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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—\$0-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.

The Kremlin's Aim In the Finnish Crisis

(Continued from Page 1)

British are attempting to assassinate Hitler and replace him by a regime which would agree to turn its guns against the Soviet Union. Therefore—this is plainly indicated by the Stalinist press—Hitler should be defended against assassination or overthrow!

At the same time, however, the Kremlin lives in deadly fear of the possibility that, despite all its courting of German imperialism, the latter will make peace with Britain and turn on Russia. It is against that dread day that the Kremlin's moves in the Baltic are calculated. The military and naval outposts secured from the other Baltic countries, plus similar outposts from Finland, would close the defensive circle of the Baltic against Germany.

But since the Kremlin is simultaneously wooing Hitler, it cannot very well explain the real meaning of its Baltic moves. Hence one of the most repulsive aspects of its propaganda—its patent fraudulence; as fraudulent as the declaration that the Stalin-Hitler pact would help Poland and the democracies, which the Stalinists were making until the Red Army marched into Poland. This cynical lying confuses and disorients the class-conscious workers everywhere; and nothing can so weaken the Soviet Union as the development of an attitude of suspicion and disgust toward it among the workers in the capitalist countries.

When, in the days of Lenin and Trotsky, the Soviet power led its armies up to Warsaw and conquered Georgia, the class-conscious workers understood the necessity of these steps and defended them, for the foreign policy of the workers' state was clearly in the interests of the world revolution, was developed and executed before the eyes of the international working class. The contrast between this and the duplicity of the Kremlin's policy is but one index to the vast degeneration which has taken place in the first workers' state since Lenin died.

The methods employed by Stalin in the Baltic are utterly alien to a revolutionary-internationalist policy. Lenin and Trotsky called upon the Polish and Georgian workers to revolt and came to their aid with the Red Army. Stalin calls upon the Finnish people—not the workers—to . . . change Premiers! Instead of arousing the masses within the Baltic countries to overthrow their capitalist rulers, and establish Soviet Republics which would guard the Baltic against Germany, Stalin prefers pacts with their bourgeois rulers. The only kind of "revolution" he wants in the Baltic is the kind he "made" in backward Polish Galicia—under the direction of the GPU.

In our criticism of the military interventions of the Soviet bureaucracy, we sharply distinguish ourselves from the social-democratic, anarchist and bourgeois critics of the Kremlin: These anti-revolutionary critics denounce the Soviet for using military force and for violating existing borders. For us, however, the borders of the capitalist world are not at all inviolate, and military force in the hands of a revolutionary government may very well serve the revolution. That the Kremlin's military intervention serves only the interests of the Kremlin and its imperialist ally (Hitler in Poland); that it is carried out without consideration of the will and feelings of the workers of the Soviet Union or the occupied territories or the international proletariat;

that it compromises the Soviet Union and disorients the world working class—these are our criticisms, which in all fundamentals runs counter to the standpoint of the Kremlin's non-revolutionary critics.

The social-democrats and other lackeys of the "democratic" imperialists call upon the Finnish workers to defend Finland against the Red Army. We, on the contrary, apply to Finland as to every other bourgeois country our fundamental attitude toward imperialist wars. The Finnish government refuses to yield to Soviet demands for military outposts only because Finland is assured of the support of one or more great powers against the Soviet. The *New York Times* makes that plain enough, in its Nov. 28 editorial calling for a holy war against the Soviet Union. We are against the support of any imperialist power in any war, let alone a war against the Soviet Union which remains, despite the Kremlin gang, upon the economic foundations laid down by the October Revolution.

The task of the Finnish workers is to make their own socialist revolution. Nothing else can avail them. They must destroy the Finnish bourgeoisie before they can cope with Stalin's demands upon Finland. If a struggle breaks out between bourgeois Finland and the Soviet Union, it is the duty of the Finnish workers to be Soviet partisans in that struggle.

