

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Vol. III, No. 74 Friday, September 29, 1939

Published Twice-Weekly 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. Single copies: 2 cents per copy in the United States; 3 cents per copy in all foreign countries. Single copies: 2 cents.
Bronx and Manhattan subscriptions are: \$1.50 for six months; \$3.00 for one year.
"Reentered as second class matter February 16, 1939, at the post office at New York, N.Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879."

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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.

Spy Scares

Watch out for the spy scares!

The Roosevelt Administration, Edgar Hoover, Attorney General Murphy and, following their lead, the entire capitalist press (to say nothing of the social-democratic rags), are working with might and main to work up a spy hysteria.

Why? Because a spy hysteria is a necessary part of the campaign to work up a war hysteria.

Why? Because a spy hysteria is aimed particularly at all those who refuse to be hornswoggled into another war, who oppose American participation in the imperialist slaughter and who expose the war-mongers.

We haven't forgotten for a minute what happened in the United States during the last World War. The spy-scare machine worked overtime. Every union that tried to resist wage-cuts, or that tried to get higher wages and better conditions for its members, was denounced as "inspired by the Kaiser's secret agents." Every socialist and radical who told the truth about the war, who pointed out that it was not a war for democracy but a war for imperialist plunder, ran the risk of being mobbed or arrested as a "German spy." For every real German secret agent who was nabbed, literally hundreds of working-men and revolutionists were hounded and persecuted.

We haven't the slightest doubt that there is a substantial number of German spies operating in the United States as elsewhere. But neither do we doubt that there are at least as many British spies and agents in this country. For that matter, every power, the United States included, has its spies at work in every other country of any importance. And "a plague on all your houses" is our attitude to the whole gang of them.

But American Labor would be making a tragic mistake if it allowed itself to be buffeted by the cunning spy scare that is being worked up now for the double purpose of stampeding the country into the war on the side of the Allied imperialist pirates and of bulldozing the labor movement into docile acceptance of every dirty dish served up to it by the employers and their war-mongering government.

The First Battle

The apathy of New York voters towards the candidates of the Democratic and Republican parties as revealed in primary returns should act as a spur to every worker out gathering signatures on the nominating petitions for the two candidates of the only anti-war party in the field—the Socialist Workers Party.

This apathy is not a reflection of disinterest in the sudden jacking-up of the prices of food-stuffs and other household commodities which has been put through by Wall Street as a preliminary to bigger and better profits from the blood-soaked fields of war; nor a reflection of lack of interest concerning the LaGuardia fraud of paying Wall Street \$326,000,000 for the city-owned subways; nor lack of interest in LaGuardia's intention to raise subway fares.

It is a reflection of the profound realization among the working class people that the capitalist parties are 100 per cent behind Wall Street's recruiting sergeant in the White House, 100 per cent behind Wall Street's war for redivision of

the world, and 100 per cent behind Wall Street's drive for profits by any means and at any cost in working class lives and suffering.

Any party which succeeds in getting on the ballot with a clarion call to all workers to unite in relentless struggle against Wall Street's war will gather behind it millions of New York voters.

The ominous silence of American Labor Party leaders as to their stand on war makes still more imperative that the Socialist Workers Party get its candidates on the ballot.

Into your neighborhood with nominating petitions! Canvass your friends for signatures!

Make the battle to get on the ballot the first resounding success in the fight to end imperialist war forever!

Pilate Socialist

Our proud claim to be the only genuine anti-war party in the United States is sometimes challenged by a reference to the alleged anti-war stand of the Thomasite Socialist Party. The challenge is most easily disposed of by a direct examination of the position of the S.P.

The fight against the imperialist war is not a fight at all unless it is carried on in deadly earnest and with militancy and consistency. It is not a fight at all unless it is carried on primarily against the war-mongers operating right inside the labor movement itself. For if the labor movement does not take an independent and hostile attitude towards the big-shot war-mongers, unless it relentlessly purges its system of the poison represented by the social-patriots, there can be no talk of a serious struggle against the war.

