from disunity are the bosses. From now on the two organizations will attempt to organize the same workers and the bitter disputes and rivalries that will inevitably result can be beneficial only to the employers.

No one doubts the keen desire of the rank and file of both the A.F.L. and C.I.O. for unity. The main obstacle to achieving that goal is the fear of the A.F.L. reactionaries that unity with the C.I.O. might threaten their position of leadership. Nor are the ambitions, truce-like and grand-stand playing of John L. Lewis favorable factors for achieving unity.

Progressive workers of both organizations must give the leaders to understand that once industrial unionism in the mass production industries is accepted, all other questions can and should be compromised and no considerations of personal prestige and ambition should interfere with accomplishing that unity which will mean so much to the working class.

Battleships Before Relief

The "economy-minded" Congressmen slashed \$50,000,000 from W.P.A. funds. These same Congressmen didn't make a squawk about the two battleships of 45,000 tons each that the President ordered built at an expense of approximately \$200,000,000. Nor did the President suggest that perhaps the money spent for the battleships could very well go for relief. There may be a slight disagreement between Roosevelt and some Congressmen as to how much should be cut from W.P.A. but there is no disagreement on the proposition that battleships come before relief.

What Do They Fear?

The House of Representatives has just passed a bill sponsored by Representative Dempsey which provides for the deportation of an alien advocating any change whatsoever, whether by legal means or by force and violence, in the present form of government of the United States.

The bill is so broad that if an alien happens to belong to any American organization, whether religious or fraternal, which advocates an amendment to the Con-

stitution, he will be liable to deportation as "undesirable."

If he applies for citizenship and participates in any movement of a political nature, even if it is so mild that it does no more than invoke the right of petition, he will imperil his chances of becoming a citizen and might be deported at any time up until his final papers are issued.

During no previous period of war in the nation's history has any bill as drastic as this ever succeeded in worming its way through Congress—not in 1776, not in 1812, when the U. S. was at war with England, not in 1848 when the U. S. fought Mexico, not in 1860 when the U. S. plunged into civil strife and turmoil, not in 1898 when the U. S. engaged in war with Spain, nor again in 1917 when the U. S. followed the rest of the imperialist nations into the vortex of the World War.

The bill constitutes a violent break with the official American tradition which at times has welcomed aliens to our shores and has always prided itself as furnishing the world's sole haven for the persecuted and oppressed.

Can it be that the structure of American capitalism has become so flimsy and shaky, has approached so close to the brink of collapse that even the mildest shadow of criticism endangers its existence?

Casado's Last Chore

After surrendering Madrid last Tuesday, General Casado went to Valencia and issued a bogus proclamation, in the name of the Communist Party, summoning its local leadership to party headquarters. When they arrived, they were surrounded and taken prisoner by Casado's forces, taken to prison in trucks—and turned over for punishment to Franco when he occupied Valencia a few hours later. After this final task, Casado and his staff boarded a British warship at Gandia and fled to France.

What an utterly vicious act of vengeance against those with whom Casado collaborated so closely until March 5! He had learned these methods in the Stalinist school which produced Miaja. How many such monsters, trained to cynicism and corruption in the school of Stalin, have been let loose to destroy the labor movement everywhere—including, as in the case of Valencia, the local leaders of the Communist parties?

The New Leader, organ of the Social Democratic Federation, and the Socialist Call, Norman Thomas' organ, have justified the Casado coup against the Communists on March 5. These people are beneath contempt: calling themselves socialists, they have not the slightest instinct of class-solidarity. They are blood-brothers to the Socialist, Besteiro, who joined Casado in the March 5 coup.

They Rewarded Him

In Aliquippa, Pa. a worker who was too old to do any work and who couldn't find a job even if he tried, was given \$3.60 a week for relief. Overwhelmed with gratitude at this generosity the worker volunteered to clean the streets for six hours a day and six days a week.

He died and was buried in Potter's field. As a reward for his loyalty to the masters, a collection was made to remove his body to a regular cemetery.

The poor worker! He didn't understand that he had earned his relief allotment a thousand times over. He had slaved away for his bosses during his lifetime and had produced tens of thousands of dollars of profit for them. He was by right entitled to a decent pension and some comforts during his old age. He didn't understand all this and his reward for his failure to understand was a collection after his death.

There may be other workers with that same slave psychology. We must help educate them before they receive a similar "reward."

"Poor Little Poland"?

Now the tangle of imperialist rivalries in Europe is trying to straighten itself out in the form of a bloc pledged to defend Poland, and possibly Rumania, from Nazi attack.

Should this arrangement work out—and that is still far from certain—we would begin to hear, no doubt about "poor little Poland" under the Nazi heel.

