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Editor: MAX SHACHTMAN
Associate Editors: EMANUEL GARRETT
General Manager: MARTIN ABERN
Assistant Manager: SHERMAN STANLEY

FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY FOR:

1. A job and a decent living for every worker.
2. Open the idle factories—operate them under workers' control.
3. A Twenty-Billion dollar Federal public works and housing program.
4. Thirty-thirty! \$30-weekly minimum wage—36-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.
12. Full social, political and economic equality for the Negro people.

"I Hate War"

Lying phrases, an essential stock in trade of the liberal politician, have an unfortunate way of getting themselves remembered long after their utility has ceased. The "He Kept Us Out of War" slogan on which Woodrow Wilson was re-elected in 1916 had become a bitter joke within a year. And we suspect that President Roosevelt in his radio speech of last Sunday coined not a few phrases which will later on come back to plague him. Notable among these was his fervent "I hate war!"—a gag he has used on previous occasions and one that by now is beginning to spread at the seams.

There was little except phrases of one sort or another in the President's speech. The truth is that he was in a damnably uncomfortable spot, and he squirmed and twisted accordingly. The customary ring of conviction, the usual thrilling dramatic effects were absent from his voice. For this politician who for months has been whipping up the war hysteria, who has been organizing down to the last tent-peg and draft card the war mobilization of the nation, this ardent lover of democracy (across the Atlantic, that is) and doughty fighter against tyranny (also strictly trans-Atlantic)—had to advise his people to remain neutral, had to pull a long face and talk piously about the New Testament and brotherly love and "true neutrality" and "spiritual values." When all the time he longed to be leading the world crusade of fire and sword.

But the President was unable to deny himself the pleasure of a few hints, and some of them none too subtle, as to the future direction of his Administration's policies. "When the peace has been broken anywhere," he said, "the peace of all countries everywhere is in danger." He also revealed that the American frontier, as defined by the War Deal, takes in by now a considerable stretch of territory, namely, "the Western hemisphere and the seas adjacent thereto." (The economic frontier, by the way, in the matter of jobs and opportunity, is a much less expansive affair: here the New Deal can suggest nothing more promising than Alaska.)

The most notable of the President's side-remarks, however, was the at-first-glance innocuous statement: "This nation will remain a neutral nation, but I cannot ask that every American remain neutral in thought as well." One remembers that in 1914 President Wilson, in a neutrality address in similar circumstances, urged Americans to be "impartial in thought as well as in action." The difference between Wilson and Roosevelt's formulations is the difference in the tempo of imperialism today and then. Roosevelt has no intention of waiting three years before he enters the war.

Cannon Fodder--at Union Rates

In the last war, Gompers and the AFL bureaucrats led the workers of America into the slaughter like so many Judas-goats leading sheep into the killing pens. This time, the mantle of Gompers is divided between William Green and John L. Lewis.

The Steel Workers Organizing Committee recently made contracts providing that employees absent "because of war service" retain their seniority ratings. When General Motors last spring

purged many of its alien employees in order to get war orders, the United Auto Workers made no protest.

But the most open indication of the war-mongering position of the CIO bureaucracy was the keynote speech John L. Lewis made at the Pittsburgh convention last fall.

"The United States of America," he boomed, "is under increasing pressure in the realm of foreign affairs. . . . It is possible that we will have to meet the German dictator as he tries to extend his domain into the realm of the Western hemisphere. If that day comes, who is going to sustain the United States of America? Who is going to man its industries? Who is going to send its young men to military ranks to engage in war? Labor—Labor! Who is going to protect the institutions of this country, those that are meritorious? Labor! Who is going to protect the titles to property and great wealth down through the generations in America? Labor—Labor! . . . The workers of this country will never make anything out of war. They merely work and sweat and fight and die. Some one else takes the profits."

It was a grim black picture Lewis painted. But then, master of oratory that he is, he triumphantly concluded with *The Way Out*: "In consideration of all these things, in consideration of the fact that we are Americans, and that we believe in the principles of our government, and that we are willing to fight at any time to maintain that flag, we are going to ask from those who are the beneficiaries of that service and that attitude and that loyalty, we are going to ask proper treatment for ourselves—proper treatment for ourselves!" (*Proceedings, First Constitutional Convention, p. 9*)

What an inspiring prospect for the American workingclass! Messers the bourgeoisie! cries this mighty chieftain of labor, if you expect us to make your war for you and die for your institutions ("those that are meritorious," that is) we demand—proper treatment! Don't expect our heart's blood unless we get time and a half for overtime! Union shop in the trenches! Lewis only forgot to insist that the union label be placed on all ammunition, and that CIO gunners refuse to handle "scab" shells.

