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**Hitler's Peace**

The great German military scientist of the Nineteenth Century, Clausewitz, made the profound and often-repeated statement that "War is a continuation of politics by other means."

Hitler's Reichstag proposals for a settlement of the present European conflict makes it possible to add to Clausewitz's maxim that "Peace is a continuation of war by other means," or, "Peace is an interval between wars."

Hitler's peace, like Hitler's war, is imperialistic through and through. It is quite natural that he should now propose peace, which suits him for two reasons.

First, if his peace terms are accepted by France and England, which is most unlikely, the result would not only be a great moral victory for Germany, but would give Hitler an opportunity to digest the gains he has made thus far and strengthen himself for the next advance against his imperialist rivals.

Second, if his peace terms are rejected, he will seek to pose as the unwilling combatant who, though a lover of peace, was forced to continue the war by the bellicose and bloodthirsty rulers of the opposing nations. In this event, his hand will undoubtedly be strengthened at least among certain sections of the German people. In addition, his direct agents and friends in the so-called "democracies"—and they run from the Fritz Kuhns to sections of the British and French ruling classes—will have a better basis for arguing that a settlement of the war on Hitler's present terms, with the possibility of turning Germany's expansionist lust against Russia, is far preferable to a protracted war which will menace the older empires with dissolution and—horror of horrors!—with revolutionary uprisings.

Yet, attractive as Hitler's peace may seem to certain people, among them those who think that even the worst peace is better than the best war, labor must reject it out of hand.

Reject it in order to support the war of the "democracies"? NO! Not for a minute and not in the slightest degree. Their peace and their war do not differ from Hitler's in any important sense. For years following the last World War, England and France were for peace—THEIR peace. And their peace meant the peaceful (that is, the unopposed) exploitation of the conquests they made in the war; their peace meant the continued subjection of their former and potential imperialist competitor, Germany, to the rank of a third-class power. Their war has the same objective.

It would, however, be idle to deny that the "democratic" imperialist statesmen have very cunningly exploited for their own base aims the sound feelings of the European masses. The people everywhere hate Hitlerism. The people everywhere feel that so long as Hitlerism is in power, there is no possibility of peace, no security against war. This truth is cleverly played upon by the war-mongers who repeat it in their propaganda every day so as to make available a steady supply of cannon-fodder.

But this truth is only a part of the whole truth. Hitlerism means war and the constant threat of war only in the sense that so long as the empires of the world are in the hands of the British and French and American ruling classes, just so long will the "poor" powers seek to take them over for their own exploitation, either by war or by "peaceful" means.

The threat of war, war itself, is inherent in

the rule of imperialism. Under that rule, no lasting peace is possible. Under that rule, what is called "peace" is only a breathing-spell between wars during which one or another gnag of imperialist pirates assimilates its spoils and girds for the conquest of new loot.

The "democrats" lie when they say that peace will be assured if they inflict a military defeat upon Hitler. They and their rule were an indispensable ingredient in the forces that brought Hitlerism into existence and into power. If these forces remained, and Adolph Hitler were defeated tomorrow, another Hitler or worse would arise the day after, and along with him his horrible wars and his worthless peace treaties.

The masses of the people long for peace and security. They can no longer stand a situation in which the sword of war hangs over them by a thread, week in and week out. Life is a nightmare when they do not know whether they will wake up tomorrow to find that they are being sent to the trenches to be slaughtered, or to live through a precarious peace for another day.

Peace and security—these are impossible under imperialism today. They can only be achieved by crushing the monster that rules the world. They can only be achieved by establishing a new, sane and orderly society, the classless order of socialism. Only then will the nightmare of Hitler's and Chamberlain's and Roosevelt's war and peace be removed from the life of mankind and relegated to an irrevocable past.

**New WPA Cuts**

Quietly, somewhere on an obscure inside page, the newspapers reported this Thursday that Lieut. Col. Brehon B. Somervell, WPA Administrator in New York, announced cuts in the wages of 13,000 WPA clerks, typists and guards of from \$5.20 to \$20.80 per month.

Unlike the September wage cuts on WPA, which were carried out on the pretext that they were required to conform with the new Federal Relief Act that pay scales in various parts of the country be equalized (a fancy word for "lowered"), the new cuts represent, according to Somervell, an independent act of the administration in Washington.

The government can't afford to keep the WPA workers on the old wage scale, to say nothing of raising it. It is true that the cost of living has risen and continues to rise higher every day, but just the same the government can't afford it. It hasn't too much money and what little it has available it must expend frugally and only for the most urgent necessities.

And since when is the life of an unemployed worker an urgent necessity?

Billions for arms and munitions—those are urgent necessities.

Millions for a bigger and better airfleet to rain down death upon the people—that is an urgent necessity.

Millions from the Export-Import Bank to Latin American countries to facilitate trade and profit of American employers—that is an urgent necessity.