The Socialist Party's National Executive Committee has issued a "Declaration against War" (Socialist Call, Sept. 23). We quote two sentences from it which, as we see it, are more important and more revealing than all the rest of the statement.

"Failures and mistakes such as these contributed to the present situation in which many European Socialists felt that they have no choice except the lesser of two evils. It is not for us to denounce the immediate choices of our European comrades in their present dilemma. . . ."

"It is not for us to denounce," say Thomas and Hoan, and along with them the rrrrevolutionary "Clarityites" Zam and Tyler.

And why not? The Call is filled with denunciations of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union. It attacks the Stalinist war-mongers in the capitalist countries, and it doesn't spare words or mince them. By what right does it refrain from whitewashing the Stalinist patriots by saying of them, too, that they "feel that they have no choice except the lesser of two evils"?

The arrant hypocrisy of these Pontius Pilate "Socialists" is still clearer when one bears in mind that the "European Socialists" of whom they speak are none other than the official affiliates of their world fraternity, the Second International. Thomas, Zam and Tyler are brothers-in-arms in that "International" of the British Labor Party and the French Socialist Party, whose leaders are the indispensable assistants of British and French imperialism. Chamberlain and Daladier couldn't carry on their war for five minutes without the active and zealous support of Atlee, Greenwood, Blum and Faure, the Judas-goats of the working class.

Thomas knows that. Zam knows that. They know that "our European comrades" are guilty of infamous treachery against the working class. But . . . "It is not for us to denounce."

For our part, we do not have the same hesitancy. The struggle against war is much too serious a matter. We do denounce. And for their polite silence about the criminal socialist-imperialists in their Second International, we denounce them as tacit accomplices of the Greenwoods and Blums who have dragooned the British and French working class into the trenches of war.

Suggestions Wanted

The current issue of the *Young Communist Review*, official organ of the Stalinist youth organ of the Stalinist youth organization in this country, went to press before the Stalin-Hitler pact was actually signed. Also, evidently, it went to press before Browder got his instructions from Moscow to turn over like a flapjack. For here is what the leading editorial has to say about the pact:

"Should Germany undertake aggression against Poland, the Soviet Union would denounce its pact."

We suggest one of three things for the Stalinists to do in this embarrassing case:

- (1) Expose and fire the editor as a smuggler of Trotskyist contraband.
- (2) Suppress the current issue of the magazine (if they haven't already done so).
- (3) Come out in the next issue with the explanation that what they really meant was that "the Soviet Union would denounce its pact" with Poland.

Any other helpful suggestions from our readers will be promptly forwarded to the unfortunate editor of the Y.C.R.

Seamen All Over World Tell Bosses They Refuse to Shoulder War Burden; S.U.P. Prepares Real Fight

(Continued from Page 1)
up to \$150 for possessions lost if the ship sinks, continuation of pay in event of internment in a foreign country, and a promise to negotiate on the main demands.

After the ship owners had stalled for over a month on these demands, and the ships are out at sea, one can hardly expect them to suddenly capitulate to the NMU demands, especially since Curran did not obtain an agreement that the terms of any settlement would be retroactive.

As usual, the real fight for maintaining the union conditions and protecting the interests of the American seamen

will fall on the Sailors Union of the Pacific.

The SUP enters this battle with its militant banner waving high over the victory it achieved against the Maritime Commission and its fink halls.

Despite all federal government threats and maneuvers, Maritime Commission ships sailed last week with full crews out of the SUP hall! "You can't fight the government," Curran, and his Stalinist henchmen told the seamen of America when the fink hall issue arose. "We'll protect our hiring hall rights," Harry Lundeborg, secretary-treasurer of the SUP replied, backed by this militant union.

Is it a wonder that government officials are taking the SUP demands for bonuses and insurance ten times more seriously than all the speeches of Curran and company?

