

Shall We Be Fooled Now As In 1917?

President Roosevelt's war machine is hurtling the United States down greased rails into the bloody abyss of a new world war. Each day sees the people driven closer to impalement upon the bayonets of whatever "foe" Roosevelt decides they must fight to make the "world safe for democracy."

Once again let us review what the last World War to make the world safe for capitalist profits cost us:

In Human Lives

Of the 65,000,000 enrolled in the military forces, there were:

Known dead	10,000,000
"Missing"	4,000,000
Seriously wounded	6,500,000
Otherwise wounded	14,000,000

Total casualties at the front 34,500,000

"One out of every five men called or dragged to the colors was shot to death, blown to bits by high explosives, stabbed fatally with bayonet or trench knife, suffocated with poison gas, or fell victim to gangrene or epidemic disease."

"One out of every ten staggered home seriously injured, a large number maimed for life—blind, deaf, with face shot away, shattered by shell shock, often starkly insane, or with legs or arms—or both—gone."

"Of the more fortunate, an approximate average of one in five suffered injuries serious enough to require hospital attention."

"To the 14,000,000 soldiers dead now add 28,000,000—for by the latest estimate, at least that number of civilians perished before their time as a direct result of the war. Women and children, the aged and infirm, for the most part—millions upon millions of innocent non-combatants, of all ages, of all races, of both sexes, in almost all countries of the world."

"Cut down by pestilence or famine, cold or exposure, fire or poison gas, shot or shell or bombs from the air, as they fled in panic here and there, abandoning their homes and all they held dear, to escape being trampled on or crushed to death between the contending armies. How many civilians IN ADDITION suffered shocks and injuries disabling them for life as a direct consequence of the war will never be known and cannot even be estimated"

— (George Willison, "Why Wars Are Declared," p. 25)

In Goods and Dollars

The World War cost in round figures \$40,000,000,000. The United States' contribution to the cost of the World War, even according to so reactionary an authority as President Nicholas Murray Butler, of Columbia University, MIGHT HAVE GIVEN "each and every family in the United States a \$5,000 house—on a five-acre \$500 plot of ground—with \$1,000 in addition to furnish it comfortably and attractively."

"However delicate a definition is framed for 'profiteering,' it concedes the Federal Trade Commission, 'these packers (Armour, Swift, Morris, Wilson, and Cudahy) have preyed upon the people unconscionably.' In 1916 and 1917, the profits of these firms shot up to 400 per cent, although their sales increased only 150 per cent. The same was true of other foods the workers had to buy."

The United States Steel Corporation showed profits that were typical of all the big corporations in the last war, skyrocketing from \$77,075,000 in 1912 to \$478,204,000 in 1917!

But for the workers, the war brought only lowered purchasing power—from 20 to 30 per cent less than in the 'nineties and from 10 to 20 per cent less than in 1915. The workers paid for the war as is shown by the following table of the per capita debt increase in the principal countries due to the World War—and these debts are always paid out of the worker's pocket!

	1913	1920	Increase
U. S. A.	\$ 11	\$ 225	2025%
Britain	78	850	1090%
France	160	1150	719%
Germany	18	800	4444%
Italy	83	365	440%

Unemployed And Youth To Be Cannon Fodder

By BILL MORGAN

When the Generals and the bosses sit down together to lay plans for another war to save "democracy" and prepare to protect the financial interests of America's "60 Families" in Europe or South America or the Far East, they immediately take stock of the available cannon-fodder.

Without large numbers of men and boys who will bear the brunt of the fighting, to receive the bayonets through their stomachs and fill their lungs with poison gas, a war could not be successful.

And the 15,000,000 unemployed workers and youth of America have not been overlooked—in fact they are already the very first consideration in the plans to throw this country into another world slaughter. The Generals and the bosses have had their eyes on this large section of the working class and the blueprints have not only been drawn but put into effect.

Plans All Ready

Conscription of the unemployed and youth when war breaks out will be only a matter of pushing one of the various little buttons on the desk of the Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy—the President of the United States—none other than Franklin ("I Hate War!") Roosevelt.

The Sheppard-May Bill and similar bills which have been designed by the Generals to speed up the preparations for war and to facilitate the quick mobilization of millions of workers into the army, are already being used despite the fact that Congress has not yet voted on the bills.