But money for the unemployed? Sorry, none is available.

By the eternal, it's things like this that make us proud of the government we live under, and make us determined to fight to the last drop of our blood to maintain that government in the next war.

Any other suckers?

**Democratic Diet**

It seems to us that there are a lot of disgruntled and subversive elements, probably foreign spies or good-for-nothing agitators, who are trying to make a lot of hullabaloo about the miseries of war. Some of them even go so far as to say that while the rich get richer in the war, the poor get nothing but grief.

An announcement in the press, however, shows that at least in the present war the masses are going to be very well taken care of by the belligerent governments.

Take France, for example. Nobody's going to go hungry if the Great French Democracy can help it. The press announcement says that the French government has suspended all import duties on fresh and refrigerated horse meat until December 31.

Now that's what we call a thoughtful provision of an adequate and cheap supply of a good Democratic staple. Putting aside all false sentimentalism, the French Popular Front government says: Horses be damned, so long as the people get enough to eat!

For breakfast, the average Frenchman can have a dish of braised horse kidneys. A spot of lunch might be limited to breast of horse en casserole. For dinner, some horse rump roast or, for variety, a couple of horse-chops, not too rare.

That, at least, will make up the French Democratic Diet until December 31. Beginning with the new year, the rigors of war may compel the government to provide simpler and more frugal fare. And if anybody should be so infernally unpatriotic as to protest against the change, Daladier may well reply in paraphrase of Marie Antoinette: "If they can't get horses, let 'em eat rats."

**Brutality, Terror and Starvation-- The Measure of Life Under Hitler**

From Our Comrades Comes a Picture of Hitler Germany: Increasing Bureaucratization in Every Sphere of Existence As the Whip of Deeper Repression Falls Upon the Masses

By JEN

(This article, published in the July issue of "Unser Wort," is especially timely—though written before the war began—as an inside picture of Germany under fascist rule today.—Ed.) The more the National Socialist regime has succeeded in consolidating itself, the more bureaucratic has it become. Simultaneously with the disappearance of small businesses (the small shopkeepers are forced to participate in the national labor services), the number of offices and officials has grown in unprecedented numbers. Since everything is fundamentally state business, a special office is created for almost anything, which, for appearance's sake, is opened with a lot of ceremony.

New office buildings are being erected in all German localities—all in the one style permitted, "simple sternness," but actually expressing only a sober, frigid hardness. Every head makes himself and his bureau as important as possible. Thus the bureaucratic cancer constantly eats deeper and deeper.

**LOCKED IN THE VISE OF FASCIST ECONOMY**

The bureaucratic Nazi state in general tends to make dependent upon itself as many economic units as is possible. This is shown especially in housing, the many state-supervised economic undertakings and the management of highways. Feudal National Socialist ideology finds practical expression in low salaries and restrictions upon freedom of moving about. An entire army of skilled workers today travels throughout Germany, most of whom were forcibly re-educated and sent out by Defense Headquarters and 4-year Plan Administrations wherever armament works make them needed.

Lately, National Socialism has tried to make its way more and more into everyone's private life. Here Ley and Himmler complement one another quite well. One holds out the bait of "joyful relaxation." The other threatens everyone who dares to lead his life according to "liberal principles" with the concentration camp. It is impossible for anyone in Germany today to escape this vise.

In some way or other the most indifferent collide with National Socialism and must therefore recoil. The result depends entirely on how far one permits himself to go. After all, these are the same people who so frantically applaud the Fuehrer when he appears somewhere and then tell one another Hitler jokes when he has left!

If a young soldier suffers from harsh service, then his attitude towards the regime becomes negative. But if he is promoted to a petty officer, it becomes positive. The capitalist is angry about bureaucratic restrictions prescribed by the 4-Year Plan—negative attitude. But then, business is better under Hitler after all—positive attitude. If a clerk must work for the Labor Front his attitude will be negative because he has to sacrifice his free time. But his attitude will change if his post brings him advantages and privileges. The professional with a career before him forgets the petty, everyday annoyances and travels the prescribed line with the prescribed enthusiasm—he is the prototype of the National Socialist of today. The worker honored on posters, in reality without rights, keeps his trap shut tight—also as prescribed.

**SILENCE OF THE CONCENTRATION CAMP**

In Germany today he who cannot keep his trap shut well enough will surely land in the concentration camp. The art of silence must be mastered and is industriously practiced. The concentration camp is a school which teaches its subjects in concentrated form—there are a number of preparatory schools, with "easier" requirements. Training camps, re-education camps, camps for teaching "comradeship." Camps for students, teachers, merchants, technicians, poets, truck-drivers, prize fighters and members of singing societies. Everywhere, always, there are camps in which an official "comradeship" is taught, as the mistaking and icy behavior of these people who forcibly spend some time in them, is called. Every German at one time or other gets into one of these camps. Nothing but the official slogans as heard over radio and press are given in the "instruction"

at these camps. But here they are heard with emphasis! Since the German hears nothing else these slogans penetrate his speech and his general views. So it is that on the one hand these same people curse the regime and on the other hand, believe in "German blood and earth." So it is that most Germans pity the Jew and at the same time think he is preparing a world war against Germany.

