

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Vol. III, No. 90 Friday, November 24, 1939

Published Twice-Weekly by the
SOCIALIST APPEAL PUBLISHING ASS'N.
at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.
Telephone: ALgonquin 4-8547

Editor:
MAX SHACHTMAN
Associate Editors:
FELIX MORROW **EMANUEL GARRETT**
General Manager: **MARTIN ABERN**
Assistant Manager: **SHERMAN STANLEY**

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for six months.
Foreign: \$3.00 per year; \$1.50 for six months. Bundle
orders: 2 cents per copy in the United States; 3 cents
per copy in all foreign countries. Single copies: 3 cents.
Bronx and Manhattan subscriptions are \$1.50 for six
months; \$3.00 for one year.

Reentered as second class matter September 29,
1935, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the
Act of March 1, 1879.

**FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST
WORKERS PARTY FOR:**

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

One Frameup Flops

More than two years ago, amid a fanfare of nasty publicity, District Attorney Thomas E. Dewey of New York seized the books of Local 3 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. That was big news in the capitalist press.

On Monday Dewey returned the books. His staff had worked its head off without being able to find even a peg on which to hang a frameup. Dewey wouldn't comment on the return of the books, and the capitalist press didn't think it was news.

Dewey's move against the union was, however, handicapped by the fact that the funds and staff he has at his disposal are relatively limited. He must envy Attorney General Murphy who, with the authority of the Federal government, the funds of the Department of Justice and the staff of the FBI, can cook up a case out of nothing at all. The day of the local union buster is about over. The United States Government has taken over this dirty work.

Too Young To Die

"The continued pressure of unemployment on youth, in the midst of a war boom, will add to the degree of drifting into active participation in the war"—declares Owen D. Young's "American Youth Commission."

Why? Do the youth between the ages of 20 and 24—who constitute the largest group of the nation's unemployed, according to the commission's findings—want to water the trenches with their young blood?

Do the youth—80 percent of whom, according to a recent YMCA poll of New York City, are skeptical of specialization or ability as an assurance of a job—want to leave their bodies and limbs under little white crosses on some "Flanders field"?

Not on your life! The youth want jobs. The youth want a minimum of security, a chance—in this "great land of opportunity"—to extract just a little comfort and happiness out of this world. Jobs, not bromides, about "vocational guidance," Mr. Young. (that was the only recommendation of the commission).

The youth of this country, together with the rest of the unemployed, will get this security, Mr. Young. Even if they have to wrest it out of the crooked fortunes of the 60 families, to which you belong!

That's why you see "a drift into active participation in the war," Mr. Young. American youth are pounding the pavements but they find no jobs. Trained as engineers, mechanics, craftsmen, they are rejected and told to starve.

They see your bankruptcy. Starvation in the midst of plenty. No jobs in the "midst of the war boom." They see your kin marrying degenerate dukes and counts, squandering millions like drunken sailors. They know that you rule this country, that you have brought it to the brink of disaster.

You want to get rid of them—you and your kind, Mr. Young. You see trouble ahead, so you want to intoxicate their minds with martial music and then herd them into the trenches to be shot to pieces for the bloody gain of your gang of parasites. Then they will be out of the way. Dead men make no trouble, eh, Mr. Young?

But you are mistaken. The youth of this country is "wise" to your schemes. All they need is organization to make that knowledge effective. Then there really will be a "drift into war," Mr. Young. But it won't be the kind of war you want. It will be a war—

to tear the billions your congress is spending for battleships out of your hands and give to the youth jobs building homes and schools,

to tear the billions you and the Sixty families have stolen from the people out of your hands and make this country a paradise of opportunity, well-being and security for those who toil.

And, Mr. Young, in that war it won't be German, Russian or French workers who are in the opposite trenches.

Willi Changes Bosses

Maybe you don't know it, but the Anglo-French war camp is fighting for only one thing: "a federated Europe." Don't look so puzzled. It's all there in black and white. In what document of the Allied governments? In none. But you can read all about it in the Nov. 18 issue of the *New Leader*, Social Democratic Federation weekly.