If this was the keynote of last year's CIO convention, what may we expect from this fall's gathering? Only strong rank-and-file pressure on all delegates will prevent it from turning out to be an orgy of social-chauvinism unparalleled since the last war.

STYLE NOTE: Says Sylvia Dawes, just returned from an extensive tour of Europe: "Out of the grim preparations for war have come one bright spot—the influence of military uniforms on styles and fashions. Some of the smartest clothes and hats have been designed along military lines, particularly the hats."

Social-Patriotism

What name shall we give to those repulsive creatures—the Leon Blums in France, the British Labor Party leaders, the Abraham Cahans and Algernon Lees of the Jewish Daily Forward and the Social-Democratic Federation, and the Stalinists—who peddle this imperialist war among the workers as a war for which the workers should gladly die?

During the First World War, Lenin popularized the term "social-chauvinists" or "social-patriots" to describe those who gave lip-service to socialism but were actually lackeys of their "own" imperialist governments. Socialism in words, chauvinism in deeds—that was the Judas role of the Second International in 1914-1918.

That is still the role of the Second International. In all the "democracies" these lackeys are once more serving as recruiting-sergeants.

Stalin's latest betrayal of the working class, the Hitler-Stalin pact, has been exhaustively exposed in these pages. But only those can honestly indict Stalin who come to court with clean hands, namely the revolutionary internationalists who denounced Stalin's betrayal of the working class to the "democracies" as decisively as they now denounce his alliance with Hitler.

The social-chauvinists of the Second International are now loudly denouncing Stalin for his latest crime. But his previous crime of subordinating the workers of France to Daladier, of America to Roosevelt, etc., that crime they hailed and joined in, and paid Stalin for.

When Leon Blum was premier of France with Stalin's support, his paper, *Le Populaire*, developed extreme discretion concerning the first Moscow Trials. Stalin's G.P.U. executioners and spies ran amuck in France, with immunity. In Spain, Caballero and Prieto were hand in glove with Stalin—and the Socialist press said not a word about the Moscow Trials or G.P.U. assassinations of revolutionists. And these people and their like have the effrontery to express pious indignation at Stalin!

They and Stalin are cut from one pattern—playthings, tools, of the imperialist powers. As we refuse to recognize that one of the imperialist camps is less foul than the other, so we fail to find an iota of moral superiority as between a social-chauvinist or a Stalino-chauvinist. Both are traitors to the working class. Against both we shall wage irreconcilably the revolutionary struggle.

The Last Turn



Some Timely Words

In the Struggle Against War

As both warring camps justify themselves in the name of "national independence," it is well to remember the slogans and promises under which the First World War was fought. "Poland" merely replaces "Belgium," the "Beast of Berlin" is heard once again, as is "British world-dominance." And now, as then, the "socialists" support "their" governments, with the so-called "Communist" parties joining the chauvinistic chorus.

After the war is over, many of the chauvinists will repent, as they did after the last war. Almost everybody admitted that the war of 1914-1918 was waged under lying slogans—that is, almost everybody until this new war began!

Timely Words
But in 1914 few saw the truth, fewer still had the courage to proclaim it to the world. The leader of the anti-war forces was Lenin. In 1915, in the midst of the war, he wrote the draft resolution of the left wing delegates to the Zimmerwald anti-war conference of Socialists. His words are as timely today as then:

"The World War, which has been devastating Europe for the last year, is an imperialist war waged for the political and economic exploitation of the world, export markets, sources of raw materials, spheres of capital investment, etc. It is a product of capitalist development which connects the entire world in a world economy but at the same time permits the existence of national state capitalist groups with opposing interests.

"If the bourgeoisie and the governments seek to conceal this character of the World War by asserting that it is a question of a forced struggle for national independence, it is only to mislead the proletariat. . . . Equally untruthful are legends concerning the defense of democracy in this war, since imperialism signifies the most unscrupulous domination of big capital and political reaction.