Fear of war is great, but fear of revealing such a fear is greater because of dread of the Gestapo. Most German people do not know how terribly bad it is behind the barbed wire of the German concentration camp. The treatment of prisoners in the regular jails is relatively still as it used to be, but in the labor camp jails and correction homes, in the labor camps for swamp drainage, road building and construction of the Westwall, conditions are terrible. Such excesses as occurred at the Esterwege camp, where prisoners were forced to bite off the heads of live mice and had to sit on privy seats for hours, are rarer.

**ATROCITIES ARE THE REGULAR PRACTICE**

Beatings are the rule in all camps—not only where the SS men are, also where regular functionaries are in control. The number of self-mutilations and attempts at flight are very high, higher than is generally believed. It must also be kept in mind that only the smallest portion of the prisoners are real criminals—most of them are political oppositionists, homosexuals, religious fanatics, etc. People who haven't committed any unlawful act, but somehow or other got in dutch with the regime: an official with debts, a peasant who misused his farm, young people who became peddlers instead of working in a factory, drunks, comedians who were "too funny," people whose moral conception of life does not conform to the accepted, workers who did not accept the work allotted to them by the Labor Office.

Under the demagogic blanket characterization of "loafers" there are in the Sachsenhausen concentration camp near Berlin several thousand prisoners, most of whom fall into the following typical category: A painter living in Dueseldorf whose art didn't earn him enough bread went to the Labor Office to ask for work. They wanted him to do road building. Because of his weak constitution he begged for lighter work. The next day he was arrested by the SS and brought to Sachsenhausen. Many who have worked their entire lives now wear the green arm-band because they failed to contribute more often at collections. (A green arm band is worn by "loafers," a red one by politicals, homosexuals wear a pink one, professional criminals blue and Jews yellow.)

The German people know that things are not so good in the concentration camps, but few have any idea what unbelievable atrocities are committed against the prisoners because their tongues are paralyzed once they leave that hell. "They say they want to re-educate us—in reality, they want to finish us off." This is the opinion

of all prisoners and it is the truth. The SS guards are told to look upon everyone who comes into the camp as opposed to the State and who, at best, must be physically destroyed or at least must be so broken that he will be unable to even think of opposition. Some light is shed on these terrible conditions by the following example:

**APING THE TORTURES OF THE INQUISITION**

On Christmas, 1938, in Sachsenhausen, 29 prisoners committed suicide by touching the electrified wire surrounding the camp. "Leaping at the wires" is, for those who can't stand it any more, the usual thing in the concentration camps so as to put an end to the daily misery. The reason is not the daily misery, primarily, but the fact that they must endure it for a long time. Also, many prisoners who can count on being freed shortly as "loafers" and many of whom do not remain in camps for even a year, commit suicide.

The occupants of the concentration camps work 12 hours daily, including Sunday, with insufficient food. After work they must exercise. Last winter in Sachsenhausen those who collapsed during the exercises were simply covered with snow. The guards beat, kick and shove with their rifle butts at all times. The sick and old must work and exercise like everyone else. Very few report sick because it only means a beating or being deprived of food. Flogging, from 5 to 75 strokes, is the official camp punishment. Unofficial punishments are unlimited in number. They consist mainly of thumb-stretching and being hung by the arms from a tree—every torturer can give his particular sadistic impulses free reign. The days when only well known people were tormented before the others are over. Today, no one escapes cruel mistreatments. While the State wishes to keep public German life morally clean, a terrible wave of moral corruption is actually sweeping over Germany. Its victims are those in opposition to the barbaric system—the best part of the nation.

The "sterner" the "re-education" in the concentration camps became, the worse became the Gestapo investigation methods. Nevertheless, the German courts, aided by the Gestapo, try to deceive world opinion. A section of the German press, with a great hullabaloo at the end of April, 1939, reported a trial against members of the Illegal International Socialist Fighters Organization who were, incidentally, condemned to an average of 5 years each. In bold faced type these reports reported that the judge, after pointing to foreign press reports, asked the defendants whether they had been mistreated in the preliminary investigation. All declared that this was not the case. It is perfectly clear that they could do nothing but deny mistreatment, but how terrible the preliminary investigation must be is shown by the fact that in a central German city in which a trial against the ISFO also took place, out of approximately 20 defendants 3 are already in a lunatic asylum.

