

A New Anti-War Pamphlet

Labor and the Second World War

By J. R. Johnson

WORKERS' FORUM

A PAPER WHERE WORKERS WILL FEEL AT HOME

Editor:

When the Twice-a-Week Appeal first came out, full of good features, well written, popular, attempting to address itself to workers and become a mass paper, we used to take 200 an issue, and dispose of them. Our Sunday mobilizations, when the comrades used to assemble to go door to door in the working class sections of town with the paper, were full of enthusiasm and good natured competition to see who would sell the most papers. Alas, all that is slowing up. To organize each mobilization requires more effort than the previous one. Who is to blame?

Comrades Not At Fault

Some would say the comrades, and without a doubt, this is true to a minor extent, as the work began to become a familiar routine. Still, this is not by far the most important factor. I think more responsibility falls upon the paper itself because the comrades find it more difficult to sell the paper now than when the Twice-a-Week first appeared. Our own comrades do not have the will to sell the paper when it is not well written and not directed to the workers.

Before the Twice-a-Week, our major outlet was the radical gatherings and radical contacts. With the appearance of the Twice-a-Week, we had been hoping for a change in the paper, which for a brief period was realized. In that period we attempted to address our paper not only to the old elements but get new readers among the workers. But that period seems to have come to an end.

An Alarming Symptom

I would like to take up another point, and that is the question of repeat sales. After selling a paper to a worker, when we come back to sell it to him again, we find greater sales resistance. In other words, even after reading the paper, which we hoped would break down his indifference or hostility towards us, we nearly invariably find that it is more difficult to sell the paper again. The answer to this dilemma is found in the difference between our sales talk and the paper. While attempting to sell the worker or working class housewife a paper, we play up what we think the worker would be interested in. In other words, we paint for him a picture of an imaginary paper which arouses his interest, but when the worker looks at the Appeal, it is quite different from the description of it given by the comrade.

Of course, we, here, do not agree with the comrade from Detroit, who said that the workers are not interested in India, Ireland, etc. It is the task of the paper to show the importance of the events to the workers' immediate struggles, but it must be done in an interesting fashion, and the interest and concern of the workers in international problems will be built up.

What Is Needed

An average worker does not feel at home in our paper. It is only the radical worker who does. It is important to keep these informed of what goes on but, it is as important that the worker from the shop, or on relief, also be interested in the paper, and this is proven by the fact that he does not write for the paper. Where is the worker's correspondence that the paper should have? Where is the correspondence from the unions? Where are the interesting stories that a paper should have? Where are the absorbing lessons on what is Socialism, written simply and understandable to all? This list could be continued.

I hope that this will not be confused with the phenomena that often appears in our movement of anti-anti-Stalinism. The struggle against Stalinism must not be given up, but neither must it be "raised" to the level which only a few workers can understand. The basis for our opposition to Stalinism must be made clear to even the simplest worker. Much of our articles against Stalinism is aimed, if not

at the summits of Stalinism, certainly not to the rank and file CP member or sympathizer who cannot understand it and for this reason, ignores it, or looks upon it as a struggle between two groups of "college professors."

I would like to again repeat the central slogan: The Socialist Appeal must be a paper in which every worker will feel at home. Los Angeles C. Curtiss

THE ROAD TO A REAL WORKERS' NEWSPAPER

Comrade Curtiss' letter merits the attention, not only of the staff of the Socialist Appeal, but of all party branches and workers who read our press. The facts he adduces are attested to from all parts of the country. Where is the solution?

A European comrade with the richest experience in the mass movement some time ago estimated the paper in these terms: "The paper is very well done from a journalistic point of view; but it is a paper for the workers and not a workers' paper."

"As it is the paper is divided among various writers, each of whom is very good, but collectively they do not permit the workers to penetrate to the pages of the Appeal. Each of them speaks for the workers (and speaks very well), but nobody will hear the workers. In spite of its literary brilliance, to a certain degree the paper becomes a victim of journalistic routine. You do not hear at all how the workers live, fight, clash with the police or drink whiskey. It is very dangerous for the paper as a revolutionary instrument of the party. The task is not to make a paper through the joint forces of a skilled editorial board, but to encourage the workers to speak for themselves."

"The whole party must participate in the paper not only financially but politically and journalistically. The paper must have correspondents, researchers and reporters everywhere. Three lines from a shop or a meeting can often give more than a well written article by the staff. Only such a paper can penetrate into the masses and receive great support from them."

