

SOCIALIST APPEAL

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FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY FOR:

- 1. A job a decent living for every worker. 2. Open the idle factories—operate them under workers' control. 3. A Twenty-Billion dollar Federal pub. works and housing program. 4. Thirty-thirty \$30-weekly minimum wage—30-hour week, maximum for all workers on all jobs. 5. Thirty dollar weekly old-age and disability pension. 6. Expropriate the S. & F. m. b. 7. All war funds to be employed. 8. A people's referendum on any and all wars. 9. No secret diplomacy. 10. An independent Labor Party. 11. Workers' Defense units against vigilantes and Fascist attacks. 12. Full social, political and economic equality for the Negro people.

Vote S. W. P.!

The Socialist Workers Party is running candidates in two cities of the east—New York and Newark, N. J.

Max Shachtman is the Party's Councilmanic candidate in the Bronx.

George L. Paine is the Party's Councilmanic candidate in Manhattan.

Alfred Loewenthal is the Party's Assembly candidate in Newark.

The main slogan of our Party in the elections may be summed up in one sentence: Cast your vote against the war and the war-mongers!

All the other parties are committed to the support of one or the other of the two imperialist camps now in conflict in Europe. The Socialist Workers Party is committed irrevocably to the support of the world-wide THIRD CAMP—the camp of the workers who have everything to lose in the war and nothing but poverty or coffins to gain.

Voting for the candidates of the SWP affords an opportunity of making a decisive demonstration against the war. Thousands of votes for the anti-war party in the elections will mean to the war-mongers that there are that many people who are supporting the most radical and determined opposition—a revolutionary opposition—to the war.

It is the war and the threat of full-fledged American involvement that are the main issues in the recent election. All other issues are subordinated to them, dependent upon them.

What can a housing program, so urgently needed, signify in the coming elections if a million coffins await the American dead in the war?

What can an improved transit system mean if millions are scheduled for a one-way ride to the battlefields?

What can democratic county reorganization mean if war breaks out and a military, totalitarian dictatorship is imposed upon the country? What will democratic rights mean if the generals rule and critics of war face prison walls or firing squads?

Demonstrate in the elections against the imperialist war! Vote for the candidates of the militant and uncompromising antiwar Party—the Socialist Workers Party! Vote for the international solidarity of the working class and toiling peoples against the warlords and assassins of the people!

Vote this way:

Table with columns for location (In the Bronx, In Manhattan, In Newark) and candidate names (MAX SHACHTMAN, GEORGE L. PAINE, ALFRED LOEWENTHAL).

Mussolini: Democrat

The democratic press of the United States, England and France is jubilant over Mussolini's reorganization of his cabinet. It doesn't bother to conceal its delight over the report, on the

ground that the ousted Blackshirts were pro-German, whereas the newly-constituted cabinet will be increasingly friendly to France and England.

Which way Mussolini will jump, or even the question of whether he will enter the war in the near future, cannot be answered conclusively at this time. In all likelihood, this third-rate power with first-class pretensions, will repeat the performance it enacted in the first World War. It will wait, first, to see which of the two imperialist camps will promise it the greater amount of booty, and, second, to see which of the two camps is most likely to win the war.

Mussolini never was and is not now "pro-German" any more than he was or is "pro-English," and any attempt to judge his course by such designations is absurd. He was and is: pro-Italian. Like his contemporaries, he makes and re-makes his alliances in the interests of the Italian Empire, and if it suits him better at the moment to hook up with France and England, or with any other power, he will not hesitate to make the choice dictated not by his views on "democracy vs. fascism" but by his views on what serves the Italian ruling class.

What is interesting, however, is the reaction of our "democratic" war-mongers in London, Paris, and Washington.

Chamberlain is determined that "Hitlerism must go" because it wiped out Poland by brutal military methods. But as soon as there is the prospect of an imperialist alliance with Italy, he doesn't hesitate at the idea of recognizing Mussolini's conquest of Albania, which stands on the same level.