If the Soviet Union were led by revolutionaries, the Finnish revolution would be made by the Finnish workers with the assurance that they would receive the aid of the Red Army against intervention by the imperialist powers. Instead, however, the brutish and provocative tactics of the Kremlin against Finland drive the Finnish workers into unity with the Finnish bourgeoisie. In this incident as in all others, the tactics of the Kremlin serve to strengthen the imperialist front which will eventually attempt to destroy the Soviet Union.

Here is but the latest proof of our conviction that the defense of the Soviet Union cannot be left in the hands of the Kremlin clique. The armed overthrow by the Soviet workers of the Stalinist bureaucracy—it will not yield its power by any other means—is vitally necessary if the Soviet Union is to be saved and become again what it was under Lenin and Trotsky: drill ground of the world revolution.

Into the Abyss

"In this Thanksgiving season, it is not a pleasant thought to realize that two out of three Americans are sliding down into an economic and moral abyss from which there is no escape save by the bitterness of social reform at best, or at worst by the bloody ladder of social upheaval."

These are highly interesting words. They come from Mr. Jay Franklin, pro-Roosevelt Washington correspondent of the *New York Post*.

Mr. Franklin wrote them while reeling under the impact of the report of the National Resources Planning Board.

Basing itself on a study of three representative income groups during 1935-36, the Board discloses startling conditions.

The income groups it studied are: "the lower third," which earns \$780 a year or less; the "middle third," which earns from \$780 a year to \$1450, and the highest group, which earns upwards of \$1450.

The "lower third" spends more than half its income on food alone.

It spends more of its income, proportionately, on medical care than either of the two higher groups, showing clearly the close relations between poverty and disease.

Exclusive of its expenditures on food, clothing and shelter, it has only \$31 a year, or sixty cents a week, to spend on other things: medical care, amusement, dentistry, movies, sport, literature, drama, religion. Sixty cents a week!

Unable to make ends meet, this group goes increasingly into debt each year.

Each year it has an average deficit of \$92. (This contrasts with the annual 19 percent savings made by the highest income group, even after its outlays for gifts and taxes have been deducted.) Even the middle group, earning from \$780 a year to \$1450, loses money, winding up a family deficit of \$19 a year.

This is the real situation after seven years of "social reforms" by Roosevelt. The inescapable fact is that the poor are getting poorer and the rich richer. The figures disclose that not one third, but two thirds of the nation is, in Mr. Franklin's words, "sliding down into an economic and moral abyss."

As fully aware as anyone of the bankruptcy of his social program, Roosevelt has thrown it overboard for a more "realistic" one. Unable to patch up the fabric of a rapidly disintegrating capitalism with internal measures, the Roosevelt administration is turning to the only other "solution" which capitalism provides: WAR!

From New Deal to War Deal, that is the road travelled by Roosevelt.

But, as Mr. Franklin fearfully suggests, if not social reform, then "social upheaval."

The spectre of the socialist revolution which haunts both warring camps today in Europe and paralyzes their military operations casts its shadow across the war maps in Washington too.

In the World of Labor

By Paul G. Stevens

How the French Workers Are Mulcted for the War . . .

Last week this column gave some general indications of the fact that the French workers are bearing the brunt of the war economy on their shoulders and that they are in a state of incipient rebellion as a result. This week we are in a position to give our readers more concrete information on this score, as gleaned from illegal organs that have reached us since then.

The 60-hour week has been established as a minimum, although in the more important war industries a work week of as much as 72 hours is in force. Of the minimum 60 hours, 45 hours work is required for the pay of 40 hours established by an old decree. Taking 10 francs as an average hourly rate, a worker receives 400 francs for 45 hours work. The 15 hours supplementary which now make up the 60 hour week are supposed to be paid at the regular rate, that is, 10 francs for the average worker. Thus, a worker should get 550 francs for his 60 hours of work.