"A radical and courageous change is necessary as a condition of success. The paper is too wise, too scholarly, too aristocratic for the American workers and tends to reflect the party more as it is than to prepare it for its future."

Why We Halted

The course of the paper began to move in this proposed direction; that was the period of which Comrade Curtiss speaks as the time when the Los Angeles comrades were able to sell the paper easily. However, since the outbreak of the war there has been, to a considerable extent, a retrogression. One reason is that the comrades tend to separate the daily events of the class struggle from the war situation, and fail to write into the Appeal about the actual life in which they are engaged. This is the main explanation for the cessation of direct reports from the fields of struggle.

Another reason for the failure of the Appeal to continue its transformation into a real workers' paper is the necessity, imposed by the war, of devoting a considerable part of the paper to analytical articles, in order to arm the advanced workers for the struggle against social-patriotism. But it is certainly possible to combine this work with material more directly attractive to the workers, to constitute a paper with a popular tone.

What's To Be Done

The staff's main shortcoming along this line has been its failure to remain in regular contact with the field, suggesting subjects for direct reports and workers' correspondence, encouraging those who write in, etc.

The Staff, however, in and of itself, cannot solve the problem. A widespread understanding among party members, Yipsels, and our worker-readers, that their voices must be heard in the paper, is the beginning of the solution. Let the workers write our paper!

The APPEAL Staff

ANNOUNCEMENT

BRONX ELECTION VICTORY SOCIAL. The Lowdown on how we dunnit! Guaranteed: One hour of entertainment including Singing, Dancing, Imitations and an expert Marxist magician! Absolutely no buxilax or general fund. Saturday, Nov. 18, at the newly renovated headquarters of the Liebknecht Unit of the Y.P.S.L., 1334 Wilkins Avenue, Freeman St. Station on the East Bronx line. Refreshment Specialty: Old-fashioned Apple Cider.

Don't miss it! A good time is always assured at a Bronx social!

THEATER PARTY tendered by the Friends of the Russian Opposition Bulletin. "Chaver Nachman," by I. J. Singer, a Jewish play based on the Russian Revolution, with Joseph Ben-Ami, Celia Adler, and Ludwig Satz. At the National Theater, 2nd Ave. at Houston St., N.Y.C., on Tuesday evening, Dec. 12. Tickets are available at the National Office, 116 University Pl. Get yours early for choice seats.

VIII
Committees calling themselves "Keep America Out of War" profess to be lovers of peace. One such was composed of Lovestoneite communists, socialdemocrats, and isolationists like Hamilton Fish, the reactionary Senator from New York. Once you understand that the fight against imperialist war is the fight against the whole capitalist system, it becomes patent that the anti-war pretensions of these committees is demagoguery on the part of Ham Fish and opportunism and publicity-wooing on the part of the Lovestoneites and socialists. Fish is a die-hard supporter of the capitalist system. Any communist worthy of the name maintains as his first aim the overthrowing of the system. Is it any wonder that this united front of reactionaries and treacherous so-called communists went to pieces even before the European war broke out? Whoever is not opposed to capitalism root and branch is not opposed to war.

Pacifists refuse to fight and instead go to prison. How does that help to stop any war? How does it help to mobilize the masses for the death struggle that stopping imperialist war demands?

Stalin's Agents in America

The Stalinists, with a great revolutionary past and backed by the financial resources of the Soviet Union, have for five years confused the workers with their talk of supporting the "democracies" against fascism. Now that Stalin is working so closely with Hitler, they wish to keep Roosevelt from joining Britain and France. They call the war an imperialist war. If the cooperation of Stalin and Hitler continues to increase, more of the leaders, corrupt as they are, will denounce the Soviet Union and seek cover under the wing of "democracy," driving the masses into the imperialist war. But those who stay with the Stalinist bureaucracy will merely be carrying out orders and will change their policy as soon as Stalin makes a change in his. The revolutionary workers must see the Stalinists for what they really are and must realize that they represent a corrupt and treacherous bureaucracy and not the world revolution.

Karl Liebknecht's Great Example

If the workers do not awake in time and stop Roosevelt, the revolutionary movement will see some dark days. But a sense of historical perspective will help to keep our forces

together. In 1914 no single voice in Germany was raised against the war. Karl Liebknecht wanted to denounce the war-mongers and to rally the opposition for resistance, if even it could not at that moment stop the war. But the labor leaders imposed party discipline upon Liebknecht and he was weak enough to submit to it. Some few months after he broke the discipline and spoke out. He was arrested. But even from prison he and Rosa Luxemburg continued to oppose the war by underground means.