The SUP demands, voted by the membership on a coastwise scale, include: A 100 per cent increase in wages and overtime for crews on ships sailing to and from ports in war zones; on those vessels carrying munitions and contraband, the wages shall be the standard West Coast scale, plus 200 per cent increase; a \$10,000 life insurance policy; \$25,000 cash for permanent disability; \$250 for loss of clothing; wages if interned; transportation expenses if occasion demands; and an increase in personnel.

The state department was asked to give its interpretation of war zones, and negotiations with the Matson line, which sends ships to Australia, have begun.

While the SUP begins negotiating with the usual handicap of combating the lower standard agreements that Curran and the NMU crowd sign, the whole tradition and superior conditions of the West Coast Sailors are a good indication that once again the SUP will come through with a victory for the American seamen.

See Victory in SWP Drive To Get on New York Ballot

(Continued from Page 1)
assure the appearance of a candidate on the ballot.

Canvassers reported that in none after home their appearance had been expected by the people and hat they were greeted with warm sympathy. In other homes canvassers were asked immediately what party they represented; for if it was the Democratic Party, the Republican Party, or the Communist Party they would refuse to sign the petition. Upon being assured that the canvassers represented the Socialist Workers Party, they were invited in and asked to take a seat while all the available signatures in the family were rounded up:

In Manhattan, where the influence of Tammany Hall is stronger and where the orders of Tammany ward heelers to their supporters to block the signing of Socialist Workers Party petitions have had a greater influence than in the Bronx, similar successes, although not on such a wide scale, are reported.

Well above the legal number of signatures necessary to nominate a candidate have been secured and every indication points to a strong victory in Manhattan.

The importance of the election campaign of the Socialist

Workers Party was again emphasized by the two candidates, Max Shachtman of the Bronx, and George Lyman Paine of Manhattan.

In a statement issued today they underlined the fact that the Socialist Workers Party is the only political party in the entire field which stands on a platform of 100 per cent opposition to war and fascism. "The treacherous silence on the part of the leaders of the American Labor Party toward the war now raging in Europe," they declared, "and the open preparations of Roosevelt to plunge America into the blood bath and to straightjacket the labor movement with a military dictatorship, can be regarded as nothing less than betrayal of the basic interests of the working class."

War Hysteria Growing
"The importance of the campaign of the Socialist Workers Party in this election grows more important hourly as the war hysteria whipped up by Roosevelt and LaGuardia continues to gain in proportions."

"Every worker must support the SWP campaign now. It is a most important way of expressing opposition to Roosevelt's and LaGuardia's preparations to slaughter Americans on the battlefields of Europe."

Manhattan Candidate



GEORGE LYMAN PAINE

Walter Lippman, Voice of Wall Street, Reveals Boss War Aims

By SHERMAN STANLEY
The ruling capitalist clique of America has launched a determined drive to repeal the Embargo Act within the shortest possible time. The entire prostitute press and its paid hirelings are frantically at work attempting to din into the ears of the American people the astounding lie that repeal of the Embargo Act—will keep us out of war!

The sale and shipment of war supplies to one set of the belligerents—and the entire world knows that only England and France can make use of the "Cash and Carry" plan for the simple reason that Germany is effectively blocked off from America—is paraded before us as "an act of the purest neutrality." What a miserable fraud this is! Franklin D. Roosevelt's career has always been marked by the depths of its deceit and hypocrisy, but even he outdoes himself when he attempts to pose as a "neutral" while acting in complete consort with the Allied imperialist powers.

STATES THE CASE FOR REPEAL
Walter Lippman, familiar columnist for the New York Herald-Tribune, and fair-haired darling of the Wall Street speculators, has stated the case for repeal of the Embargo Act in his Saturday, September 23rd column. It is well worth looking into the words of this imperialist spokesman.