Chamberlain recently issued a White Paper expressing horror and indignation at the treatment of political prisoners under Hitler. That, you see, is supposed to justify the sacred and democratic war against Germany. But now that Mussolini is supposed to be flirting with an alliance with England, it can be said with absolute certainty that Chamberlain will issue no White or any other Paper dealing with the treatment of political prisoners under Italian Fascism.

As a matter of fact, the unashamed imperialists of England, France and the United States will—we freely predict this—jump to the front in defense of Mussolini the Democrat, if Italy is lined up in their war camp. At first it will probably be explained that Mussolini is not as bad as he is painted; in fact, that he is a much-misunderstood friend of the people.

Then it will be said that Mussolini is, at all events, not so much of an anti-Semite as Hitler is; in fact, he has rid himself of the real anti-Semites who were insidiously supported and influenced by Goebbels. Besides all this, the Italian people are very quaint, they like Mussolini in their own quaint way, and they like above all the way he keeps the trains running on schedule.

After all, in the last Great War to Make the World Safe for Democracy, the Czar of all the Russias and the autocratic Son of Heaven who ruled the destiny of Japan were in the forefront of the struggle.

If Nicholas Romanov the Bloody could be a champion of the Crusade for Democracy, why not Benito Mussolini?

Stalin's Prisoners

Joseph Baskin, secretary of the labor fraternal order in this country, the Workmen's Circle, has made public a report of the arrest and imprisonment of a number of prominent leaders of the Polish and Polish-Jewish labor and socialist movements. Most prominent among them, and perhaps better known to many in the American movement, are such men as Heinrich Ehrlich and Viktor Alter, the former especially well known in what was the "left wing" of the Second International.

What is particularly important about Baskin's report is that the socialist leaders were seized in Warsaw when the city fell to the Nazis and then turned over to the Stalinist authorities, who spirited away the prisoners to the Soviet Union.

While Baskin's report is thus far not officially confirmed, we do not hesitate to say that we are inclined to give it credence. In any case, it is now clearly up to the Stalinist authorities or their spokesmen either to confirm or to deny the report. Those who have no illusions about the assassin in the Kremlin know, however, that he is quite capable of so abominable an act as is reported by Baskin. The gang that did not hesitate to frame-up and murder the best representatives of the Bolshevik revolution, would surely not turn a hair at hounding anti-Stalinist socialists to prison, or to death, in cooperation with Hitler, Hitler's army and Hitler's Gestapo.

We have our political differences with the Polish and Polish-Jewish social democrats, and we have no reason either to conceal or minimize them. But that would not prevent us for a single moment from protesting most forcefully against the shameless procedure Stalin is now charged—by Joseph Baskin—rightly, in all probability—with having followed.

It would be entirely in character for the Kremlin butcher-turnkey to work hand in glove with reaction in the arrest and imprisonment of any labor leader who commits the crime of refusing to bow to the Soviet despots.

CHARITY—SWEET CHARITY

The WFA-Slashers Open a Pious Drive to Let the Masses "Give"

Another terrible winter is descending on the unemployed. Another season of cold unheated homes, of inadequate clothing, slow starvation and dull hopeless misery. This winter will bring the unemployed more suffering than the years gone by. Relief budgets have been brutally slashed. Tens of thousands have been fired from the WPA. Weakened by years of semi-starvation they are all the more susceptible to the ravages of disease. The war boom together with the seasonal pick up have only absorbed an insignificant number of workers.

Against this background the yearly Community Fund campaign has been launched once more in every city of the United States. From all sides direct and indirect pressure is being applied to wring every possible dollar from the workers.

Pious Appeal

First came the indorsement of this campaign by men prominent in the public eye. No less a personage than the President who recently discharged tens of thousands from the WPA has made a heart-rending plea on behalf of the needy. He was followed by all sorts of pious business men, high-minded clubwomen, sanctimonious sky-pilots, and professional humanitarians. Forgetting political differences they have issued a unanimous appeal: "Give!" "Give until it hurts!"