W.P.A. Militarized

The entire relief and W.P.A. administration is now in the hands of the Army. In Washington Colonel Harrington has under him a staff of Captains and Majors. In New York the boss is Colonel Somervell and he, too, has filled the offices and bureaus with fellow officers. Reserve officers

and acting officers from every military center are being utilized to make the W.P.A. and the home-relief bureaus the conscription offices for the coming war.

Finger-printing of W.P.A. workers and the unemployed proceeds at a rapid pace despite the many protests and complaints. These workers are being put into the same category as criminals. Never before in history have honest, ordinary citizens been subjected to the degrading and humiliating practice of finger-printing.

Recruiting Bureaus In every relief bureau and on every W.P.A. project there are now or soon will be, posters advertising the "wonderful life in the Army." Officers are being sent to projects to give five minute talks on "Why American Boys Should Join the Colors." Stressing the three meals a day, the overcoats and shoes, the security of life in

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NOT A CENT, NOT A MAN FOR BOSS WAR!



Masses Die While Rich Grow Richer

While, week by week, both Houses of Congress vote billion upon billion for the war machine, Franklin D. Roosevelt, as chief among the American war-mongers, has called upon the people of the United States to celebrate on April 6th the twenty-second anniversary of the entry of this country into the first World War.

Roosevelt, political blood-brother of Woodrow Wilson, borrowing and retouching Wilson's own shameful slogans and hypocrisies, has good reason to link himself with that fateful day in 1917. Now, in 1939, Roosevelt is well launched in rushing his preparations for his own April 6th.

SAFE FOR "DEMOCRACY"

The War of 1914-1918 was to make the world safe for democracy. Out of that War issued the gangsters' pact of Versailles, which carved up the world to the taste of the victorious brigands. Hundreds of millions of men throughout Africa, Asia and South America have for twenty years felt on their backs the whip of the democracy which that War made safe; the democracy of Britain in India and South Africa, the democracy of Belgium in the Congo, the democracy of the United States in Puerto Rico, Hawaii, the Philippines and throughout Latin America.

The War of 1914-1918 was to overthrow tyranny and autocracy for all time. In that War, however, were planted the seeds which have flowered into Mussolini, Hitler, Franco, into the military overlords of Japan and the Balkans and Poland, into the world-spread of a despotism unparalleled in all history.

WAR BROUGHT TYRANNY

The War of 1914-1918 was to bring universal disarmament, perpetual peace among nations, the settlement of all disputes by rational consultation and agreement. There has not been a year since 1914 that wars and armed conflicts have not been fought.

The War of 1914-1918 was to give us freedom. Never has the world witnessed oppression comparable to what followed: the lynched Wobblies and the victims of Palmer's red raids, the aliens deported, the strikes smashed, the workers' meetings dispersed by tear gas and machine guns, the executed nationalists of China, India, Arabia, Puerto Rico, Nicaragua, Indo-China, the millions of bruised creatures in the concentration camps of Germany, Italy, France, Spain, hunger and insecurity everywhere.

WHY U. S. ENTERED

The story of April 6, 1917 has been spread wide upon the records of Senate investigating committees, but Roosevelt will not remind you to look again at those records.

You can read there how the great industrialists and bankers, under the leadership of Morgan & Co., saw the War as a mighty chance for super-profits, and how they decided that the maximum of profit could be secured only if the United States itself entered the War at the decisive moment on the side of the Allies.

You can read how the government of

Wilson collaborated with them in building up the lying propaganda which swung the people into favor of their war. You will read how Wilson's ambassador acted as their agent in London, and demanded in a confidential communication, entry into the war to prevent their schemes from collapsing.

WHO PROFITED?

You can read how after April 6 the money raised for the war was pumped by the millions into the pockets of the owners of Dupont, U.S. Steel, Kennecott Copper, Bethlehem Steel and the rest. In case after case, hundreds of millions which the taxed public was told were designed for airplanes and cannon and shells never produced a single plane or gun or bullet but were siphoned off exclusively for the direct benefit of the Sixty Families and their corporations.

You can read how the first Red Cross subscription, raised from the pennies of the people to the accompaniment of tear-jerking posters and appeals to give comforts to "our poor boys," was used to stop the rising movement among the French soldiers against the war.