"Poor little Poland"! Will the bosses of Britain, France, and this country call upon the workers to defend "democracy" in Poland? Will the Stalinist patriots here and in those other countries echo this cry? We may be sure they will, if the bosses want it that way.

But they will forget that in Poland the Ukrainian minority has been crushed, the Jews vilely persecuted, the Germans, Czechs, and other minorities kept in virtual bondage. They will conveniently forget that Poland has been and is a military, semi-Fascist dictatorship.

This is the "democracy" they are talking about defending!

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By Leon Trotsky

STALIN'S CAPITULATION

(Continued from Page 1) thanks to the manifold advantages of the totalitarian regime. Stalin is his own Benes and his own General Syrov. He replaces the "principles" of his policy precisely in order not to find himself replaced. The Bonapartist clique wants to live and govern. Everything else is for it a question of "technique."

In reality, the political methods of Stalin are in no way distinguished from the methods of Hitler. But in the sphere of international politics, the difference in results is obvious. In a brief space of time Hitler has recovered the Saar territory, overthrown the Treaty of Versailles, placed his grasp on Austria and the Sudetenland, subjected Czechoslovakia to his domination and a number of other second-rate and third-rate powers to his influence.

During the same years, Stalin met only defeats and humiliations on the international arena (China, Czechoslovakia, Spain). To look for the explanation of this difference in the personal qualities of Hitler and Stalin would be much too superficial. Hitler is indubitably cleverer and more audacious than Stalin. However, that is not decisive. The decisive things are the general social conditions of the two countries.

REAL DIFFERENCES EXIST

It is now the fashion in superficial radical circles to lump the regimes of Germany and the U.S.S.R. together. This is meaningless. In Germany, despite all the state "regulations" there exists a regime of private property in the means of production. In the Soviet Union industry is nationalized and agriculture collectivized. We know all the social deformities which the bureaucracy has brought forth in the land of the October Revolution. But there remains the fact of a planned economy on the basis of the nationalization and collectivization of the means of production. This staffed economy has its own laws which accommodate themselves less and less to the despotism, the ignorance, and the thievery of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

Monopoly capitalism throughout the entire world, and particularly in Germany, finds itself in a crisis that has no way out. Fascism itself is an expression of this crisis. But within the framework of monopoly capitalism, the regime of Hitler is the only possible one for Germany. The enigma of Hitler's success is explained by the fact that through his police regime he gives highest expression to the tendencies of imperialism. On the contrary the regime of Stalin has entered into irreducible contradiction with the tendencies of dying bourgeois society.

SPEECH IS A TRIAL BALLOON

Hitler will soon reach his apogee, if he has not already done so, only to plunge thereafter into the abyss. But this moment has not yet arrived. Hitler continues to exploit the dynamic strength of an imperialism struggling for its existence. On the other hand, the contradictions between the Bonapartist regime of Stalin and the needs of economy and culture have reached an intolerably acute stage. The struggle of the Kremlin for its self-preservation only deepens and aggravates the contradictions,

WORKERS' FORUM

GANDHI IS WORSE THAN HE SAID

Editor of the Socialist Appeal Dear Friend:

In a recent issue of your paper one of your writers remarked that Mahatma Gandhi had furnished the British with 1/2 million Indian soldiers during the World War.

This is not true. Gandhi did a much better job for the British! He organized almost 3 million soldiers for them—1 1/2 million of whom were killed in fighting for British imperialism. They fought in Mesopotamia, Turkey, Arabia, the Gallipoli campaigns (where alone close to a million died), other Near Eastern sections and France. Close to a billion dollars was raised by Gandhi for the British war chest.

These 3 million workers and peasants of India were misled by the false promises of freedom given to them by the British imperialists and their friend Gandhi. But since then they have learned differently! Gandhi is again preparing to do the same thing, as your writer remarks. But I believe it correct to say now that never again will an Indian fight willingly in the army of the British.

For example, the workers and peasants refuse to follow false leaders like Gandhi, the British will never be able to recruit a single soldier to do their dirty work. Indians who really believe in the independence of their country will fight only in their own army—that of the workers and peasants—against Britain and its slave "democracy."

I will be pleased if you publish this correction and thank you for your interest in the struggles of India for its freedom.

Fraternally yours, K. A. Khan—an Indian worker April 2, 1939

ON ATTACKING PRES. ROOSEVELT

Editor: Many of the militants in my W.P.A. union object to your broadside attacks against President Roosevelt. I feel that your paper ought more adequately to answer the arguments of these workers.

