

SOCIALIST APPEAL
VOL. III, No. 73 Tuesday, September 26, 1939

Published Twice-Weekly by the
SOCIALIST APPEAL PUBLISHING ASSN.
at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.
Telephone: ALgonquin 4-5647

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for six months. Foreign: \$3.00 per year; \$1.50 for six months. Single copies 2 cents per copy in the United States; 3 cents per copy in all foreign countries. Single copies: 3 cents.

Bronx and Manhattan subscriptions are: \$1.50 for six months; \$3.00 for one year.
*Reentered as second class matter February 16, 1938, at the post office at New York, N.Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Editor: **MAX SHACHTMAN**
Associate Editors: **FELIX MORROW** and **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—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.
 12. Full social, political and economic equality for the Negro people.

Stalin's Invasion of Polish Ukraine

(Continued from Page 1)

The secret motives which prompted this immediate military action are not known to us. Whether there was a secret agreement with Hitler for the partition of Poland; whether Hitler's army advanced further than Stalin anticipated and the invasion of the Red Army was hastily decided as a protection of the Soviet border from the fascist "partner"; whether a re-shuffling of the diplomatic and military alliances is already anticipated or feared, with Hitler, bought off by France and England with backing for an attack on the Soviet Union from the vantage ground of conquered Poland—the secret moves and the hidden cards are not known to us.

Real Road to "Liberation"

But we do know that Stalin's military invasion of Eastern Poland is inspired solely by the one motive that inspires all the actions and policies of the Stalinists—the self-preservation of the bureaucratic caste. The Ukrainian and White Russian people were not consulted; their rights and desires are of no more concern to Stalin than to the Polish masters who ruled and oppressed them up to yesterday.

The unhappy people who suddenly find themselves under the gruesome "protection" of Stalin will find the road to their true liberation only when they unite with their brothers on the Russian side of the border in a determined struggle for an independent Soviet Ukraine, a stage in the revolutionary struggle for the re-constitution of a Soviet federation of free peoples purged of the treacherous parasitic caste of bureaucrats whose name is Stalinism.

This idea, advanced with remarkable foresight by Comrade Trotsky some months ago, reveals itself already as the great illuminating slogan of the peoples caught in the three-sided trap of Stalin, Hitler and the allied imperialists. This slogan of self-determination, penetrating deeply into the mass of Ukrainian people can fuse them together across all the artificial national borders and inspire them with the hope of salvation.

The Need Is Social Revolution

The defense of the Soviet Union, i.e., the defense of the great conquests of the October revolution in the field of economy, will not be weakened, but on the contrary would receive a mighty reinforcement by the revolutionary overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Ukraine and the construction of an independent Soviet republic there. Such a free republic would unquestionably, and of necessity, turn immediately to the masses of Great Russia with the proposal of economic, political and military cooperation in a reconstituted Soviet federation, rouse them to their feet and aid them in a revolutionary fight to wipe the accursed bureaucracy off the face of the earth.

By the inspiration of this example the incalculable revolutionary energies of the German proletariat, dammed up so long by the combination of fascist terror and Stalinist betrayal, could again find release and sweep through Germany and all Europe in a mighty, irresistible flood. Humanity, trapped in the bloody shambles of another war, would find the way out on the road of social revolution. The war, in fact, so far from sounding the death knell of revolution, as philistines, pessimists, skeptics and cowards imagine, has put the social revolution on the order of the day. The slogan of an independent

Ukraine is at this moment one of the most important strategic slogans to set in motion the new revolutionary upsurge.

It is primarily from this point of view that revolutionary workers should view the present events in the eastern section of the old Polish imperialist state.

No Faith in Shibboleths

Let philistines and muddle-headed dupes discuss these events in terms of the abstractions and shibboleths coined by the different imperialist camps for purposes of deception. "Defense" and "Aggression," the inviolability of artificial national borders established by previous military force, the struggle of "ideologies," the "right" of one gang of imperialist robbers to what they have previously stolen and the "right" of another gang to regain what it has lost and conquer more—all this kind of talk is conscious deception to fool the people. Whoever permits himself to be swayed or influenced in his judgments by such considerations, whoever indulges in this kind of chatter, thereby takes his place either as a conscious agent or a helpless dupe of one imperialist camp or another. The revolutionary movement, under penalty of annihilation, must rigorously quarantine its ranks against these infections.