NEW WORLD WAR

That War, for the bosses, was the biggest, fattest, juiciest racket they had ever got their blood-stained fingers on; and they made the most of it.

And if you turn from those records to other archives now in Washington, you can get some notion of what Roosevelt's new war, the second World War, will be like. Study the Industrial Mobilization Bill and learn how life in the United States will be under the totalitarian military dictatorship which begins the day that war starts.

You can learn how war propaganda is handled, and how an espionage system embracing hundreds of thousands in every city and village will be organized. You can see how the press is coordinated into the war machine, how any word of doubt about the beauties of the war is transformed into treason.

You will discover how strikes and picketing are to be eliminated, hours increased beyond physical endurance and wages kept at the lowest limit; and how profits rise and rise again at the sweet beckoning of the war orders.

AMERICAN LIBERTY

You can learn how the draft will be arranged, how workers and farmers will be taken from their homes and wives and children and placed on the firing line to shoot and bomb and gas their fellow-workers across no-man's-land. And you will learn how the bankers and executives will not be on the firing line, but warmly seated in carpeted offices doing their heroic bit, planning how to kill more millions of men and how to squeeze the last drop of profit from the dead.

This will be the new war, Roosevelt's war, to make the world once again safe for democracy, his democracy. It is to this war that he, the servant of the same masters who were so well served by Woodrow Wilson, summons the people of the United States.

Secret Plans Already Formed For Iron Dictator In America

War Department And Big Industrialists Formulate Complete Details for Muzzling Free Speech, Even "Free Thought," And Wiping Out All Labor Gains

By HAL DRAPER

"To wage a successful war you need an absolute monarch. I have yet to hear of a democracy or a republic waging a successful war," said Mr. Irene du Pont to the Nye Committee of the Senate, investigating the Industrial Mobilization Plan.

In the files of the War Department is a blueprint to carry Mr. du Pont's thought into practice. In the form of plans for conscription, labor control, breaking strikes, clamping a censorship on the press, abolishing progressive legislation, setting up an emergency junta to rule the country by decree under the dictatorship of the President, etc.—all this

planned in as minute detail as if it were going into operation tomorrow—the government is ready to demonstrate how such democracy you will have at home when you fight the next war "for democracy."

This is the Industrial Mobilization Plan. These plans are official secrets; you are not supposed to be concerned with them. Even to the Nye Committee, the War Department revealed just what it pleased and no more. It made clear that its intention was to rush the industrial mobilization bills through Congress on the day war is declared; it is not particularly interested in having the bills voted on or discussed now.

DICTATORSHIP IN HANDS OF "WAR CABINET"

The plan provides for the setting up of a virtual "War Cabinet," composed of "prominent industrialists" appointed by the President. As a minority of the House Military Affairs Committee has put it—when this body "takes over," "Congress might as well let its halls be burned, go home and be prepared to be called occasionally for a speech in some opera house."

Control of the press is an integral part of the plan. And more than that. Listen to these words of Herbert Bayard Swope, who was Assistant Chairman of the

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Trotsky Interviewed by the London Daily Herald

Only Labor Can Stop War

Sybil Vincent, correspondent for the London Daily Herald, submitted a series of questions to Leon Trotsky on the development of the war crisis. Below we print comrade Trotsky's answers.

Is a world war inevitable? If so, will it mean the end of the capitalist system?

Yes, a world war is inevitable, if a revolution does not forestall it. The inevitability of the war flows, first, from the incurable crisis of the capitalist system; secondly, from the fact that the partition of our planet, that is to say above all, of the colonies, no longer corresponds to the economic specific weight of

the imperialist states. Looking for an escape out of the mortal crisis, the parvenu states aspire, and cannot fail to aspire, to new partitioning of the world. Only children at the breast and professional "pacifists" to whom even the experience of the unfortunate League of Nations has taught nothing, can suppose that a more "equitable" repartition of the territorial surface can be realized around the green tables of democracy.

Effect of Spanish Defeat

If the Spanish revolution had been victorious, it would have given a powerful impulse to the revolutionary movement in France and in other countries of

Europe. In this case it would have been possible to hope confidently that the victorious socialist movement would forestall the imperialist war, making it useless and impossible. But the socialist proletariat of Spain was strangled by the coalition of Stalin-Azana-Caballero-Negrin-Garcia Oliver, even before it was definitely crushed by the bands of Franco. The defeat of the Spanish revolution postponed a revolutionary perspective for the imperialist war. Only the blind can not see that!