And in November, 1918, the German workers brought the war to an end by the revolution. The masses came to Liebknecht's point of view in time. They will come to ours, and they will not take four years.

The German revolution gives us another great warning. Our revolution must not stop at the mere destruction of one capitalist government and its replacement by another. The workers must sweep away the whole system and establish the socialist state. For if not, then as Germany shows us, monopoly capitalism will take its predestined course. It will resort to fascism, crush the revolutionary workers, enslave the working class. It will then seek to destroy its rivals abroad by yet another imperialist war.

The war in Europe may come to a crisis so quickly that Roosevelt may not have had time to take America in. We cannot go into all the possibilities here. But as long as American imperialism remains, it will wage imperialist war.

A Glorious Future for the Workers

The American workers must aim at establishing the United Federation of American Socialist Republics. The workers of Europe must have as their aim the United Socialist States of Europe. While each people will retain its own language and national customs, together they will abolish national boundaries, quotas, customs duties, tariffs, and the burden of national armies, which now weigh like mountains of lead upon the common people in every country. The national rivalries and jealousies will disappear with the disappearance of the causes that give rise to them. Free plebiscites will give minorities an opportunity to decide with which larger group they want to live. The Jews have no future except with the victorious working class movement. Wherever the workers still have their organizations the Jews can live. As soon as the working class movement in any country is smashed the reactionaries make the Jews a

scape-goat for the evils of capitalism. Socialism alone can stop the persecution of Jews.

The revolutionary workers will encourage and assist the millions of colonial workers to free themselves from their imperialist jailers. This is one of the greatest crimes of imperialism, its strangulation of the creative capabilities of millions of colonials for the sake of a few hundred thousand bondholders in the leading imperialist countries. While hundreds of millions work for ten cents a day, modern industry cannot realize its vast potentialities and must continue to decay. And what but the socialist revolution against imperialism can release the colonials from their bondage? It is in such a reorganization of American and world economy that the American Negroes will find equality. They will never get it under capitalism.

The world is crying for a true internationalism, not because this is a noble ideal, but because world economy has reached a stage where it can go forward only by breaking the control of the finance-capitalists and by abolishing national states. A worldwide crisis, thirty million unemployed, fascism and imperialist war—that is what the capitalists have to offer. They must be broken, and only the workers' revolution can break them.

The Struggle for the Fourth International

"Only along this road can the proletariat liberate itself from its dependence upon the chauvinist bourgeoisie and, in one form or another, more or less rapidly, take decisive steps on the road to the real freedom of nations and on the road to socialism."

"Long live the international fraternity of the workers against the chauvinism and patriotism of the bourgeoisies of all countries!"

Today the Fourth International, with its cadres in every country, hold fast to these words of Lenin. The Fourth International seeks, by precept and example, to make Lenin's doctrine a militant reality for the workers and farmers of the world, crushed and demoralized by capitalism. Those American workers who recognize the enormous importance of revolutionary socialism for the world today, who see that we must be socialists or perish, will seek their fellow revolutionaries and assist them in the building of the Socialist Workers Party, the American section of the Fourth International.

THE END

In the Labor Unions

By B. J. WIDICK

The Chrysler strike assumes greater and more significant proportions with every new development.

Last week, a CIO endorsed candidate defeated the incumbent Mayor Reading, labor-baiter, creating quite a stir in Detroit, center of the strike.

Of course, the new mayor is no labor man, and a raw deal can be expected from him in the long run, but the demonstration of labor's potentialities at the polls had a good psychological effect on the strikers and the entire union movement.

Coughlin's Move

This week interest was focused on the arrogant intervention of Father Coughlin, fascist demagogue, in the situation through a radio appeal to the strikers.

He had the nerve to suggest that the auto workers, after these many weeks of struggle, go back to work and let the sell-out artists of various mediation boards settle the dispute!

Of course Coughlin painted a glowing picture of the hardships of the unemployed, etc. but instead of blaming the Chrysler Corp. for its anti-union policy, Coughlin seeks to divide the union ranks, ruin the morale of the strikers, and turn the men into anti-unionists.

Coughlin revealed himself to be a 100 percent strikebreaker, scab, and fascist demagogue, once again by this latest move.

New Strikebreaking

It is very significant that the Chrysler Corp. had to use Coughlin as a stooge for its nefarious plans. First of all it demonstrates the power of the auto workers against all previous attempts to defeat the strike.

All the old baloney against strikers no longer gets anywhere in a city like Detroit with its many great struggles and experiences of the recent years.