Willi Schlamm, the author of the article in question, has peculiar gifts and a specialized training for writing in this vein of politics. He learned his business in the famous establishment of journalists conducted by Willi Muenzenberg, the publishing impresario of the German Stalinist movement. There Willi Schlamm learned how to make black into white and vice-versa. His employer was generous and that inspired Willi Schlamm to some great flights of fancy. But a sad day came when (thanks to what the Willi Schlamm taught the workers) Hitler came to power and all the Willis fled as the workers could not do.

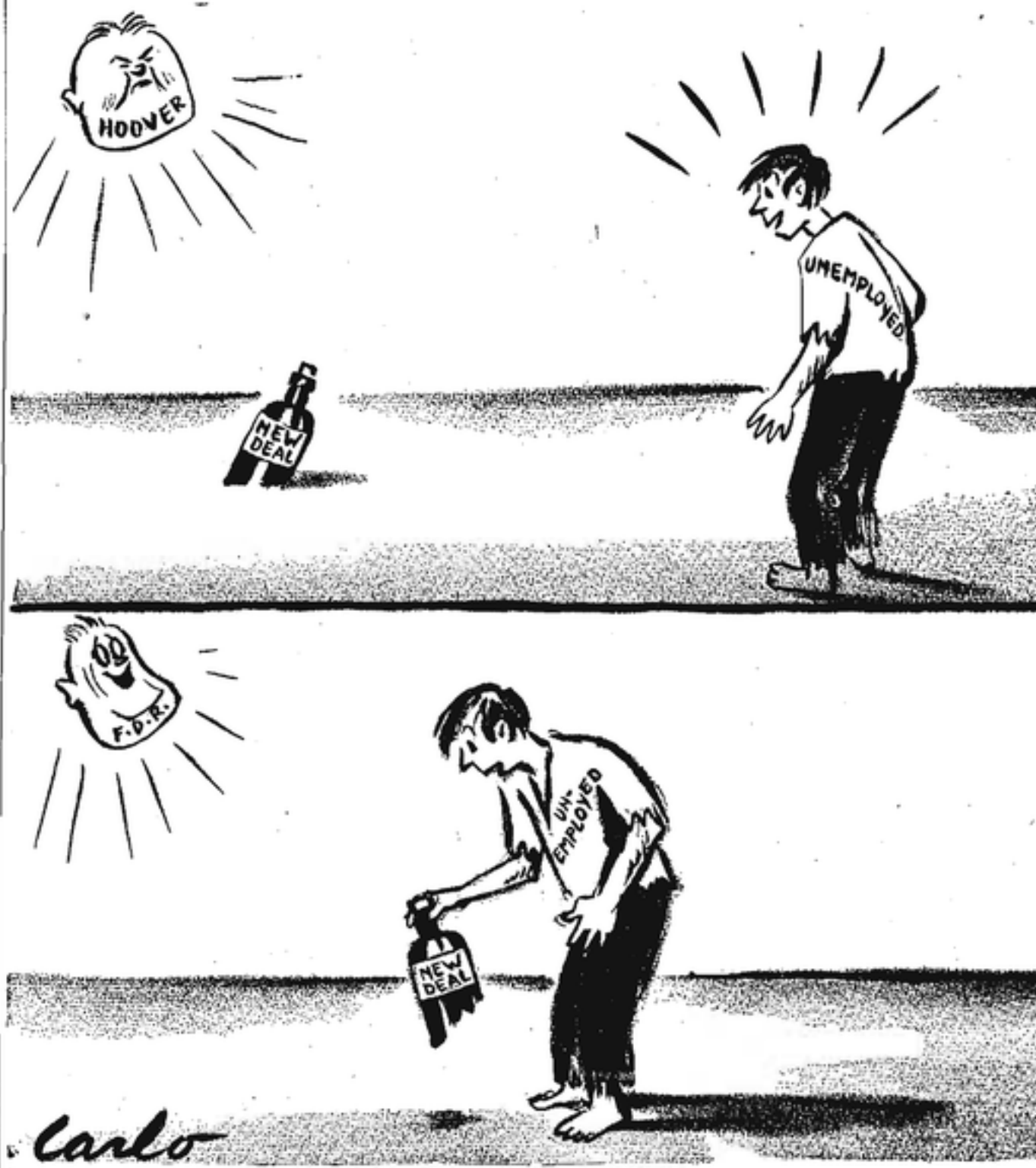
In the emigration Willi—both Schlamm and Muenzenberg—discovered that Stalinism is unethical. Willi M. went into another line of business in Europe and Willi S. came to New York and made connections with the *Jewish Daily Forward-New Leader* establishment.