Of course, the more energetically and the more audaciously the advanced workers will fight in all countries against militarism and imperialism now, in spite of the unfavorable conditions, the more quickly they will be able to stop

the war when it has started, the greater will be the hopes for the salvation of our civilization from destruction.

Yes, I do not doubt that the new world war will provoke with absolute inevitability the world revolution and the collapse of the capitalist system. The imperialist governments of all countries are doing all that is possible to accelerate this collapse. It is only necessary that the world proletariat be not again taken unaware by the great events.

The task that the Fourth International puts before itself, I note in passing, is precisely the revolutionary preparations of the vanguard. This is exactly why it names itself the World Party of Socialist Revolution.

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Green and Lewis Unite In War Mobilization Plans

They Are Roosevelt's Key-Men in Winning Labor's Support of the Bosses' War

By STAN LAUREN

With preparations for a new imperialist war going ahead at full speed, the Roosevelt Administration has advanced assurance that the two rival leaders of the labor movement, John L. Lewis and William Green, will unite in their efforts to chain workers in both the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. to the capitalist war machine.

While the labor movement will never learn how, at various secret conferences between the President and the two labor leaders, Lewis and Green planned to put the workers of the two labor bodies at the disposal of the war department, open statements which appeared in the press are enough to indicate their willingness to line up labor in support of a new war "for democracy."

Pledges Cooperation

At the C.I.O. convention in Pittsburgh, last November, Lewis expressed his line most clearly. "If war comes," Lewis declared, "the United States will need the co-operation of the millions of workers in the C.I.O. who are willing to fight any time to maintain our rights."

He went on to warn of the "bloodthirsty German government" and told the delegates that "possibly we'll have to meet the German dictator as he extends his power to the Western Hemisphere." "Who is going to do it," Lewis asked — then answered himself: "Labor."

During the last war it was John L. Lewis who represented the miners when the U.M.W.A. entered into an agreement with the United States government through the fuel administration and guaranteed that the miners would not strike so as to insure enough coal production "to win the war." The cost of living soared. Wages remained low.

N.M.U. Sell-Out

Recently Lewis' National Maritime Union decided to give up its fight against the government flunk halls and flunk training ships. These will be used to smash any militant action of the sailors during wartime by filling the ships with sea-borne sailors when the militants are taken off the boats.

John L. Lewis did not by a word criticize in fact he gave support to the N.M.U.'s sell-out. One of the reasons that Lewis has not waged war against the Stalinists in the C.I.O. is that

they both, for different reasons, of course, have the same policy regarding labor's support of a new war for "democracy."

Support War Funds

William Green has the same line. In January 1938, when the Administration was discussing appropriations for the war budget and Roosevelt asked for a billion dollars (this year he got two billion) Green gave a clear statement in support of this measure.

"I feel that at this period when we take into account what is happening internationally, we must have confidence in the judgment of the chief executive. . . . If he feels that a billion dollars are necessary to protect America, I feel that we ought to support him."

More indicative is Green's statement when he testified before the War Policies Commission in 1931. From this statement it is clear that he gives full support to the Industrial Mobilization Plans of the Roosevelt government. For example, he had this to say: "War is to be abhorred. That is the attitude of the working people whom I represent. They shrink from the very thought of it. But, of course, if the thing we abhor actually happens, there must be a plan, and the plan must be a practical plan, and a reasonable plan."

Seek to Tie Labor Hands

Only last week Green endorsed the jingo "Stop Hitler" parade for imperialist war which was held in New York City.

Both Green and Lewis are following their predecessor, Samuel Gompers, who tied the hands of labor during the last war and permitted the working class to be exploited beyond endurance, so that the capitalists could make profits.

Time and again Green and Lewis have declared their love for capitalism. They openly admit that they believe in the profit system. Consequently, they cannot be expected to object to a war for profits.

The working class must refuse to be chained down to support of a new imperialist venture. They must demonstrate by militant action their firm opposition to any war their bosses undertake. Green and Lewis must not be allowed to stand in the way.

Labor must defend its right to strike, its right to freedom of the press and of speech.