For example, the workers ask: "Didn't Roosevelt do more for labor than any other President?" "Didn't Roosevelt give us the W.P.A. and the Wagner Act?" "Didn't Roosevelt give us work relief for the first time?" "So why knock the hell out of the only guy that's ever tried to do something for labor—we don't see the Appeal knocking the Republicans like

leading to an incessant civil war at home and on the international arena, defeats which are the consequences of that civil war.

What is Stalin's speech? Is it a link in the chain of a new policy in process of formation, basing itself on preliminary agreements already concluded with Hitler? Or is it only a trial balloon, a unilateral offer of heart and hand? Most likely the reality is closer to the second variant than to the first. As a victor, Hitler is in no hurry to determine his friendships and enmities once and for all. On the contrary, it is to his utmost interest that the Soviet Union and the western democracies accuse each other of "provoking war." By his offensive Hitler has, in any case, already gained this much: Stalin who only yesterday was almost the Alexander Nevsky of the western democracies is today turning his eyes toward Berlin and humbly confesses the mistakes made.

TOUGH JOB FOR COMINTERN LIARS

What is the lesson? During the last three years Stalin called all the companions of Lenin agents of Hitler. He exterminated the flower of the General Staff. He shot, discharged and deported about 30,000 officers—all under the same charge of being agents of Hitler or his allies. After having dismembered the party and decapitated the army, now Stalin is openly posing his own candidacy for the role of principal agent of Hitler. Let the hacks of the Comintern lie and get out of this how they can. The facts are so clear, so convincing that no one will succeed any longer in deceiving the public opinion of the international working class with charlatan phrases. Before Stalin falls, the Comintern will be in pieces. It will not be necessary to wait for years before both these things come to pass.

Coyoacan, March 11, 1939.

P. S.—After Hitler's entry into Prague rumors spread of a return by Stalin into the circle of the democracies. It is impossible to consider this excluded. But neither is it excluded that Hitler entered Prague with proof of Stalin's estrangement from the "democracies" in his hands. Hitler's abandonment to Hungary of the Carpatho-Ukraine, which did not belong to him, is a fairly demonstrative renunciation of plans for a Greater Ukraine. Whether this will be for any length of time is another question.

In any case, one must consider it likely that Stalin knew in advance the fate of the Carpatho-Ukraine and that is why he denied with such assurance the existence of any danger from Hitler to the Soviet Ukraine. The creation of a common frontier between Poland and Hungary can also be interpreted as a manifestation of Hitler's "good-will" toward the U.S.S.R. Whether this will be for long is still another question.

At the present pace of development of world antagonisms, the situation can change radically. But today it would seem that Stalin is preparing to play with Hitler.

L. T. Coyoacan, March 24, 1939.

FRANCO FORCES VICTIMS INTO SLAVE GANGS

(Continued from Page 1)

toiling masses lent a grim overtone to the telegram sent to Franco on April 1 by Pope Pius, expressing "sincere thanks for Spain's desired Catholic victory" and conferring his Apostolic blessing on the Spanish Butcher.

F. D. Recognizes Franco President Roosevelt accorded diplomatic recognition to the Franco fascist regime and simultaneously lifted the arms embargo on Spain on April 1. The haste with which Roosevelt moved to establish friendly relations with Franco was in grim contrast with his moves against Loyalist Spain during the civil war. Under his direction, Congress on January 8, 1937 declared an arms embargo which completely cut off Loyalist Spain from every type of war materials, while the fascists were in no way affected, since they received all their supplies from Italy and Germany, including much material imported from America ostensibly for Hitler and Mussolini but actually for Franco.

In Wilson's Foot-Steps On May 1, 1937, when the general neutrality law was adopted by Congress, legal experts stated that it did not specifically apply to civil wars and that, since it superseded all previous legislation relating to embargoes, Loyalist Spain was eligible to purchase arms here. Whereupon, on the same day, Roosevelt issued a proclamation specifically applying an embargo against Spain.

Roosevelt's speedy recognition of Franco's government is certainly not the pattern which would have been followed had the workers and peasants won in Spain. Like his predecessor, the "New Freedom" Wilson, who refused to recognize the Soviet government, Roosevelt would have refused to establish relations with a successful anti-fascist government in Spain. This is sufficiently evidenced by his cutting the Loyalists off from arms throughout the civil war.

tempt to save it from collapse at the expense of the great masses of toilers. There's not enough of this material in the Appeal. A simple analysis of the breakdown of American capitalism is I feel, what the workers need. Toledo, O. T. S.

Their Government By Jamse Burnham

During the past two months both Houses of Congress have passed, and Roosevelt has signed, a regular War Appropriations bill totalling over \$600,000,000. There has also been passed and signed a \$350,000,000 bill for the increase of the Army air force.