Even if your earnings are meager give in order to help your more unfortunate neighbor. "Give for the sacred cause of Charity—Sweet Charity."

After this general appeal will come all forms of mass propaganda. Thousands of posters and circulars will shout "Give." The radio, the press, the pulpit, the screen will all shriek "Give, Give."

Then, the actual collection of funds will begin. Altruistic business men who have stopped at nothing to fight their workers' demands for higher wages will make contributions and will have their pictures printed in the newspapers. These same newspapers will uphold them as shining examples of the pure spirit of charity.

Shaking-Down the Masses Finally will come the real squeeze. Every worker will be approached in his shop or factory. While the worker will be told that his contribution is a voluntary one, he will be impressed with the idea that he had better give—or else.

Thus millions of dollars will be squeezed out of the workers. It will come out of the pockets of workers whose wages are not always sufficient to provide for the bare necessities of life. And then this money will be doled out to "deserving" families.

Vicious Scheme

The workers must not allow

themselves to be fooled by the hypocritical phrases of the charity agencies. They must struggle against the compulsory contributions to the Community Fund. They must do this not because they are indifferent to the suffering of the unemployed, but because the Community Fund is just another vicious scheme to shift the burden of supporting the unemployed on to the backs of the employed workers.

The workers are not responsible for unemployment. It is capitalism which creates unemployment and its terrible consequences. It is the capitalists therefore who must be made to provide for the unemployed out of their swollen profits.

VOTE FOR MAX SHACHTMAN AND GEORGE L. PAINE ON TUESDAY

(Continued from Page 1) plate their efforts at hurrying the American workers into it."

Meanwhile, plans are going ahead on all fronts of the election campaign.

Friday, Nov. 4, candidate Shachtman will address a big campaign rally at Herman Ridgely Junior High School, Boston Road and 173rd Street.

Saturday evening, at the corner of Tremont and Prospect Avenues, scene of many of the most successful election rallies, candidate Shachtman, George Clarke, Steve Parker and others will address a mass meeting which will be the culmination of a torchlight parade.

Monday evening, Nov. 6, the night before the polls open, Shachtman will speak at a mass rally on Walton Avenue and 170 Street.

Loud speakers are being engaged for the Saturday and Monday mass rallies.

Watchers Needed

Charles Rubinstein and Salvatore Ninfo, candidates of the American Labor Party in the Bronx, established contact with comrade Shachtman in order to petition jointly the Board of Elections for permission to have watchers at the polls. Under the New York election law, it is necessary for three candidates to submit a joint petition requesting watchers, and the petition of the three candidates is now before the Board of Elections.

Max Burt and George Clarke, who are in charge of the campaign headquarters in the Bronx, appealed today for members and sympathizers of the Socialist Workers Party to be in attendance at the campaign office, 1334 Wilkins Avenue, all day Tuesday.

How to Vote

The Campaign Committee again reminded all workers in Manhattan on the methods governing the write-in vote for candidate Paine. According to the

City Charter, "To vote for a person whose name is not printed on this ballot, write his name on a blank line under the names of the (other) candidates and put a number in the square opposite to show which choice you wish to give him."

Final arrangements for the distribution of election literature showed that 150,000 leaflets are being printed instructing workers on how to vote for Shachtman in the Bronx. The leaflets will be ready for distribution near the polls all day Tuesday.

First Choice

Dwight Macdonald, Secretary of the Campaign Committee, reminded workers today that a vote for Shachtman should be a first choice vote, bearing the numeral one (1) opposite his name on the ballot. Second and third choices, Macdonald stated should be cast for the official candidates of the American Labor Party, Rubinstein and Ninfo in the Bronx.

The Campaign Committee also cautioned workers to write in the name of candidate Paine clearly and legibly. The official name to be written in the Campaign Committee stated, is George L. Paine, which is the way his name appears on the nominating petitions.

UNSER WORT

The new issue of UNSER WORT, containing articles on the war situation will appear shortly. Order it from Dale Edwards P. O. Box No. 173, Sta. D, New York, N. Y. (12 copies 60 c.)