On exactly the same order is the "democratic" clap-trap about the identity of bolshevism and fascism, and about the Soviet Union and Hitler's Germany being one and the same thing. This "idea"—to dignify a stupid fraud with a designation it does not deserve—is only the "ideological" justification for the advocacy of a war of "democracy versus totalitarianism," and is almost invariably followed by it. That is all right for imperialists and their social-democratic lackeys. They need deception, they need to muddle things up in order to lure the worker into a war against his own interests. But it is shameful and impermissible for a revolutionary worker to toy with these false and treacherous formulations. Those who do so have already put one foot in the camp of the class enemy.

Stalinist Bureaucracy Doomed

The nationalized economy established by the October revolution has shown its vitality and superiority under every test over a period of more than twenty years of world crisis and internal convulsions. It survived the early wars of intervention and a great civil war in a country already devastated by the ravages of Russia's participation in the world war. It has survived over an agonizing period of fifteen years of the Thermidorian reaction of Stalin. Stalin could physically destroy a whole generation of the men who made the revolution, but he could not destroy its fruit—the new system of nationalized economy. He could undermine it, weaken it, choke its development and reduce it in many respects to a frightful caricature of its natural operation under a truly revolutionary regime. But up to the present he has not been able to overthrow it.

The mission of the reactionary Stalinist bureaucracy was to destroy all the conquests of the October revolution and transform the Soviet Union into a colony of world imperialism. But, after fifteen years, the Stalinist bureaucracy enters the period of the new World War, which spells its doom in any case, with its reactionary mission uncompleted. The nationalized economy, distorted and twisted out of shape in many respects, still retains its basic features. That is the great difference between the Soviet Union and all the capitalist states, including the fascist.

The war will prove which is the stronger. If the Stalinist bureaucracy is not overthrown by the Russian masses, the Soviet economy will surely go down in ruins and be superseded by the restoration of capitalist private property and a genuine fascist counter-revolution. On the other hand, if the Soviet masses overthrow the bureaucracy, they will be able, thanks to the economic system inherited from the October revolution, to overcome all adversaries, and the Soviet system will conquer all of Europe in a revolutionary solution of the war.

They lie who say that the Soviet Union and the fascist countries are the same. They lie who say there is nothing left of the social conquests of the revolution worth fighting for. The issue is not yet decided. We know that Stalin is capable of any treachery. But Stalinism, by its very nature, is a transitional regime. It is incompatible with the further existence and development of the Soviet economy. It is incapable of conducting a war. The war, which it fears above all because it necessarily arms the masses and sets them in motion, draws its bloody days to an end.

Will the Soviet Union itself, will the nationalized economy perish with the perfidious regime of the bureaucracy, or will the Soviet Union, purged of the bureaucracy by a victorious political revolution, surge up with a new invincible power?—that is the question to which the further development of the war will undoubtedly give an answer.

Let those predict the worst disaster who will; an identification of the Soviet Union with fascist capitalism is a renunciation of the struggle in advance. There is not a trace of revolutionary will in such an attitude. But the revolutionary worker will cling to the end to everything that remains of the great conquests of October and defend it, arms in hand, against all enemies. That is the way matters stand in all events affecting the Soviet Union in these fateful days.

C.P. Ordered to Work for Victory Of Stalin-Hitler War Alliance

Browder and Company, in a Breath-taking Political Somersault, Drop the Cause of the So-Called Democracies In Order to Espouse the Cause of the New War Alliance

By **JOSEPH CARTER**

The Communist Party has just announced its new line on the war situation in a Declaration to the American People. (Daily Worker, Sept. 19.)

I. THE CHARACTER OF THE WAR

1. "The war that has broken out in Europe is the Second Imperialist War. The ruling capitalist and landlord classes of all the belligerent countries are equally guilty for this war," it declares.

But . . . the day after England and France declared war on Germany, following the latter's invasion of Poland, the Daily Worker wrote:

2. "There are, broadly speaking, three fronts: the front of fascist aggressive imperialism which has been waging the war for the past two and a half years. There is the camp of bourgeois democracy, against which this war is directed, but had been retreating. And then there is the third front, the real peace front, which, so far, includes the Soviet Union as its main country along with the many forces and peoples throughout the world who support it." (Daily Worker, Sept. 4. Questions and Answers.)

II. WHAT SHOULD THE MASSES IN THE BELLIGERENT COUNTRIES DO?

1. The recent Declaration of the C.P. states:

"Communists in all the belligerent countries are exposing the imperialist and predatory character of the war, they will vote against war credits, they go among the soldiers at the fronts and the masses at home explaining that this war will bring the people nothing but misery, burdens, destruction and death."

But . . . the Communist Parties of France and England voted for the same war, told the soldiers at the fronts and the masses at home that the war is for "national security" and "against fascist aggression!"