In actuality, however, here is what happens. One decree, established since the beginning of the war, levies a 25 per cent tax on "overtime" or supplementary hours beyond the 45 originally set. Thus, the average worker gets only 112½ francs "overtime" pay instead of 150. Then 4 per cent of the remaining total salary goes to "social insurance," and 2 per cent goes to the government under the Reynaud emergency decree established before the war, leaving him a total of 482 francs out of the 550 francs he is supposed to get for 60 hours of work.

But even these 482 francs was deemed too much to give a worker for the 60 hours he is now required to work. So the war government of Daladier decided to slap another 15 per cent war tax on his wage, reducing the average worker's pay to some 409 francs. Thus he is really required to work 60 hours for the same pay as he previously received for 40 hours work, at the same time that the cost of living keeps constantly mounting.

This last tax, however, may prove to be the straw that breaks the camel's back. For, although the 15 per cent has already been officially decreed, resentment is so wide-spread that the government has up to the present refrained from enforcing it.

. . . And How the Prolos Answer in Action

At the Lorraine-Dietrich works in Argenteuil, the whole personnel carried on a strike for several hours, shouting revolutionary slogans and singing the "Internationale." They went back to work only when the management assured them that the 15 per cent tax would not be applied there.

At the "compteurs de Montrouge" department store, 300 women workers demonstrated for 20 minutes with the same object in view. Their demonstration met with a similar success.

In the C.A.P.R.A. factory at Courneuve, the bosses announced the government decree would be effective with the next pay envelope. The night-shift went on strike. As a result the 15 per cent was not deducted from their wages. At the "Petites Voitures" factory in Aubervilliers, the workers quit one hour earlier, carrying out a strike action along identical lines. Same result here too.

From the looks of things, the French prolos are not going to take the war deal there lying down.

Need of the Hour: A Revolutionary Party

Conditions at the front are not any better for the French bourgeoisie than they are at the rear. Every bit of information coming from France is testimony to the fact that a tremendous ferment is making itself felt in the population as a whole.

Canadian Workers Take Their Sweet Time in Enlisting

II.

TORONTO—By the end of the second month of war, 60,000 recruits had been enrolled "for war or insurrection." The way they got these volunteers illumines the nature of "democracy." Most of these recruits came from the unemployed. When war broke out, single unemployed were getting no relief at all, and the average married unemployed were getting, in a large center like Toronto, the equivalent of 4½ cents per meal per person, in return for hard manual labor two or three days a week. Canadian army pay was boosted to \$1.30 per day, plus 85 cents living allowance for each dependent. Civil servants who enlist are given an additional bonus. Several firms are getting cheap advertising by promising to make up the wage-difference for employees who enlist.

Municipalities began laying off relief workers of military age or holding up their pittance to scare them into the army. Firms in Vancouver and elsewhere fired young workers and refused to take them back without a certificate of military fitness. Petty thieves and drunks in Ontario magistrate courts were given the alternative of six months or the army.

Anti-Semitic Act

Pressure on Jews and others to enlist takes many forms. In Toronto, home of 50,000 Jews, an armory is reported to have displayed the following sign: "Recruits enrolled today: Christians 265, Jews 2." A Jewish youth was attacked by soldiers in the main street and badly beaten. In another case six men, including a soldier, beat up a youth in the street who had refused to tell them why he had not enlisted. Three of the thugs, including the soldier, were not arrested; the three others got light sentences. That, in spite of all these meth-

When you keep in mind the recent revolts in Czechoslovakia and the reported disturbances in the Reich you have here a more than ample explanation as to why "all's quiet on the Western Front."

The situation just isn't set for an enthusiastic war. It is much more ripe for revolutionary action. What is lacking most is the existence of a firmly-knit revolutionary party.

Here too, however, the trend is becoming more favorable. We learn from reliable sources that the groups adhering to the Fourth International in France, which were hitherto divided over tactics with regard to work inside the Workers and Peasants' Socialist Party (P.S.O.P.), have recently reunited and are carrying on common activity.