The big industrialists have to turn to new and other means to

smash labor — fascist methods and a fascist movement.

Today, Coughlin incites all those who listen to him against the union movement. Tomorrow, he will urge storm troopers to march through the picket line.

Coughlin's attempt to foment religious hatred and utilize religious differences among the strikers received an immediate setback when the Detroit Branch of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists challenged his statements.

Estimates have been made that the strike now involves over 150,000 workers, as the complete shutdown of Chrysler plants brought the closing of related parts plants, etc.

The "Union Shop" remains one of the major issues of difference, along with the many grievances of speed-up, etc. Under the "Union Shop" the employer may have the right to hire a non-union man but that after a 30-day probationary period the employe must join the union. Union men should insist that the "Union Shop" remain a cardinal point in negotiations, and resist every attempt to trade it away in negotiations.

Names to Remember

In reporting the action of the Canadian CIO to support the British and Canadian governments in the imperialist war, we did not publish the names of the people involved because they were reported in the last issue of the CIO News and they should be remembered by anti-war militants.

The Canadian national council of the CIO which made this sell-out decision consists of: Silby Barrett, chairman; C. H. Millard, secretary; Sol Spivak, Amalgamated Clothing Workers; Harry Hunter, Steel Workers Organizing Committee; C. S. Jackson, United Electrical and Radio Workers; George Burt, United Automobile Workers; Tom Church, Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers; Joseph Mackenzie, United Rubber Workers; and Roger Irwin, Newspaper Guild.

D. W. Morrison, president of District 26 of the United Mine Workers represented the unions in the maritime provinces, and Robert Livett, International Board member of the UMW represented those from western Canada.

Join the Socialist Workers Party

The "Call" Borrows A Stalinist Slander

The Socialist Appeal and the Mexican press of the Fourth International have on several occasions exposed and refuted the Stalinist slander that our Mexican section, the Partido Obrero Internacionalista (Internationalist Workers Party), is supporting the reactionary presidential candidate, General J. Andreu Almazan. Now this same slander is repeated by that paragon of anti-Bolshevik "morality," The Call, Norman Thomas' personal organ.

The November 18 issue of the Call carries an article on Mexico by Clarence Senior. The article supports the candidacy of Almazan's rival, the bourgeois politician, General M. Avila Camacho. It attacks Almazan, candidate of reactionary forces. Then it says: "Diego Rivera and the handful of Trotskyites have joined with the reaction in backing Almazan."

The Socialist Appeal, our Mexican press, and even the bourgeois press of both Mexico and the United States, all carried the news of Rivera's break with the Fourth International several months ago. The Appeal, as our Mexican press, has carried several statements on the Mexican elections. Our Mexican section calls for no support to either Avila Camacho or Almazan, but rather campaigns to spread sentiment for the eventual break from all bourgeois parties and candidates.

The Trotskyists, thus, are bitterly opposed to Almazan. The Call repetition of the Stalinist slander is due either to abysmal ignorance or deliberate lying. Someone writing an article in the Call office in Chicago might shamefacedly plead ignorance of what he was writing about. But Mr. Senior wrote this piece of slander right in Mexico City, where, if he is at all literate, he must have known that he was lying.

Senior is the former National Secretary of the Socialist Party of the US. That gives us the right to presume that he knows how to read as well as to write. That fact gives us the right to assert that these "Socialists" of the Thomas stripe, so anxious to cover up their surrender to social-democratic patriotism by attacking the revolutionary socialists of the Fourth International, have gone to the Stalinist sewers to borrow lies.

Fight War in Canada

Watson, here in Canada, has been thrown into jail for a year because he said, "The government could not find any money for the single unemployed in peace time but can find \$1.30 a day and 85 cents living expenses to send them overseas to serve as cannon-fodder."

"REMEMBER that you, the Canadian people, can put an end to this imperialist war by ridding yourselves of the capitalist wardens who dragged you into it. "REMEMBER!"

Unemployed Union Active In York Township, just outside of Toronto, the Amalgamated Unemployed Union calls upon the jobless to join the organization and fight for an immediate 50 percent increase in relief to meet the increased cost of living. The leaflet also calls for a continuation of annual elections so that the workers may elect their own labor candidates instead of the boss politicians who are starving them. Elections to the municipal council have been cancelled for the first period of the war.

"REMEMBER that Frank

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 - VI. THE WAR DEAL IN ACTION Wednesdays, 8:50 p.m.-10:15 p.m.
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