2. The Daily Worker endorsed these treacherous actions of their colleagues:

"Maurice Thorez, general secretary of the great French Communist Party, has presented himself for military service with the army of France. . . . Now that Munich has led to war, Thorez, the Communist leader beloved of the French people, offers his life to defend the national security of France." (Daily Worker Editorial, Sept. 6.)

The next day its London correspondent reported that the Communist Party of England "vigorously proclaimed that it continues to work more actively than ever to help win the war against fascist aggression." (Sept. 7.)

III. WHAT SHOULD THE AMERICAN PEOPLE DO?

1. The latest line states:

"First, allow no single meas-

Roosevelt Message to Congress Session Speeds War Intervention

(Continued from Page 1)

veiled to Landon—"national unity," "patriotism," and "non-partisanship" in the crisis. In other words, the authoritative spokesmen of both boss parties pledged that in relation to the war no personal or factional differences will interfere with their united defense of the interests of United States imperialism.

As the Special Session opened, seventeen members of the impotent isolationist bloc, headed by Senators Borah, Vandenberg, Hiram Johnson, Clark and LaFollette, held their own opposition conference to map parliamentary strategy. This conference was equally secretive and equally pledged to unity, patriotism and non-partisanship.

More and more the fight opening up in the Special Session takes on the character of a farce. Both groups are striving to appear to the public as the defenders of peace and the champions of the "battle to keep America out of the war." At the same time both call for ever bigger armaments, and both want legislation which will enable the Sixty Families to gain a maximum of war profits.

At the same time, by the smokescreen of a bitter-end fight over the arms embargo, both groups aim to suppress the democratic demand for a popular referendum to decide the question of entry into the war. If either of them actually were serious about keeping this country out of the war, how could they argue against the popular referendum?

While Congress was opening, the delegates to the special Pan-American conference were gathering under the guns of the coast artillery at Panama. This meeting, designed to complete the work of the Lima Conference in bringing all of Latin America under the firm domination of Washington, is to be supervised by the reactionary Under-Secretary of State, Sumner Welles.

Roosevelt has asked the Special Session to confine its work exclusively to revision of the Neutrality Act. Insofar as this means paying not the slightest attention to the terrible condition of the unemployed, left stranded by the Roosevelt-Woodrum relief bill, which has sent WPA rolls down to a new low of 1,600,000, insofar as it means no measures whatever that would be of benefit to the workers of the country, he will undoubtedly have his way.

Nevertheless, it is quite probable that the war measures to be taken by the Special Session will not be limited to repeal of the embargo. New armament appropriations, new bills aimed at civil rights, new legislation preparing for conscription and M-Day may well reach the floor before the session adjourns.

Roosevelt ended his speech on an ominous note:

"I should like to be able to offer the hope that the shadow over the world might swiftly pass. I cannot. The facts compel my stating, with candor, that darker periods may lie ahead. . . ."

"Further, in the event of any future danger to the security of the United States or in the event of need for any new legislation of importance, I will immediately reconvene the Congress in another extraordinary session."

Let no one be under any illusions about the "new legislation of importance" which Roosevelt had in mind when he spoke: He meant, simply and flatly, the declaration of war.

Harlem Mass Meeting
"THE NEGRO AND WAR"
Wed., Sept. 27, 8 p.m.
at the Y.M.C.A.
180 West 138th St.
SPEAKERS:
E. R. McKinney
Rueben Plaskett
Nathan Gould
Stanley B. Jobs
ADMISSION FREE

Bound Volume of SOCIALIST APPEAL
NOW AVAILABLE
First 6 months of 1939
(52 issues)
\$2.00, including postage
Order now from:
SOCIALIST APPEAL
116 University Pl.
New York City

IN THIS CORNER

By **Max Shachtman**

The military alliance between Hitler and Stalin, cruelly attested by the partition of Poland, undoubtedly has deeper implications than appear on the surface. We do not refer to the latest discoveries about the Soviet Union and the Stalinist regime made by the Serious Thinkers of the "democratic front." When it appeared that Stalin would enter the war against Hitler on the side of England and France, these Thinkers were magnanimously willing to paste the label of democracy on the Moscow autocrats. Fundamentally imperialist patriots, both before the Stalinist pact and after it, they are now just as lightmindedly declaring that there is, not, after all, a particle of difference between Hitler and Stalin, between Fascist Germany and the Soviet Union.