The P.S.O.P. itself has undergone a considerable change. At the outbreak of the war, the party seemed to have disappeared. Late in October, however, it began to show signs of life again. Its paper, *Jeun 36*, has reappeared as a legal organ. An illegal edition, mimeographed, is also making the rounds of the Parisian working class quarters. The leadership of the party has passed over to elements designated as "left-centrists". The freemasons have been expelled from the organization. It is rumored that included among those expelled, is Marceau Pivert, former leader of the party.

The Stalinists, who regained a measure of the workers' confidence by their new fake "turn", are still paralyzed, and in spite of their tremendous apparatus and the aid of the G.P.U., display hardly more activity than the small revolutionary groups. Of late, there has been a steady trend of more advanced militants from their ranks going over to the P.S.O.P.

A Note on the Work Of Our Belgian Comrades

The circumstances surrounding the government's persecution of our leading Belgian comrades are only now coming to light. It seems that, at the outbreak of war, a certain Vereecken, the leader of an ultra-left group which split from our Revolutionary Socialist Party (PSR) about a year ago, took it upon himself to "prepare" the revolutionary vanguard for illegality. . . . This was done by means of a mimeographed circular containing detailed instructions which was mailed, among others, to a list of our comrades which he had purloined from the PSR when he split.

Naturally, the government, which was looking for just such a pretext, was greatly relieved of its trouble by this piece of stupidity. The result was that every leading militant in the country was instantly picked up. Confronted with the evidence, some of the comrades arrested found it hard to deny the identity of the perpetrator before the investigation judges. After being held for weeks, all the militants arrested, including Vereecken, were finally released.

Upon his release, Vereecken attempted to provoke a split in the ranks of the PSR because of the repudiation of his "document" by some of the comrades arrested. This attempt fortunately has failed. At a recent congress held by our Belgian party under the most difficult conditions, this matter among others was settled definitively. The "illegal circular" of Vereecken was condemned unanimously. The action of those comrades who identified the circular as having from Vereecken was censured. The party swung into action after the congress, resuming publication of its weekly organ, the *Lutte Ouvriere*, and beginning a vigorous anti-war campaign in the mining fields and in the industrial cities. In spite of the initial crisis brought about by the government action which has resulted from the stupidity of the ultra-lefts, the party has remained intact. As a matter of fact, the reports to the congress even showed a substantial gain in membership, coming mainly from the ranks of the Stalinists in such centers as Brussels and Liege.

man who had drawn sick relief for five years for infected teeth and other results of undernourishment; he was passed A-1 by the army.

In mid-October the pressure for conscription suddenly increased, with the announcement of the British plan to spend seven hundred million dollars yearly in Canada to make it the center of Empire airplane manufacture and air schooling. Twenty-five thousand pilots are to be trained annually. Some are to be brought from Australia, but the bulk will need to be found here. Remember that ten men are needed on the ground for every pilot. Remember that the physical tests for airmen are so searching that the type of slum-proletarian, desperate unemployed, or patriotic bank-clerk, will not do. Only a sweeping conscription of youth will meet these plans, for even the most flag-blinded youth is not anxious to enter a service which can promise an average life in active fighting of only forty minutes.

The high costs incurred in bribing unemployed into the army is another factor leading to conscription. Relief workers have been doubling their income by enlisting. As General Griesbach pointed out to the Senate, "We could get five single men for that money." The government has already responded by barring enlistment by men with more than four dependents. Tomorrow the generals will be demanding that the cheaper bodies of single men be officially seized.

American Labor Aid
125 West 33 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.

Their Government

By James Burnham

The Federal Reserve Board index figure of industrial production is currently reported as 125. In this simple number is concentrated the agony of American capitalism.

This number means that industrial production in this country is now running at the highest rate in history. We have not merely returned to, but surpassed, the Golden Age of 1929! The average production rate for 1929 was only 110.