NOTE

The article on the situation in National Maritime Union, which was to have been contained in this issue, has been held over for the next issue.

THE MARXIST SCHOOL

announces its FALL TERM COURSES to be held at the Cultural Center, Room 201, 125 West 33rd St., N. Y. C.

Classes Begin Monday, November 20th

- 1. HOW CAPITALISM OPERATES TODAY Frank Demby Mondays—7:15 p.m.—8:40 p.m. 6 Sessions, \$1.00 A course in Applied Marxian economics, dealing with such matters as the basic causes of the breakdown of the automatic processes of the business cycle, war and inflation, economics under a fascist system, the economics of the farm problem, etc., etc.
2. SOCIALISM AND WAR Max Shachtman Mondays—8:50 p.m.—10:15 p.m. 6 Sessions, \$1.00 Beginning with the great wars and revolutions of the last century this course will proceed to a consideration of the theoretic and practical problems of today. What are just wars? How can the social conquests of the Soviet Union be defended? Why do Marxists condemn pacifism? How should we act in the present war situation?
3. THE DESTINY OF THE NEGRO J. R. Johnson Tuesdays—7:15 p.m.—8:40 p.m. 6 Sessions, \$1.00 This course will trace the history of the Negro peoples from their enslavement to their present struggle for emancipation and equality. The chief solutions for the Negro problem will be examined.
4. ELEMENTS OF SOCIALIST THEORY AND PRACTICE Tuesdays—8:50 p.m.—10:15 p.m. 6 Sessions, \$1.00 A course designed to suit the needs of young people and those in the labor movement who seek an understanding of basic principles.
5. ORGANIZING AMERICAN LABOR E. R. Frank Wednesdays—7:15 p.m.—8:40 p.m. 6 Sessions, \$1.00 First hand accounts of the great strike struggles in the recent past, co-ops of leading trade union personalities, analyses of current trade union events by one who personally participated in many of the great organizing drives of the last few years.
6. THE WAR DEAL IN ACTION James Burnham-Dwight Macdonald Wednesdays—8:50 p.m.—10:15 p.m. 6 Sessions, \$1.00 Lectures on the week by week developments in American politics. Consideration will be given to such matters as Congressional legislation, M-Day plans, developments in the business world in relation to the war, etc.

Registrations now being taken at the Labor Bookshop, 116 University Place, N.Y.C. from 1 p.m. to 6 p.m. Registration can also be made by mail to the school office, 116 University Place. Prospective students are urged to register early.

IN THIS CORNER

By Max Shachtman

The recent invasion of Poland has been contrasted in these pages with the situation that prevailed during the Russo-Polish war in 1920. At that time, the Red Army, exhausted and ill-equipped as it was, not only succeeded in repulsing the invading Pilsudski forces (backed by Western imperialism), but pursued them on Polish soil. With the Red Army marched the Revolutionary Polish Committee. Supporting it was the revolutionary vanguard of the Polish workers and peasants. Militants everywhere, unconcerned then as they are now with the frontiers arbitrarily established by imperialism, looked hopefully for the triumph of the Red Army and the extension of the socialist revolution throughout Poland.

The Russian masses, armed and unarmed, were giving a living demonstration of the vitality of international solidarity, of their overwhelming concern with the world socialist revolution. If the march on Warsaw did not succeed then, it was only because Lenin misjudged the revolutionary maturity of the Polish masses and overrated the Red Army's powers of endurance after years of difficult fighting. Lenin and the Bolsheviks were, however, animated exclusively by internationalist and socialist considerations.

Stalin? His clique is animated, at home and abroad, exclusively by what it believes will preserve the precarious rule of the anti-Soviet bureaucracy. Our press has made that clear for years. But there is undoubtedly more than this involved. Stalin and his bureaucracy are filled with Messianic delusions. The "Great Russian" attitude of Stalin was observed and condemned by Lenin as far back as 1921 and 1922. In recent years, Soviet life has been poisoned by Stalin with the glorification of the old Czars and their retainers, with eulogies to Peter the Great and other autocrats of the old regime. Stalin is depicted as his great heir and the executor of his ambitions. We may be sure that Stalin has devoted more than one spare hour to a study of the old Czars, their methods and their aspirations, and has increasingly identified himself with them in his mind. What they aimed to accomplish by cunning and brutality, can he not accomplish with his even greater cunning and brutality?