They never understood the first thing about the Soviet Union, its regime and its foreign policy, and they don't understand it now. That—in the best case; quite often, however, they understand well enough but are interested for good and patriotic reasons in not having anyone else understand.

The New Bureaucracy

Among the forces that impelled Stalin to make the pact with Hitler, there is one that has received no treatment in the general press: the new bureaucracy that has developed in Russia in the recent years.

Before his saddening capitulation to the Stalinist clique, Christian Rakovsky wrote in exile one of the most interesting and penetrating analyses of the transformation of the Soviet ruling circles we have ever seen. He traced the profound changes that had taken place in the leading staff of the Bolsheviks after more than a decade of the revolution. Most of those who had gone through the rigors of the fight against czarism, of the world war, of the two revolutions and the civil war and intervention that followed, had grown tired. World revolution? Perhaps, but not in our time; so why waste efforts on promoting it. Faith in the vast resources that had brought them to power, gave way to cynicism. The isolation of the country was taken for granted, and with it the perpetuation of inequality. Stalin? A scoundrel, but a brutal one you couldn't afford to antagonize until he broke his own neck. Meanwhile, hold fast to everything you can, including the not inconsiderable and not uncomfortable privileges of the bureaucratic hierarchy.

And these privileges, which gave the party functionary a decent apartment in town and perhaps a country house, with a servant or two, an office car at his disposal, plus, perhaps, one of his own, a letter and then a much better gown for his wife, plus a bit of finery—all these contributed to the general atmosphere that imperceptibly but inexorably washed out of his consciousness all the revolutionary feeling and spirit that made possible the great working class triumph in November 1917.

Since Rakovsky made this study, which we reprinted some time ago in the *New Internationalist*, the transformation has proceeded at a terrific pace. The decisive element in the Soviet bureaucracy is no longer the degenerated old Bolshevik. In fact, his whole generation has been wiped out physically—ex-oppositionists and capitulators along with real oppositionists. Its place has been taken by a new generation which now makes up the bulk of the bureaucratic apparatus.

No Ties With the Revolution

The new bureaucracy has no real ties with the grand revolutionary tradition. The tradition is either horribly distorted or else looked upon with the upstart's contempt. The socialist foundations upon which the life even of a man like, let us say, Zinoviev, was built and maintained, at least to one degree or another, are entirely absent in the new bureaucratic layers. To the latter, socialist terminology and slogans play about the same role as did the anti-capitalist slogans of the Nazi machine a few years ago: a means of duping the contemptible masses.

All of them, of course, are ardent champions of the theory of "socialism in a single country," which, as Trotsky pointed out in 1928, gives them a feeling of Messianic Russian superiority. This feeling has been fostered systematically by the purely Great Russian patriotic propaganda of the past years, the glorification of most of the despots of czarist times, of victorious reactionary generals, and the like. It is not by accident that the newly-appointed official, equipped with plenipotentiary powers by the Kremlin, operates in the provinces, and especially in the national republic of the Soviet Union, in the spirit of imperial arrogance so characteristic of the czar's minions.

It is inconceivable that this bureaucratic layer, entirely devoid of the spirit of socialism and internationalism, is playing with grandiose ideas of imitating the "successes" of Hitler, for whom ever so many have a feeling of purely totalitarian admiration? Far from being inconceivable, it is more than likely. A gang that was able to frame-up and destroy the whole leading staff of the Bolshevik revolution on the most infamous of charges, is capable of anything. They are far from having reached the boundaries of their degeneration; they still have more than one "surprise" in store for us.

How much pressure does this layer exert upon the formation of official Kremlin policy? Far more than most people imagine—both direct and indirect pressure. There is no doubt in our mind that their influence will be even more openly revealed in the period ahead. A little thing like a military alliance with Hitler, another detail like partitioning Poland, or the Baltic or the Balkans, with Hitler, still another detail like carving up China between Russia and Japan—all these are trifles in the mind of an eager and rapacious bureaucracy which is interested entirely and exclusively in keeping itself in power.

And if its self-preservation means the radical alteration of the foundation of present-day Soviet economy, it will not hesitate too long before making that alteration, even if it means the restoration of capitalist private ownership of the means of production and exchange. "During the war," Trotsky said two years ago, "the allies can impose on the Soviet Union such concessions that the Soviet state can become a bourgeois state."

What percentage or section of the bureaucracy will be the victim of such concessions, and what percentage the beneficiaries, may soon be seen. In any case, it is not decisive. Decisive for the salvation of the remaining conquests of the Russian Revolution is the position and the action that will be taken by those numerous millions in whose hands lies Russia's future—the now gagged and fettered workers and peasants.