

A New Anti-War Pamphlet

Labor and the Second World War

By J. R. Johnson

The Achievements of Soviet Russia

“But,” says the doubter, “capitalism is bankrupt. We agree. Chamberlain is not fighting for ‘democracy.’ Neither is Roosevelt preparing to fight for ‘democracy.’ Any fool can see that. But what can we do? Socialism, you say. But look at Russia!”

Many ask this question with genuine concern. They must follow their own advice and look carefully at Russia.

Russian in 1913 was the most backward of the great European states. By 1920, owing to the imperialist war and the war of intervention that followed, production had declined by 82%. Such was the country that the Bolsheviks took over, with every imperialist government plotting their downfall.

This is the record to date. In 1913 Tsarist Russia produced 4.2 million tons of steel; in 1937 Soviet Russia produced 17.7 million tons. In 1913 Tsarist Russia produced 4.2 million tons of pig iron; in 1937 Soviet Russia produced 14.5 million tons. In 1913 Tsarist Russia produced 29 million tons of coal; in 1937 Soviet Russia produced 127 million tons. In 1913 Tsarist Russia produced 6.5 million barrels of crude petroleum; in 1937 Soviet Russia produced 199 million barrels. Grain production, 801 million centners in 1913, was 1202 million in 1937. No such economic progress has ever been seen under the capitalist system.

Capitalist Bankruptcy

And while the new system has been piling up these achievements, what have the imperialists to show? Crisis after crisis, stagnation and rottenness. With 1929 as 100, industrial output in Great Britain was 98.8 in 1934 and 112 in 1938. We have seen its catastrophic rise and fall in the United States. In Soviet Russia it was 238.3 in 1934 and 477 in 1938. We need not take Stalin's figures as Gospel; in lies and exaggerations he overtakes and surpasses his imperialist rivals. But the fact remains, admitted by the bitterest enemies of the Soviet Union, that in contrast to the worldwide crisis of capitalism since 1929, the public ownership of the means of production and the planned economy of the Soviet Union have started the world by their rapid and long-sustained progress. Some detractors say that it is because the country was backward to begin with. Malice and stupidity here contend for mastery. Spain was backward in 1913. So was China, and India. And what have they to show for their twenty-five years' worship of the capitalist system?

As in the material, so necessarily in the cultural sphere. More of education and facilities for culture have been provided proportionately for the Russian people in twenty years than in India during the last two hundred and twenty. These achievements are history, indelibly inscribed, and there are others that are today in danger of being forgotten. In the early years under Lenin and Trotsky, the Soviet

government, in its labor legislation, its social code, its political honesty, its enlightened encouragement of the arts and sciences, gave a glimpse to humanity of the great future that awaits it when imperialist barbarism is overthrown.

Why Then the Terror?

But if these things are true, as they are, why then does Russia today present the dreadful spectacle of political and social tyranny and growing economic chaos, which create doubts in the minds of many who see capitalism for the rottenness that it is? The reason is to be sought, as always, in the productive system, but here not in its basic nature but in its special circumstances.

Russia started too far behind; despite its progress it is still a poverty-stricken country. Where Soviet Russia produces annually 16 meters of cotton fabrics per person of the population, the United States produces 58 and Great Britain 60. Where Soviet Russia produces one pair of shoes per person, the United States produces 2.6 and Britain 2.2. The amount of paper produced in a country is an index of its culture. Where Soviet Russia produces 5 kilograms of paper per person, the United States produces 48 and Britain 42. The output of steel per head in Great Britain was 226 kilograms in 1938; in Soviet Russia it was only 107.

And so on. Russia is still a backward country. In twenty short years even Soviet progress could not lift the actual production per person of Soviet Russia to anywhere near that of the great capitalist countries, bankrupt though they are. Soviet Russia is still a country of great scarcity of the necessities of life, and as long as this is so, socialism must remain only an aspiration.

Socialism demands above all things abundance of production. It is the fierce competition for the means of living that now disfigures our society, divides it into classes, breeds economic exploitation and political tyranny. That abundance of production is possible in America to-day. The official statisticians of New York City have shown that even under capitalism every American family by working four hours a day could enjoy an annual income of \$4,000. It is capitalism and its system of private ownership which prevent this prosperity. But backward Russia, even with its economy socialized, cannot yet give a tenth of this sum to each family. And on the basis of this poverty and backwardness, on this necessity of the great masses to labor under miserable conditions, there has arisen the bureaucracy.