From this brief sketch of Willi Schlamm's background, it is obvious that he is just the man to write for the *New Leader*. A very skillful man, indeed. He quotes a flunkey of the British Ministry of Information (i.e., Propaganda), a ceremonial speech by the French president, a remark of Winston Churchill, another by British Ambassador Lord Lothian—all of it the usual clap-trap of war-time speeches. (Willi does NOT quote the one official declaration on war aims—that by Lord Halifax, and with good reason! For it doesn't say what he wants to convey.) Then he applies to these vagrant remarks the "no accident" formula which he learned in Muenzenberg's school. "That all this occurred on the same day, and November 11 at that, is no coincidence, but evidence of a deliberated common action." That provides the necessary transition mechanism to conclude: "It is impossible to deny that the Allied war aims as they now are stated correspond exactly with the aims of decent people throughout the world."

After due consideration we have come to the conclusion that it is still possible for decent people to deny what Willi Schlamm asserts. We offer other matters, however, which are impossible to deny. It is impossible to deny that Willi Schlamm is one of that foul coterie of German labor fakers who, having led the German working class to yield to Hitler without striking a blow, now propose to go back to their pie-cards behind British bayonets. It is impossible to deny that these democrats are every whit as corrupt as their Stalinist competitors. It is impossible to deny that their stench pollutes the very air which the working class breathes. It is impossible to deny that their American patrons, the *Jewish Daily Forward* and the *New Leader*, are the most brazen war-mongering sheets in the United States.

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The Mirage



Carlo

By Dwight Macdonald

SPARKS IN THE NEWS

Il Duce on War

If there is one thing that this war is making clear, it is that world capitalism has reached a stage of decay so advanced that the distinction between "war" and "peace" has broken down completely. Or rather, there is no longer any such thing as "normal, peace-time conditions" under capitalist economy.

This point was developed at length in the last *New Internationalist*, in the editorial and in my own column. And now it is stated boldly and explicitly by one of the chieftains of the enemy. According to a dispatch from Rome in today's *N. Y. Times*, Premier Mussolini, in a speech addressed—significantly enough—to the Supreme Commission for Autarchy, expressed himself as follows:

"There is not an economy for peacetime and an economy for wartime. There is only a war economy, because historically . . . it has been demonstrated that a state of armed warfare is a normal state of the people, at least of those living on the European continent, because even in years of so-called peace other types of war are waged, which in their turn prepare our armed warfare. Therefore, it is the fact, or rather the imminent fatality, of armed warfare that ought to dominate and that does dominate economy. He who fails to reach this conclusion is an ignoramus who has not got the right to complain or be surprised at the catastrophe toward which he is going."

In matters like these, Il Duce speaks with the authority of an expert.

"We're All Socialists Now"

The late Judge Gary of the Steel Corporation once said, "We're all socialists now." The general reaction to the Judge's statement was in the nature of a belly laugh. But those were simpler times. Today Gary might well be taken quite seriously.