Lippman states that the issue, in its simplest form, is whether repeal or retention of the embargo will lead "the United States into war."

But Lippman is only prepared to tackle one angle of this problem. He carefully avoids any discussion as to what will be the results if the Act is repealed and F.D.R.'s plan is put into effect. Throughout his lengthy article and its involved argument, there is not the slightest admission (nor denial) that the "Cash and Carry" policy is a major step towards plunging us into the war.

WHAT'S WRONG WITH THE ARGUMENT

Why must we insist upon this point? What can be wrong with selling war supplies for cash only and which will be carried in other than American bottoms? How can that put us into the war?

(1) It commits the U.S. again (we say "again" because F.D.R. has already done so in numerous speeches and actions, such as holding up the Bremen) on the side of the Allied powers. "Cash and Carry" can only mean British and French cash, carried by British and French merchant ships.

(2) It returns the U.S. to the so-called system of International Law. But it was precisely this system that existed when Woodrow Wilson was successful in dragging America into the First World War. Far better would it be to call this the system of "incidents and provocations"! For example, under the International Law system, the authority of each nation extends to a point 3 miles beyond its coasts. All that is needed, then, is for German U-Boats to venture within this 3 mile limit and sink a British freighter carrying some of our war supplies. There we have an "international incident"! We can already hear the cries of American industrialists, merchants, ship-owners, insurance underwriters, bankers, etc., for "more adequate protection of our sales." Imperialist International Law, far from being a safeguard against war, is simply an excuse-providing system for war.

AMERICAN BUSINESS BOOM AHEAD

(3) "Cash and Carry" means at least a partial business boom in America. Everything indicates that the Allies will make huge purchases of war stocks and raw materials. This means that American business men, sniffing the warm smell of substantial profits after many lean depression years, will plunge heavily into expansion, building

and speculation on the Market. They will roll up huge surplus profits which they will seek to invest in the Allied countries or their dominions (Canada). The entire banking system of America, now stuffed with idle money and credits, will become geared to this boom and expansion—all of which is dependent in turn, upon the successes of the Allied powers.

(4) How long would it be before any "Cash and Carry" system is replaced by a purely "Credit" system? Already, the Senate Committee in charge of drafting F.D.R.'s bill is talking of changing the "cash" provision to a "90-day credit" provision. The American rulers will find a thousand and one loopholes in their own act as their needs require it. As profits mount, and orders pour in, the "Cash and Carry" policy will change to the same "Credit" policy as existed during the last war.

America will become the supply base, the life-breath, of the British and French. Whether the business is transacted in "cash" or "credit" makes slight difference. The effect is the same. American capitalism becomes an integral part of the "democratic" war machine. And this is called "neutrality"!

We can already hear the arguments of the 60 Ruling Capitalist Families. "We cannot let the Allies lose because then there would be a terrific industrial and financial crisis in America." "You workers must support our entry into the war or else you'll lose your jobs." And among themselves they will be saying, "What will happen to our profits? We must act swiftly or else our structure of profit will crumble."

This is the meaning of "Cash and Carry." Cash in on the war orders, carry the American people into the war!

(In our next article we shall take up Walter Lippman's arguments against retention of the present Embargo Act.)

Their Government By James Burnham

In a major naval engagement, the strategic plans of the general staff of the United States Navy provide that the airplanes on the aircraft carriers shall be "expended." This little word, under the circumstances, is not without interest.

What is meant is the following: The planes will leave the carriers in order to fulfill their various functions in the battle. While the planes are busy, the carriers, which are not equipped for serious combat, will retire far from the scene just as rapidly as possible. Those planes which are not shot down will, when their gas is exhausted, have no place to go to but the cold grave of the open sea.

The reason for the tactic is simple enough: planes and pilots are far cheaper and quicker to build than the \$50,000,000 aircraft carriers.