"Imperialism can only be overcome by overcoming the contradictions which produce it, that is, by the Socialist organization of the advanced capitalist countries for which the objective conditions are already ripe.

They Betrayed Workers
"At the outbreak of the war, the majority of the labor leaders had not raised this only possible in opposition to imperialism. Prejudiced by nationalism, rotten with opportunism, at the beginning of the World War they betrayed the proletarians of all countries, unite!"

PARTY ASKS AID IN GETTING ON N. Y. BALLOT

(Continued from Page 1)
"We want to confront the candidates of the capitalist parties, of the wildly patriotic social democrats, of the treacherous 'Communist Party,' with our revolutionary socialist program on the real issue of the day—the issue of barbarous capitalist war or a free workers society.
"To enable us to do this job effectively, we urge every party member, every sympathizer, every friend, every reader of the *Socialist Appeal* to chip in and help us get the necessary 5,000 signatures to place Shaachtman and Paine on the official ballot in their respective boroughs.
"Branches of the party in the Bronx, in the Downtown, Upper West Side, Lower East Side and Needle Trades sections of Manhattan are holding open air meetings regularly to obtain the necessary signatures. Give

them a hand! Party sympathizers and readers of the *Appeal* can avail themselves of petitions at the City Office, 116 University Place.
"Do your bit!"
"Help put over the Socialist Workers Party's election campaign!"
"Join hands with the only anti-war party, the only party fighting Fascism in action!"

As against all illusions that it is possible to bring about the basis of a lasting peace, the beginning of disarmament, by any decisions of diplomats and the governments, the revolutionary Social-Democrats must repeatedly tell the masses of the people that only the social revolution can bring about lasting peace and the emancipation of mankind.
And the manifesto of the Zimmerwald conference, penned by Leon Trotsky, concluded with this ringing call:
"Proletarians!
"Since the outbreak of the war, you have placed your energy, your courage, your endurance at the service of the ruling classes. Now you must stand up for your own cause, for the sacred aims of Socialism, for the emancipation of the oppressed nations as well as of the enslaved classes, by means of the irreconcilable class struggle.
"It is the task and the duty of the Socialists of the belligerent countries to take up this struggle with full force; it is the task and the duty of the Socialists of the neutral states to support their brothers in this struggle against bloody barbarism with every effective means. Never in world history was there a more urgent, a more sublime task, the fulfillment of which should be our common labour. No sacrifice is too great, no burden too heavy in order to achieve this goal: peace among the peoples.
"Working men and working women! Mothers and fathers! Widows and orphans! Wounded and crippled! We call to all of you who are suffering from the war and because of the war: Beyond all borders, beyond the reeking battlefields, beyond the devastated cities and villages—
"Proletarians of all countries, unite!"

The Way Out
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The New International
116 University Place
New York City

A detailed history of WPA is contributed by Dwight Macdonald. Every important aspect of the relief policies of the Roosevelt Administration are examined in this story of the WPA, which can well be called the most thorough-going exposition of relief history yet written. The article is at the same time so simple that every WPA and unemployed worker should be reached with a copy.

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HIGHLY INTERESTING ISSUE OF NEW INTERNATIONAL APPEARS

The September number of *The New International* is off the press and on sale. Featured in this issue is editorial comment on the Hitler-Stalin Pact, reviewed only briefly in this issue, since the pact was signed as the magazine went to press. The forthcoming number will have an exhaustive review of the outbreak of the European war, the significance of the Stalin-Hitler Pact and the future role of American imperialism.
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Had There Been A Liebknecht In Parliament

Karl Liebknecht stood up in the German Reichstag in December 1914. Around him the social-patriots vied with each other in their eagerness to vote the government war credits. Liebknecht, however, shouted his "NO" and that "NO" was heard by the working class of the whole world.
Last week the British Parliament in an orgy of patriotism voted the government full dictatorial powers for the prosecution of war against Germany. Laborites, conservatives, and the "Communist" Gallacher stamped over each other to vote the government war powers. Four members of the Independent Labor Party feebly cast "nay" votes; Maxton, in doing so, bade His Majesty's imperialist government to go out and work for peace among the boss nations. Had there been a Liebknecht in the British Parliament this is the kind of speech he would have made:

Who Will Fight against Fascism?