UNEMPLOYED AND YOUTH WILL BE TURNED INTO CANNON FODDER

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the army, these recruiting sergeants make the most of the present insecurity, the present fear of losing one's job, the lack of decent clothes in order to line up the cannon-fodder.

The youth of the nation who apply for N.Y.A. jobs are immediately referred to the C. C. C. camps where every effort is being made to train them for use in war. In the schools and colleges a renewed drive is on to enlarge the R.O.T.C. Millions of dollars are to be spent to make airplane pilots out of students. Billions of dollars are being voted by Congressmen—New Dealers and Tories alike—to teach the art of murder to workers and students while demands for increased relief and work relief are met with the crisp, military answer, "Sorry, there are no funds available."

"Go Out and Kill"

When a man has worked twenty years in a factory where he has given his lungs, his eyesight, his nerves and his skill, he can be thrown on the scrap-heap without

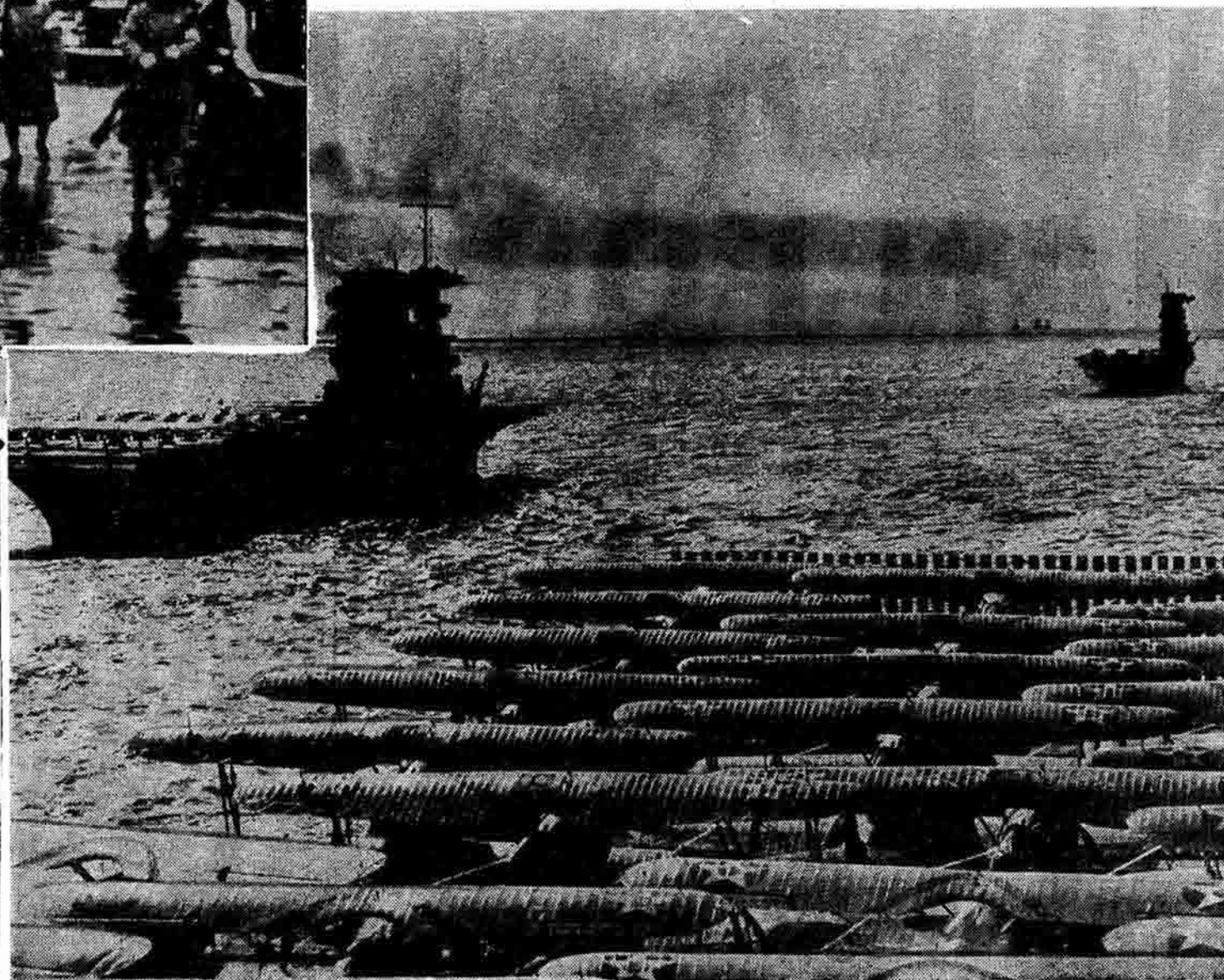
a single protest from the very people who are now preparing the new world-slaughter. And when he applies for home relief in order to get a W.P.A. job, he is cross-examined for hours and hours. He is ordered to fill out endless forms and cards. He is submitted to every possible indecency and insult. He is sent home to wait endless days and weeks until he can no longer bear the pain of hunger.