“Every Cook Must Learn to Govern”

Where all cannot have a free and full existence and all possibility of development, some must be better educated, better fed, better clothed, better housed than the rest, in order to be able to carry on the administration of government and industry. Lenin said that every cook must learn to govern. But that can be only in a socialist society, where cooks work only a few hours a day in highly organized

modern kitchens and draw secure and comfortable wages. Under such conditions, any tyrannical or offensive bureaucrat can be immediately thrown out of office: there would be hundreds to take his place. But in Russia the cook works at a wage lower than the relief rate in this country. Vastly improved as Soviet education is, it cannot yet educate the whole population. It can barely teach the great masses to read, and it has to reserve a thorough training for the privileged few with the more difficult work to do.

Socialism in One Country Impossible

In a backward country like Russia, isolated from the rest of Europe, a bureaucracy living above the level of the masses was inevitable. First the bureaucrats assumed only those privileges and special considerations necessary for their work. But gradually, as production increased, they took advantage of their authoritative position in society to increase their share. They suppressed those who opposed their usurpation. After Lenin's death, Trotsky and his supporters, who opposed the bureaucracy, were isolated by slander and violence and ultimately driven into exile, imprisoned, or killed. The bureaucrats, in defiance of common sense, announced that they would build socialism in a single country, by which they meant that they were quite satisfied with their own position. But the Russian masses were not. This socialism began to look too much like the old capitalism. They had not made the revolution for this. Stalin and the bureaucrats replied to their dissatisfaction with a redoubled terror.

Were Lenin and Trotsky blind to the possibility of such a degeneration? Certainly not. Long before the revolution actually took place, they warned that socialism could never be built in a backward Russia surrounded by hostile capitalist states. Russia could build socialism only in collaboration with the advanced economy and victorious proletariat of some at least of the more highly developed countries. They saw that either capitalist economy would be transformed by the workers' revolution into international socialism, or Russia would be dragged back to capitalism. Only the workers, in alliance with the farmers and the millions of colonials, could destroy the rotting but still powerful imperialist system. Lenin and Trotsky organized the Communist International to assist the workers of the world in the struggle against imperialist war and capitalist reaction. They knew that sooner or later the workers would face the alternative, victory over capitalism or the destruction of their organizations and the descent into war. For Bolsheviks then and for Trotsky to-day the world revolution was and is the only ultimate safeguard of Russia against internal degeneration (on the basis of a backward economy) or external destruction, by the implacable enemy of world imperialism. And this enemy remains, however much this or the other imperialism might for a moment see an alliance with the Soviet Union and even for a time fight side by side with it.

(Continued in Next Issue)

WORKERS' FORUM

IN ANSWER TO A COMRADE Editor:

In the Workers Forum last week, G.L. writes from Detroit that it's hard for him to sell the Socialist Appeal when it carries news like the Shachtman election campaign, the struggle for Irish and Indian freedom, the ALP, etc.

G.L. writes that when he canvasses with the Appeal, it's hard for him to sell it with such news items.

I think G.L. is wrong. The great thing that has to be impressed on the workers when one canvasses with the Socialist Appeal is that not only is it a workers' paper but that it has enough variety in it to round out the picture of the class struggle.

The big part of canvassing is not so much to sell the paper at one clip, but to give a good impression of it and the party that publishes it. That takes a lot of explaining. The more explaining that is done gives one a chance to really get close to a worker and gain his confidence for further visits and talks. I think these are the big things to remember.

WANTS TO SEE A DAILY APPEAL Dear Editor:

The Socialist Appeal can be criticized for a lot of things. And I have a number of criticisms to make. But I want to speak out in praise first. First, I want to say that B.J. Widlok's column, "In the Trade Unions", is an excellent feature. Workers looking for the inside stuff on trade unions are sure to get it in that column. Secondly, George Stern's column, "Behind the Lines", is every bit as good and from a worker's point of view a thousand times better than anything that appears in the capitalist press. The info one gets out of it rates a lot higher than the stuff peddled by Dorothy Thompson, Walter Lippman, Arthur Krook and all the other fancy "writers."

For just four pages per week, the Socialist Appeal has the edge on plenty of our heavily backed metropolitan dailies. Let's go forward to a real workers Daily Socialist Appeal.

FIGHT AGAINST THE WAR; BILL O.



BIG CITIES FALL BEHIND

The major cities have not done any too well in the past days in the matter of subscriptions, a total of 25 new subscriptions and 7 renewals being the count as follows:

Table with columns for City, New, and Renewal. Cities listed include New York City, Lynn, Chicago, Minneapolis, Evansville, St. Louis, Cleveland, St. Paul, Boston, Akron, Los Angeles, Connecticut, and Pennsylvania.