From the Archives of Marxism

In that connection, the by no means dusty documents of Marxism offer an interesting insight on the recent events.

"So well had this game succeeded," reads one of these documents, "and so long had it been played, that, when Poland at last was annihilated, there was no outcry at all in Europe, and, indeed, people were astonished at this only, that Russia should have the generosity of giving such a large slice of the territory to Austria and Prussia."

"The way in which this partition was brought about, is particularly interesting. There was, at that time, already an enlightened 'public opinion' in Europe. Although the [London] Times newspaper had not yet begun to manufacture that article, there was that kind of public opinion which had been created by the immense influence of Diderot, Voltaire, Rousseau and the other French writers of the eighteenth century. Russia always knew that it is important to have public opinion on one's side, if possible, and Russia took care to have it, too. The court of Catherine II was made the headquarters of the enlightened men of the day, especially Frenchmen; the most enlightened principles were professed by the Empress and her Court, and so well did she succeed in deceiving them that Voltaire and many others sang the praise of the 'Semiramis of the North,' and proclaimed Russia the most progressive country in the world, the home of liberal principles, the champion of religious toleration."

"Religious toleration—that was the word wanted to put down Poland. Poland had always been extremely liberal in religious matters; witness the asylum Jews found there while they were persecuted in all other parts of Europe. The greater portion of the people in the Eastern provinces belonged to the Greek faith, while the Poles proper were Roman Catholics. A considerable portion of these Greek Catholics had been induced, during the sixteenth century, to acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope, and were called United Greeks; but a great many continued true to their old Greek religion in all respects. They were principally the serfs, their noble masters being almost all Roman Catholics, they were Little Russians [Ukrainians] by nationality. Now, this Russian Government, which did not tolerate at home any other religion but the Greek, and punished apostasy as a crime; which was conquering foreign nations and annexing foreign provinces right and left; and which was at that time engaged in riveting still firmer the fetters of the Russian serf—this same Russian Government came soon upon Poland in the name of religious toleration, because Poland was said to oppress the Greek Catholics; in the name of the principle of nationalities, because the inhabitants of these Eastern provinces were Little Russians; and in the name of the right of revolution arming the serfs against their masters. Russia is not at all scrupulous in the selection of her means. Talk about a war of class against class as something extremely revolutionary—why, Russia set such a war on foot in Poland nearly 100 years ago, and a fine specimen of a class-war it was, when Russian soldiers and Little Russian serfs went in company to burn down the castles of Polish lords, merely to prepare Russian annexation, which to be once accomplished the same Russian soldiers put the serfs back again under the yoke of their lords."

An Interesting Parallel

"... this was done in the cause of religious toleration, because the principle of nationalities was not then fashionable in Western Europe. But it was held up before the eyes of the Little Russian peasants at the time, and has played an important part since in Polish affairs. The first and foremost ambition of Russia is the union of all Russian tribes under the czar who calls himself the Autocrat of all Russias (Samoderzhets vsrossiisk), and among these she includes White and Little Russia. And in order to prove that her ambition went no further, she took very good care, during the three partitions, to annex none but white and Little Russian provinces; leaving the country inhabited by Poles, and even a portion of Little Russia (Easter Galicia) to her accomplices. . . ."

"Thus Frederic Engels, in 'The Doctrine of Nationality Applied to Poland,' the third of a series of articles he wrote on Poland in the British periodical, The Commonwealth, on Saturday, May 5, 1866. Although the Stalin regime is not the feudal-military regime of Peter or Catherine or any of the other Czarist autocrats, and the situations are different in more than one other respect (the attitude of Beck's Poland towards the Jews is but one example!), the parallel in other respects is not uninteresting."