But when the bosses and Generals need cannon-fodder there are no questions. "Here," they say, "Take this gun and go kill, wound and destroy your fellow-workers." To the youth who is denied an education and a job they say, "Here take this bomb and drop it on some women and children, slaughter your fellow-youth."

Will the unemployed workers and students realize that they must take the guns, the bombs, the bayonets and then turn them on the Generals and Bosses? Unless they do they will be the principal victims of the war "for democracy. . . ."

Where Wall St. "Defends Democracy"

The War That Roosevelt, J. P. Morgan, the DuPonts, and the Other Sixty Families Want Us to Fight for Them Is the War for the Expansion of Their Investments, for Control of Asia, South America, and Europe—That Is What the Navy Is Preparing to Do in the Pacific — That Is Why There Are American Marines in China



General Johnson Cooks Up New Scheme To Avoid Popular Referendum On War

By ALBERT GOLDMAN

It was left for General Hugh S. Johnson to concoct the slickest scheme thus far proposed to sidetrack the widespread desire for an amendment to the constitution to give the people of this country the right to vote on war. The General's proposal is to have Congress retain the right to declare war and grant the people the right to vote on the question whether or not there should be any conscription for overseas fighting.

Ever since last year's Congressional session, when Representative Ludlow introduced the resolution which would give those who do the fighting and suffering a chance to decide whether they want war declared or not, the "responsible" politicians of the ruling class have been seeking for a way to bury the whole idea.

Not that these "responsible" politicians actually believe that such a thing as a vote by the people would actually succeed in preventing war; they merely refuse to take any chances of having their war plans interfered with in the slightest degree. They know very well that Roosevelt, as commander-in-chief, can start a war without any formal declaration and they also understand that with the powerful means of propaganda at their disposal they are quite likely to succeed in confusing the masses and get a favorable vote by hook or crook.

Nevertheless, if a proposition to declare war would actually be submitted to a vote of the people, there would be an opportunity for tremendous agitation against the war and that would considerably weaken the war mongers.

THE ORIGINAL LUDLOW AMENDMENT

The original resolution introduced by Ludlow provided for a referendum on war "except in the event of an invasion of the United States or its territorial possessions." The Roosevelt Administration would not even permit a general discussion of it. Mobilizing all its forces in Congress against the resolution, with the aid of prominent Republicans, Roosevelt succeeded in defeating a motion to discuss the Ludlow Amendment by the narrow margin of 209 to 188.

The size of the vote in favor against Roosevelt indicated the tremendous support the idea of a referendum has among the masses of the people. According to surveys made at the time by the American Institute of Public Opinion (the Gallup poll) 70 percent of the voters favored the Ludlow amendment.

The campaign of the war mongers—the Communists were the most articulate and vocifer-

ous—against the amendment, scared its Congressional proponents into modifying it so that under the latest form of the proposed amendment the question of war would be submitted to a popular referendum "except in case of attack by armed forces, actual or immediately threatened, upon the United States or its territorial possessions or by any non-American nation against any country in the Western Hemisphere." The phrase "immediately threatened" is vague enough to furnish Congress with a loophole to escape the necessity of a referendum whenever it would see fit. And to protect the investments of American capitalists in Latin America or Canada, Congress need have no authorization whatever from the people in order to declare war.

The watered-down form of the new resolution is certainly a retreat on the part of Ludlow and other Congressmen who support it. Unfortunately there is not a single Congressman who is militant enough to introduce the proper kind of an amendment which would permit the people to vote on the question of war in all cases without any exception.