Local Akron, likewise, is putting on a campaign for new subscriptions, and Comrade Carlyle is confident of obtaining several new and renewal subscriptions in the next month.

The St. Louis organization, Everett W. Agent, functions very systematically in the circulation of its Press, and among other things has evolved a method whereby all working members are automatically enrolled as subscribers both to the Socialist Appeal and The New International Quakerstown and payments are made through the Branch Financial Secretary.

DISTRIBUTION OF PAPER IMPROVED

St. Louis is a model, also, alongside of Lynn, Mass., in prompt payment of its accounts, and this is reflected in their systematic distribution of the paper.

Joe Roberts, Toledo, and the comrades there are hopeful of increased circulation.

By and large all the cities are now distributing and selling the Socialist Appeal more systematically, but a sharp lag continues in subscriptions.

Several locals lately have entered legitimate grievances because of the failure of the Socialist Appeal to arrive on schedule. Apologies and an explanation are herewith given. There have been technical difficulties at the printer's which have caused unavoidable delay in publication. It is hoped these can be overcome soon.

BRITISH IMPOSE ONE-MAN RULE ON INDIANS

(Continued from Page 1)

of India's 11 provinces, may now exercise full dictatorial rule over the Indian people. The Constitution of India, with its highly limited democratic rights, is declared suspended. To summarize the situation briefly—the Viceroy of India and his appointees may now do anything whatsoever calculated to maintain British imperialist authority in India. Within their hands reside powers no less great than those of the German Fuehrer himself.

This declaration of dictatorial rule over India is a direct reflection of (1) the complete breakdown of negotiations for a compromise between the British authorities and the conservative nationalist leaders (Gandhi); (2) the rapidly growing clamor of India's workers and peasants that immediate action against Britain's attempts to exploit India for her war needs be taken. The failure of the negotiations is a result of a refusal on the part of the masses to accept any kind of treacherous bargain. They will not support the British imperialists under any conditions. They want their freedom, nothing more and nothing less!

“Divide and Rule”

In an attempt to cover up their real motives for remaining in India and establishing military rule, the British have dragged in the pro-imperialist Moslem League. This organization does not represent the 75,000,000 Moslems who make up India's largest minority group. It is headed by Moslem landlords, civil servants and is pro-imperialist. It is a reactionary communal organization similar to the Urban League of America and attempts to split the unity of the Hindu-Moslem people for the benefit of the British imperialists.

There is no question that under its present Gandhi leadership the Nationalist Congress is pro-Hindu. This too serves the interests of the British “divide and rule” policy. The net effect of the Moslem leadership and the Gandhi leadership is the same—division of the masses into warring communal camps, all to the advantage of the British.

Ripe for Revolt But the Nationalist Congress has launched the demand for a freely elected All-India Constituent Assembly which will frame a constitution for an independent India. If this slogan is taken seriously and is pushed forward by the Congress left wing then there will be an end to such miserable undertakings as Gandhi's negotiations with the Viceroy. The Congress right wing desired not real independence for India, but Parliamentary concessions in the Central Government. But the British, knowing that the Congress would sweep any democratic elections and hold an overwhelming majority in the Central Legislative Assembly, could not make even this concession. They know that things in India are ripe for revolt!

The main task in India now falls upon the left wing movement, in particular, upon the Congress Socialist Party. The stage of parliamentary negotiations had a brief span and is now ended. Repressions by the authorities are now on the order of the day. Before this year is up we shall see whether the first stages in India's struggle for national emancipation have indeed begun. It is the workers and peasants who will act now, despite the twists and turns of the conservative and pro-imperialist leadership.

Who Says That We Have to Starve

By THOMAS FORSEN

He was a big guy and you'd think a guy like that ate pretty regular. But you'd be thinking wrong mister. The squarest meal I ever saw him take was four hamburgers and a cup of coffee down at Joe's Shack. And hamburgers didn't fit for a guy like that. He was tremendous and one gargantuan bite finished half of a hamburger. Eight bites and he was through with the biggest meal I ever saw him take. He would then guzzle down the sizzling coffee, toss his high head back and wait for the cigarette I always offered him. He could spin a yarn that boy. I tried to get him to write. It was futile. His knowledge of the language was too limited and his grammar too unorthodox. So I've turned his sales into a few magazine pieces. We've made a few bucks between us like that.

He always wanted to go back and see his old home town, Gary, Indiana. After all, he had his whole family back there and a guy begins to yearn for old faces and old sights when he's been knocking about the nation. And it's a hell of a nation to be knocking about in. So many people with different thoughts, customs, and diversions. Instead of knowing more about the damned country you only get puzzled, tired, lonely. You begin to ache. Not physically but mentally, and that tears at your brain and makes your blood sick and then the horrible thing happens. You begin to take pity on yourself! That's a hell and after that you're licked.