At the present time, joint committees of the two Houses are ironing out certain minor conflicts in two other bills, both of which are assured of passage within the next week or two: the regular Army appropriation, reaching more than \$500,000,000; and a bill making available approximately \$50,000,000 for the expansion and construction of naval bases.

Two further bills are also being prepared in committees: one allotting about \$50,000,000 in "educational orders" for war supplies; another for from \$50,000,000 to \$100,000,000 to buy up and store essential military supplies which must be brought in from abroad.

These that I have listed add up to \$1,600,000,000.

The Good Provider

But this is by no means the total to be spent on armaments during the next year. A number of military and naval items—for example, construction of military posts and encampments, airplane landing fields, Coast Guard, military roads, etc.—are carried in the budget under a variety of non-military headings: Treasury Department, C.C.C., W.P.A., and others. Such expenditures would add another several hundred millions.

Then there must be taken into account the sums appropriated during previous sessions of Congress which are now being used for the construction of hundreds of warships and airplanes. The present session will undoubtedly make a number of "deficiency appropriations" before it adjourns. The grand total for armaments, directly for armaments, to be spent during the next fiscal year will be far more than \$2,000,000,000. Indeed, since it is certain that a later session of Congress will add vastly to this sum before the next fiscal year is over, it is hard to place any limit on what will be spent. Three, four billions, even more, are entirely probable.

They are generous fellows, these Congressmen and this President. No one can charge that when they really take something seriously they stint on pennies. The instruments of death must be of the best quality. No battleship but the fastest and strongest will do; no machine gun but the most rapidly death-dealing; no gas but the most horrible in its effects.

And what a happy family they are when they get together to vote armaments! Nearly everyone of the armament bills has carried unanimously: Democrats and Republicans, New Dealers and Old Dealers, President and Congress, Marcantonio and Ham Fish and Carter Glass, all joining hands. Nor has their innocent pleasure been marred by any jarring notes from "business." Every section of business, every one of its newspapers and magazines, have remained discreetly silent or loudly praising while these billions have been voted.

The Picture's Other Side

During these same last two months, 88,000 men have been dropped from the W.P.A. rolls. That means about 400,000 persons who have been left with no means to get adequate food or warmth or housing or medical care.

The order has gone out to drop several hundred thousand more this week, twice as many next month, about the same number in June.

Congress is debating whether to advance \$100,000,000 or \$150,000,000 more to W.P.A. The \$50,000,000 difference can be translated into terms of food or hunger for a million or so persons. In the House of Representatives, where the lower figure carried, no one even dreamed of suggesting anything higher than \$150,000,000. But \$150,000,000 means dropping an average of at least 150,000 a month from the rolls.

Many members of Congress have explained that they consider it an outrage to vote a single additional dollar to W.P.A. In this opinion, "business" finds itself largely in agreement.

Appeasement for Whom and for What?

A naive observer from Mars or a South Sea Island might be a little puzzled if he should study this record of the last two months of Congress.

He might ask himself: Why is it that so many billions can be unanimously voted for one purpose, and then such haggling and bitterness over a measly fifty or a hundred million for another? He would discover, to his surprise, that the fifty million which divided the House on the W.P.A. deficiency bill is just half the price of a single battleship.

But he would soon be enlightened. Any Congressman or any businessman could easily explain this confusion.

Don't you realize, he would be told, that the government debt is so high and the yearly deficits are so large that we are headed straight for bankruptcy? Don't you understand that business is getting nowhere because it is strangled with so many taxes? Don't you see, then, that the only way in which the country can be saved from destruction is through a rigorous program of economy and more economy? W.P.A. has got to be cut to the bone or we'll go to pieces in no time.

And if our visitor replied: So that's how it is? I didn't understand about economy. Now I would suggest that if you need some real savings you could get even further by lopping a billion or two from these armament bills.

But, naturally, our Congressman or businessman would not be going to carry this type of conversation further. He would turn away, muttering: So, on Mars or the South Seas they don't even know the difference between economy and patriotism! He's an alien, by his own admission, and I'll see that he is deported, as he ought to be, for spreading subversive doctrines.

A Young Anti-Fascist Contributes To the Fund for Political Refugees

The American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees recently received a donation of \$5.00 for the German refugees from a seven-year-old contributor. Shortly afterward, the following letter arrived from this young anti-fascist:

Dear Sir: My mother said you would like to know how I got the money for the German refugees. First I thought I would get it from other people, but then I have found they all had tickets for it so I decided to get some money myself. I did the household jobs and used me allowance. I did the dishes, set the table and made beds, and that was all. I just got \$2.40 though, and the rest was given by my mother and my father, and my uncle. It took me a month.

I gave it because I liked the poor pretty well and I was reading about Hitler in the newspapers at that time. And I still think Hitler is a bum.

Yours sincerely, Richard