But where, then, is the rosy hue that colored the land in 1929? Today, with production at its new height, there are still at least 10,000,000 unemployed, and millions upon millions more sub-humanly housed, half-starved, ill-clothed. 1929 is back, and more than back, and it has the taste of ashes in the mouth.

What Makes the Difference?

What accounts for this great gulf between 1929 and 1939? There seem to be four chief causes:

Each year there is a net increase of approximately 600,000 men in the labor market. All other things being equal, therefore, production, in order to maintain employment stability, would have to expand sufficiently each year to be able to absorb these 600,000.

Under the pressure of crisis, technological advances and new methods of speed-up have during the past decade enormously increased the man-hour output of labor. In such industries as steel, where the changes are especially striking, this means not only that fewer men are required to keep the plants going but that increases in the rate of production do not require corresponding increases in the number of workers employed. To run at 25% or 40% of capacity, the steel mills require far fewer men than in 1929. To run, as at present, at 95% of capacity (which, by the way, is considerably more than 100% of 1929 capacity), requires a still smaller fraction of workers than at 40%, so that the proportionate dislocation is even greater.

A third factor is the ever-rising debt load, both public and private, which weighs down upon the whole economy, and helps prevent expanding wages and profits from being fruitfully reflected in the consumer market. This effect was exaggerated in this past decade because of the devices which were employed to forestall wide-scale bankruptcies and reorganizations which, in previous crises, though they smashed up individual enterprises, acted as health-giving surgery for the economic structure as a whole.

Finally, the disproportions among the various sectors of the economy have become deepened and more awkward during this decade. The general health of the economy depends not merely on the vigor of this or that sector or even upon the average level of the economy as a whole, but also upon a proper balance between industry and agriculture, capital goods and consumer goods, internal trade and foreign trade, etc. Monopoly control, far from being able to maintain such a balance, introduces its own kind of planning into some sectors of industry only at the cost of a more violent anarchy in the economy taken in its entirety.

What of the War Boom?

Only a comparatively small part of the present rise in production is directly traceable to war business. Much of the increase has been due to domestic orders given in anticipation of a coming boom and as a guarantee that future war orders will not interfere with the fulfillment of domestic requirements. Within the past few months the curve of production has risen considerably above the curve of consumption, which, interpreted, means that inventories are piling up.

War orders, not merely from Britain and France, but also from the home government, will undoubtedly increase in the days to come. But it is clear that they will not be sufficient to bring about a general prosperity even of the 1929 variety, and in particular that they will not, by many millions, be able to absorb the unemployed. Indeed, with the increased inventories and the lagging behind of consumer purchasing power, it is not unlikely that after the first of the year, even with increased war orders, production will decline.

I am, in fact, convinced that much of the talk we have been hearing about a "war boom" has its source in deliberate propaganda designed to win the masses of the people over to the Roosevelt war measures. I believe, for instance, that many workers were led to an acceptance of the lifting of the arms embargo by at least the half-formed thought that, at any rate, there would be plenty of jobs available. The business men do not spread these illusions among themselves. In their own committees and publications they are very skeptical about the extent of the war boom, and make clear its probably limited character. They have noticed, among other things, that in England unemployment has increased since the start of the war, in spite of the entry of hundreds of thousands of young men into the army.

There Is No Cure

A general conclusion that forces itself upon us is that capitalist economy is even sicker than we think. The New Deal, as a set of primarily internal measures, was unable to cure U.S. capitalism. But even the drastic, present and projected, "external measures" of the War Deal cannot bring health back.

From a moral point of view, it has been a terrible enough comment on capitalism always that it could keep going only by periodic wars, that war was an integral phase of its life cycle. But capitalism has now reached a point where even war cannot repair the ravaged organism. Peace or war: the choice is now only of alternate roads to death.

This is known, we may assume, to the rulers of the capitalist world, and is not the least of those causes which make this "the strangest of all wars."

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WHY NEGROES SHOULD OPPOSE THE WAR

A message that affects the life of every Negro

By J. R. Johnson

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