From the Garbage Dump I sold a piece at Chicago for fifty dollars and we hopped a bus for Gary. George was all hepped up about it. You'd think he had

run into the other room of the small shack, and soon she came out displaying some of the "finest stuff" she had salvaged from the dumping grounds.

Joe turned to me. "Sary picked up a dress there, yesterday." And Sary proceeded to wave the filthy rag. "Sary is handy with a needle so she'll fix where its needing it. She brought me some chew tobacco and a set of slippers, and she brought the old man parts for his pipes."

Family License Sarah ran to the kitchen and brought out a pot containing some smelly evil-looking fat. "I picked some of this there," she said. "Well I think it's a damn fine idea," said George. "I looked at the big baboon. "Trouble is," said Joe, "they only allow one license to a family. We could use another hand in picking up some of that stuff."

Sarah said, "Yesterday Emmy across the way could have picked up a fine mattress only she had no one to help her with it. We tried pitching in together and dumping our pickings onto the mattress, but them there fellows standing around are so gosh darn fussy."

Stink A-Plenty "You've got to fight like hell to get a license," said Joe. "That evening George and I walked over to the dumping grounds. We knew we were coming to it when we were ten blocks away. It smelled worse than a tannery. The gates were locked and we stopped to read the sign on the fence."

CITY DUMP KEEP YOUR SEARCH ON A NEAT AND ORDERLY BASIS "What do you think of the whole thing," George asked. "Goddamn benevolent," I said. "It would seem to me that the City Fathers have taken a long step forward in solving the problem of the ill-fed, ill-housed, ill-clothed."

Nothing registered on the big guy's face. "You know George," I said, "I certainly spin a yarn."

AMERICAN IMPERIALISTS TURN HUNGRY EYES TOWARDS CHINA

Hence, the Disapproval with Which the U.S. Looks Upon Japan's Creation of a "New Order" in the Far East

By WALTER O'ROURKE

The announcement by Ambassador Grew on October 19 that the United States looks with disapproval at Japan's establishment of a "new order" in the Far East once again brought home the fact that American imperialists are turning hungry eyes toward China.

Talking "straight from the horse's mouth" Grew said the "American people" believe that "... an effort is being made to establish control, in Japan's own interests, in large areas of the continent of Asia and impose on them a system of closed economy." Such an opinion, he continued, a government (i.e., the U.S.) "... can not possibly over-

scavenger can pick up some mighty fine delectable items such as scraps of top steak, slightly chewed tea biscuits, cork-tipped cigarette butts."

We'll be walked and it was a little chilly and George put his hand in his pocket and took out a piece of paper. He handed it to me and I saw it was a license issued by the Sanitation Department of Gary.

I asked him how he got it but the big fellow was silent. So we walked. The two of us not uttering a word. What the hell, that meant I was losing George. Well, you can't expect a guy to keep pushing around in circles. After all his only folk were right there in that town. The blood coursing through him had known only one home and that was Gary. It was strong in him and he had to stay. It will be tough trying to find another George. That guy could certainly spin a yarn.

abroad. The ideal country for imperialist exploitation is one with a large population and low industrial development.

One of the best indexes of industrial development is railroad mileage per capita; a glance at a very few statistics shows why China presents such a far more enticing dish than South America for American imperialists. The mileage of railroad for each million inhabitants is as follows. (U.S. and India are included for purpose of comparison):

Table with columns for Country and Mileage per capita. Countries listed include China, India, S. A., and U. S.

Here is shown in vivid contrast the reason for the superior worth of China over South America to desperate imperialist nations. South America has 35 times China's per capita railroad mileage; the steel mills of U. S. Steel (whose chairman Edward R. Stettinius Jr. was appointed chairman of the War Resources Board by Roosevelt) could be kept busy for quite a time "developing" the vast Asiatic continent.

Herein lies the compelling reason why the American capitalists must challenge and eventually fight Japan over the right to exploit China. Herein lies the reason for the entire U. S. fleet being in the Pacific, and for the recent Grew speech and its consequences.

American Labor Aid 125 West 85 Street New York City Dear Friend: I PLEDGE MYSELF to contribute \$..... to the defense of Frank Watson, imprisoned by Canada's government for the crime of speaking out as a worker against the war of imperialism.

China More Valuable The small South American market for foreign goods is far outweighed by the opportunities for imperialist investment in China, i.e., for shipping capital

Let the People Vote on War!