**IN THIS CORNER**

By Max Shachtman

From Frances Winwar, we have received a copy of an open letter to the secretary of the League of American Writers signed by fifteen writers, with the request for publication and editorial comment in our column.

After reading the letter, we are certainly glad to oblige.

The open letter to the Stalinist League says: "Despite the world-shaking events that have occurred since August 21, the formerly eloquent and been heard from. Nothing on the war, nothing on the Nazi-Soviet pact, nothing on the partition of Poland, in fact, nothing. Does this organization still exist? If so, has it anything to say to American writers and intellectuals on the following questions?"

"1. What is the character of the present war? Is it an imperialist war or a war of the democracies against Fascism?"

"2. What is the role of the Stalin regime in this war? Did the Stalin-Hitler pact advance the cause of world peace or did it promote Fascist aggression? Does the League approve of the partition of Poland between Germany and Russia?"

"3. Does the League still hold that the United States should cooperate with the Soviet Union in order to stop the onward rush of Fascism?"

"4. Does the League still maintain that the United States should adopt a 'collective security' policy? If so, what countries should be included in such a common front?"

"5. Does the League of American Writers still consider the Communist Party to be a force for peace, democracy, and socialism?"

"If the League of American Writers can recover its voice, we shall be glad to hear its replies."

The open letter is signed by John Dewey, Fred Dupee, James Farrell, B. D. N. Grebanier, Louis Hacker, Sidney Hook, Suzanne LaFollette, Ferdinand Lundberg, Eugene Lyons, Max Nomad, William Phillips, Phillip Rahv, Meyer Shapiro, Ben Stolberg and Frances Winwar. And what makes the open letter interesting is not so much the address to which it is sent, but the signatories who sent it. And it is with them that we ask permission to concern ourselves in the requested editorial comment.

Most, if not all the signers of the open letter are members not of the League of American Writers, but of the recently-formed Committee for Cultural Freedom, whose purpose is implied in its name. Now it seems to us that any writer who has advanced beyond the stage of the student who aspires to have his jokes and jingles published in the high-school paper, ought to understand that the maintaining of cultural freedom, to which the fifteen writers are dedicated, is inseparably connected with the problems raised by the present war. For example, what thinking person can believe that even the limited cultural freedom existing in the United States would be allowed to remain if and when this country entered the war? What thinking person can believe that any cultural freedom, or any culture, would be left in Europe if the war which threatens the total destruction of civilization is not brought to an end by a socialist re-organization of society?

In light of this, isn't it proper to ask that the fifteen writers, who really represent the League for Cultural Freedom, show a little more modesty in submitting questionnaires to the Stalinist League of American Writers? Or more accurately, that before they quiz the Stalinists about their war position, they themselves make clear their own position? For it is entirely possible and fitting to paraphrase the open letter and address it to the fifteen writers:

"Despite the world-shaking events that have occurred since August 21, the formerly eloquent League for Cultural Freedom has not been heard from. Nothing on the war, nothing on the Nazi-Soviet pact, nothing on the partition of Poland, in fact nothing. Does this organization still exist? If so, has it anything to say to American writers, intellectuals and protagonists of cultural freedom on the following questions:"

"What is the character of the present war? Is it an imperialist war or a war of the democracies against Fascism? If it is an imperialist war, why do League members Dorothy Thompson and Ben Stolberg call for support of one of the two imperialist gangs in the war? If it is a democratic war on the part of one camp, why doesn't the League come out in support of it in the name of cultural freedom?"

"What is the role of the Stalin regime in this war? And what is the role of the Chamberlain-Daladier regimes in this war, especially with regard to the League's pet concern—cultural freedom? Above all, since it is this country we live in, what is the role of the Roosevelt regime in this war; does the League support the Roosevelt war line or oppose it, or is it completely indifferent towards it?"

"Does the League plan to continue straddling or evading these key questions—to which it so imperiously demands an answer from the Stalinist intellectuals? Will it continue, as it has done from its inception, to ignore these questions out of fear (1) of committing itself and—(2) of establishing the fact that on the most vital issue of the day—most vital also with reference to cultural freedom—there is no possibility of harmony among the disharmonious elements who compose its committee?"

The open letter says derisively that "if the League of American Writers can recover its voice, we shall be glad to hear its replies." We paraphrase again: "If the League for Cultural Freedom can find its voice (or voices!), we shall be glad to hear its replies."

"With England at war and its people therefore unable to do their part in spreading the new testament gospel throughout the world, America must assume the burden," says Dr. Roland G. Leavell, superintendent of evangelism of the Southern Baptists. Pardon our crassness, Doctor, but to our poor limited intelligence, it would seem that during the war would be the very best time to push your program, especially the Sermon on the Mount.

Reg Pardon? Secretary of Interior Harold L. Ickes said the government will oppose vigorously "a rape of our natural resources" by war-time profiteers.

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