Little Lessons in Neutrality

Britain and France declared war against Germany on Sunday, September 3rd. The President was thereupon required, by the law of the land, to proclaim immediately an embargo against shipments of munitions to these two countries. He did not do so, however. The proclamation of the embargo was delayed until the next day.

Perhaps this was because the President, as a religious man, considered Sunday a day of rest. Perhaps, also, he had more material concerns in mind.

On Monday morning, three ships loaded to capacity with airplanes, cleared from Pacific ports for England and France. An interruption of the President's Sunday would have held those ships at the dock.

Not one of the airplane factories in the United States working on British and French orders has stopped or even slowed down production since the embargo went into effect. On the contrary, all of them have speeded up their lines.

No orders previously given by Britain and France have been cancelled. On the contrary, a number of new orders have been placed and accepted during the past two weeks.

Evidently the airplane companies are not alarmed by Senator Borah.

Since last Spring, the War and Navy Departments have been flooding veterans of the last war and reserve officers with requests to return to active service. The response has not been up to hopes. It takes dictatorial conscription to get men into the democratic war.

Early last summer, the War Department reorganized its operations on the basis of the following perspective: war in Europe in September; U.S. troops fighting abroad by Spring of 1940.

The Big Arms of the Big Brother

It was not prominently noticed that shortly after his declaration that the United States would defend Canada against its declared enemy, Roosevelt added that the United States would also defend all of the possessions of Great Britain, France and Holland in the Americas. These include the three Guianas in South America and more than a hundred islands scattered chiefly in the Caribbean and extending to the gulf of the St. Lawrence.

Somehow the isolationists don't seem to have noticed that these declarations are, in effect, acts of war, authorized in the best totalitarian manner by executive decree. No doubt the isolationists are so busy forgetting the Ludlow Bill that they didn't even hear about these declarations.

By them, the United States Navy and Army are committed, in advance and without any declaration of war by constitutional process—much less any expression of opinion from the people—to open up hostilities against Germany if Germany, in pursuit of her war aims, undertakes any actions against Canada or any of the British and French possessions in the Americas.

The armed forces of the United States are thus already intervening, and are altering the military balance.

New Boundaries for Old

In the old days, the territorial boundaries of a nation were accepted as extending three miles beyond its sea coast. The nation exercised sovereignty within this three mile limit.

During the last war, this three mile limit was extended to twelve miles, and "international law" tended to recognize the validity of the twelve mile limit.

Without any fanfare, and naturally without any legislation, Roosevelt two weeks ago added immense territories to the United States. When asked where the limits of jurisdiction extended, he answered quite simply: wherever United States' (read—Sixty Families') interests lay. Acting on this doctrine, he instructed the Navy and the Coast Guard to get to work protecting this vast new territory.

It is authoritatively reported that Philip Fleming will soon replace Elmer Andrews as Wage-Hour Administrator. Fleming, like WPA Administrator Harrington, is an army Colonel attached to the War Department.

All governmental agencies having to do with workers are, you see, being put into the firm hands of the army.

In the chief agency of all, the War Resources Board, the army representation is headed by Marshal, the Chief of Staff. But there the true and full relationship is made clear: for General Marshall is subordinate to Chairman Stettinius, of U. S. Steel and Morgan & Co.

"The official struggle of the government with high prices is only a deception of the masses. But the farmers, artisans, merchants, in their capacity as consumers, can step into the politics of price-fixing shoulder to shoulder with the workers. To the capitalist's lamentations about costs of production, of transport and trade, the consumers answer: 'Show us your books; we demand control over the fixing of prices.' The organs of this control should be the committees on prices, made up of delegates from the factories, trade unions, cooperatives, farmers organizations, the 'little man' of the city, housewives, etc." (Program of the Fourth International.)

Says Burton K. Wheeler, (D. Mont.) "It was the Versailles treaty that made Hitler possible. . . that sowed the seeds of the present Germany." Exactly, and it was capitalism that produced the Versailles treaty.