"The government is preparing for war. It asks powers so that it may conduct this war. And all the gentlemen of His Majesty's loyal opposition scamper to nod assent.

"These loyal flunkies of imperialism are quite ready to accept the official deception that this will be a war against fascism, to defend 'poor little Poland.' And since it is not their blood that will be shed on the battlefield, they are ready, nay eager, to spread this deception among the working people.

"Yes, war against fascism is indeed honorable. It is necessary. If the government were capable of waging war against fascism, I, too, would vote 'Yes!' But the war against fascism cannot be fought by this government. It can only be fought by the working masses, striking at the root of the fascist disease. And above all, it can only be fought with, and not against, the workers of other lands, especially of Germany.

"This government presumes to fight against fascism: it is anxious to save Poland. Miserable fraud. It cares little for 'poor little Poland.' It will sell Poland to Hitler if a satisfactory price can be arranged.

Is There Democracy?

"What the government does care about, and that a great deal, is the vast colonial empire—India with its 375,000,000 people; Ceylon with its great tea, rice and coconut plantations; South Africa with its gold and diamond mines; the harbor of Hongkong; Australia with its wool, meat and grain, Malay with its rubber and tin, and so forth. To defend these, conquered through the years by the mailed fist of imperialism, it will go to any length.
"The government pleads fearfully for the defense of democracy. Democracy! There are 550,000,000 people in the British Empire. At least 500,000,000 would willingly give their right arms to be free of our 'democracy' in which they have no freedom, rights or security, but must work at bayonet point. If the government were interested in fighting fascism it would start with its colonial administrations, the colonial 'fuehrers' who yield nothing to Hitler in terror and brutality.

"Democracy indeed! When the very powers asked for today wipe out democracy; put the powers of dictation in the hands of a board that speaks not for the people, but for the land-owners, industrialists and financiers. And you, Messrs. Laborites, you Mr. Greenwood and Co.; you too, Mr. Gallacher, yours is the slavishness of servants who for a small bribe, a little extra favor, spy upon, and betray their fellow workers. Yes, betray.

"The honorable Mr. Greenwood, Laborite, plausibly deplores the war clouds. He abhors war. And he has certain criticisms of the government. But Mr. Greenwood, who presumes to speak for millions of Labor supporters, hastens to add that the foe will not find us a disunited people. Precisely. That is Mr. Greenwood's function in society. Oh no, he is not a supporter of the government. He is its loyal opposition. It is his job to oppose that government on all issues except where it really matters. It is his job to see that the government gets the proper window dressing in order that labor may be deceived into purchasing its wares. It is his job to see that the people are not disunited as between worker and boss, that they are deluded into believing themselves members of one happy family of good democratic Englishmen.

"The honorable Mr. Greenwood adds that no democratic country will make war. Mr. Greenwood conveniently ignores the 'democracy' of the Empire. And he speaks a deliberate lie. Mr. Greenwood knows that wars are not made by one or the other country. That they stem inevitably from the system of capitalist exploitation that Mr. Greenwood supports, of course in his own 'oppositional' way. Hasn't it long been exposed to every thinking being that the last war was not provoked by Germany alone, but by every one of the ruler nations? Twenty-five years after the First World War Mr. Greenwood, who would 'dispel' the war clouds, resurrects a fraud.

"We heard another honorable Laborite speak. This one, an Independent Laborite no less. Mr. Maxton says: 'I record my opposition to the Prime Minister's mandate to go to war. But I give the Prime Minister a complete mandate and complete support for him to go into the world and make a new call to the nation to build a new civilization that will abolish poverty and inequality.' Mr. Maxton asks His Majesty's government of exploiters to lead a revolution to abolish poverty and inequality.

"The fight against fascism is also a fight against such powers as the government seeks. I will defend democracy by opposing powers of dictatorship for a war that the people do not want—that is not their doing, from which they can gain nothing. I will defend Poland by offering the Polish workers my comradeship and support in their struggle against their oppressors, inside or outside of Poland. I will fight German fascism by joining hands with German workers against their exploiters. And I will show them I mean business by fighting the exploiters whom our government represents.

"That is the way to fight fascism. That is the way to defend democracy. The main enemy is at home!"

ON THE WAY TO THE TRENCHES: Five youthful pickets for peace were ordered off the Iowa state fairgrounds shortly after opening an anti-war campaign before a preparedness exhibit.