A proclamation was issued by a labor leader the other day to the proletariat of a certain European country: "SOCIALISM AGAINST CAPITALISM! THAT IS OUR BATTLECRY!" These words were addressed to the workers of Germany by Dr. Robert Ley, head of Hitler's "Labor Front." The war aims of Germany Dr. Ley defined as "the complete destruction of England and the domination of her moneybags over the rest of the people on the globe." (It might be added that the main point of Dr. Ley's message to the German workers was that their working day was to be increased two hours—at no extra pay.) Thus the Nazis are beginning to raise on high the banner of socialism. Perhaps even more extraordinary, the rulers of the Soviet Union have also taken this banner out of the Kremlin attic and have flung it to the breeze, exuding a strong odor of mothballs. Charlie McCarthy Molotov denounces the war as an imperialist blood bath. Charlie McCarthy Browder damns the Roosevelt Administration as the tool of the bourgeoisie and even ventures a few unkind words about the Roman Catholic Church. And the puppet master in the Kremlin smokes his genial pipe in approval, removing it only to ask for a few more islands in the Gulf of Finland.

Rousseau to Ribbentrop

It may be objected that it is laboring the obvious to point such contradictions between the words of power politicians and their deeds. From time immemorial, statesmen have veiled their real policies in the handsomest available ideological trappings. However, I think there is an interesting difference in the way such trappings have been used in the past and the way they are used today.

In the youth of capitalism in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, no one made any serious effort to pretend that there was anything very real or eternal about the verbal rationalizations used in the game of power politics. The language of diplomacy, was, of course, highly euphemistic; nor did statesmen fail to appeal to the noblest human sentiments in covering up whatever particular piece of skulduggery they were perpetrating at the moment. But it was generally understood that these high-minded phrases were simply the poker chips of the game, to be shovled about from day to day among the players as suited the tactical needs of the moment. Statesmen went through the forms just as lawyers go through the forms of talking about justice in our courts today—and with just as cynically realistic an understanding that it was all form and talk.

Then along came Rousseau and the rights of man and all sorts of other humanitarian and idealistic doctrines, finding their political expression in the French Revolution. There also arose the idea, hitherto unknown, that the people had certain democratic rights and that policies must be justified by their beneficial effect on the great majority of mankind. The liberal bourgeois politicians of the nineteenth century spent their lives in eloquently enunciating these high-minded, inspiring principles. It is true that the necessities of capitalism forced them constantly to act in sharp contradiction to their words. But if they wore an ideological costume to hide the shocking nakedness of capitalist exploitation, it was at least always the same costume. Gladstone was an old humbug, but he was eternally and consistently false to the same set of principles.

The Ideological Wardrobe

But where Gladstone got himself up in the same liberal costume all his life, Hitler and Stalin have a whole ideological wardrobe. Just as the King of England has one uniform for visiting the fleet, another for receiving the Lord Mayor of London, and so on, so Hitler, though he goes everywhere in the same belted uniform, changes ideological costumes according to whether his audience is made up of capitalists or workers. Molotov's recent remark about fascism being "a matter of taste"—as though it were a question of choosing a new hat—is clearly in this spirit.

What the totalitarian regimes are now showing us is a weird combination of the eighteenth and nineteenth century usages in these matters. They feel the nineteenth century's need for gaining mass democratic sanctions for their policies, for shrouding their dirty work in high-sounding phrases of concern for the wellbeing of The People. But at the same time, they manipulate these ideological garments with the cynical abruptness of eighteenth century politics, changing from one cosmic, all-embracing philosophy to its opposite with the facility of a Metetrich substituting one diplomatic formula for another.

SPECIAL NEGRO NUMBER NOVEMBER NEW INTERNATIONAL

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Their Government
By James Burnham

It is very difficult to be sure just what has been happening in Prague. The reports sent to this country give the impression of a rather surprising candor. In general, Germany has been permitting the foreign correspondents to send out far more news than have France or Britain. So far the Nazis have not instituted "pre-censorship" of dispatches. This, of course, need not mean very much: "post-censorship," with its threat of expulsion if the correspondent's dispatches displease the regime, can be just as effective as pre-censorship; and several American correspondents have, in fact, been recently expelled.

We cannot be sure just how widespread the disturbances have been in Prague itself, nor whether they have extended to other Czech cities. We cannot trust the account of the extent of repressions. Most important, perhaps, of all, we do not know what slogans have been put forward.

Nevertheless, it seems possible to piece a few facts together.

The Uneasy Protectorate

The open demonstrations and clashes apparently began a couple of weeks ago, during the celebration of the Czech "independence day." Prior to this, however, there were indications that trouble was brewing, and the clashes were not unexpected.

The high point was reached in the student riots at the University. What set these off remains obscure. One story is that they began when a Nazi professor in one of the classes insulted the students. A considerable battle seems to have taken place at the University.

There is no reason to believe that the puppet Czech "government-in-exile" had any direct connection with the demonstrations. This is shown by the statement of Jan Masaryk repudiating the actions as "ill-advised" and "premature."

The Nazis do not seem to have been prepared for disturbances on a scale that these in Prague reached. The dispatches suggest hesitations, and shifts in policy. Up to now, they have been trying to utilize the Czech protectorate regime, under Hacha, which they set up, and a primarily Czech police force as the main instrument of their rule—supplemented, naturally, by concentration camps and the Gestapo. There were obvious advantages in this policy: it was easier to keep the Czech people divided when Czech cops were used to beat up Czech dissidents, and when a Czech "government" proclaimed the laws and regulations decided on in Berlin.

In the first demonstrations, the Czech police were assigned to "keep order," and all along Hacha has been calling for quiet. But by the time of the University clash, it had become clear that the Czech police could not do the job, and that many Czechs, especially the students, were not listening to Hacha. In some instances, the police seem to have been going actively over to the side of the demonstrators, as is indicated by the fact that several Czech policemen were shot in the repressions.

It became necessary to send in thousands of Gestapo agents and heavily armed detachments of S. S. men, their equipment including, according to reports, field artillery.

Statements now issuing from Berlin say that the protectorate status may soon be altered in favor of some form of more open, direct and complete Nazi rule.

What is Foreshadowed?

Enough has happened to show that the Czech people have not accepted Nazism, and that they are ready to fight against it. What a commentary these brave students and the others who were with them provide on the cowardly capitulators of the Benes regime who now, as eager servants of the British, presume to call themselves the government of Czechoslovakia!

That the demonstrations began among the students and youth is in accordance with the usual pattern. The most volatile element in the society, their moods change more swiftly. While the broad masses of workers and peasants remain passive, the youth can accomplish only sporadic flare-ups, but their actions are symptoms of what is going on beneath the surface, and symbols of deepening revolt to come.

But what is to come will depend also on the perspective and direction which the movement takes.

Benes states his views from London: the actions in Prague, and others like them, he found, will greatly aid the "democracies" in their prosecution of the war.

What would be the effect if the line of Benes were to be accepted by the Czechs? It would doom them to a terrible failure, and at the same time strengthen Hitler.

If Hitler can present plausible evidence to show to the German people that the Czech anti-Nazi movement is actually inspired by the imperialist enemy-states, whose sole aim is to crush Germany in their own imperialist interests, and is working for the victory of the enemy-states, then the Czechs will appear to the German people as no more than another division in the opposing imperialist armies. In compensation for some undoubted practical difficulties, Hitler would be able to draw the German people closer around himself and his regime. He can say: look, even the Czech workers are your enemies, in the service of the hated imperialists of London and Paris; you have only me to rely upon. And there could be no effective answer to him, for what he would say would be true.

Already Hitler is exploiting these possibilities, and playing up the Prague events as directed from London. The remarks of the traitor, Benes, and the general propaganda of the imperialist democrats about German revolt for the benefit of London and Paris, are what enable Hitler to get away with his demagoguery.

This is why the Czech anti-Nazi movement, if it is to be successful and in the interests of the Czech people, must orient itself on a firmly internationalist perspective, against both war camps. In that light, the German workers, and the workers of France and Britain as well, will be their allies in the struggle against the common enemy.

TO A NINE-INCH GUN

Whether your shell hits the target or not,
Your cost is five hundred dollars a shot.
You things of noise and flame and power,
We feed you a hundred barrels of flour
Each time you roar. Your flame is fed
With twenty thousand loaves of bread.
Silence! A million hungry men
Seek bread to fill their mouths again.