JOHNSON CUTS THE MEAT OUT OF IT

But poor as the new amendment is, General Johnson's proposal would completely emasculate the whole idea. It would deprive the masses of the right to vote on the major question, that

is, on whether to declare war, and would permit a vote of the people only on the question of conscripting men to fight overseas.

General Johnson correctly surmises that what the people want least of all is to be drafted to fight in Europe or Asia, and he figures that they will be satisfied if they are given the right to vote on that particular issue, leaving the really important decision of declaring war exclusively to Congress.

The adoption of Johnson's idea would permit a declaration of war by Congress without any referendum, would permit the sending of the navy to fight in foreign waters to protect American investments, would permit the sending of the regular army and all volunteers into service in any part of the world.

The Gallup poll recently announced that a poll resulted in a 61 percent favorable vote for Johnson's proposal. That does not mean that those who voted for it preferred it to the Ludlow amendment. It was not presented in the poll as a counter proposal to that amendment, but as an "independent" proposition. The 3-2 vote therefore is an index to the anti-war sentiment of the masses. It is necessary to recognize, however, that the efforts of Johnson and others to confuse the masses may succeed in turning attention away from the Ludlow amendment to Johnson's phony scheme.

WHAT THE AMENDMENT CAN AND CANNOT DO

We are not fooling ourselves or the workers into believing that any kind of an amendment to the constitution will prevent imperialist wars so long as capitalism exists. Without creating any illusions whatever, class-conscious workers should take the lead in mobilizing the workers behind the Ludlow amendment, demanding that the congressmen proposing the amendment delete from it the exceptions which would give the right to Congress to declare war without first submitting the question to a popular referendum.

To a certain degree, it must be recognized, Roosevelt and his war-mongering supporters have succeeded in winning a section of the population away from an anti-war position. Whereas in 1937 in the Gallup poll the Ludlow amendment received a 70 percent favorable vote, in the most recent surveys the number favoring the plan dropped to 57 percent. The class-conscious workers must redouble their efforts to convince the masses that the war which Roosevelt is preparing to wage is a war exclusively for the interests of the capitalist class.

Supporting the Ludlow Amendment with necessary explanation and criticism affords us a real opportunity to expose Roosevelt, the Stalinists and all other advocates of a war to save capitalist profits.

Secret Schemes Already Worked Out For Iron Dictator to Rule America

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War Industries Board the last time and who testified before a Congress committee as a past master in the art of propaganda: "Just as other constitutional provisions are ignored in time of war, so, too, must there be an abridgement of free speech, free press, free assembly, and even free thought. In no other way can a nation save itself. . . ."

"Enlightened and informed public opinion in war is ideal, but the plan is dangerous. We must have a stencil. If we take the muzzles off the dogs of war, we must put the muzzles on the people and the press. . . ."

A DOZEN WAYS TO BREAK STRIKES

The War Department has worked out a dozen different ways to break strikes—not just strikes which might have an anti-war objective, but in the first instance strikes for higher wages, better conditions, and so forth. It is determined that labor shall not be permitted to reach for higher

wages to balance the inevitable sky-rocketing of prices.

One of the big objectives of the Industrial Mobilization Plan is the draft. This has always been a delicate question in America; the War Department remembers the hatred and resistance of the people to the draft in 1917 and 1918 (the first time American soldiers were drafted to fight on foreign soil). All men 18 to 45 are to be drafted—even the forms are prepared right now—and elaborate machinery is ready to put it into action at a moment's notice.

Local boards of "prominent citizens" in each town—tentative lists of prospective members are already on file—will decide which workers will be sent to the front and which retained to work at home. Any worker can be "reclassified"—that is, sent to the front instead of the factory—by this board at any time. The "prominent citizens" on the draft board—your boss and his friends—may decide that a militant who makes too much "trouble" is real-

ly not essential behind the lines.

FEAR "SOCIAL DISTURBANCE"

The workers met the draft in the Civil War with the cry, "A rich man's war and a poor man's fight!" In the next war, the reality will be: "War 'for democracy' through dictatorship at home. The declaration of war, whatever its avowed purpose, will mean first of all an aggression on the liberty and on the bread and butter of every worker."

That is, if there is a declaration of war. The Industrial Mobilization Plan needn't wait for that formality. It is scheduled to go into effect "in time of war or other national emergency"—for example, "a national emergency due to the imminence of war," or "social disturbances." It is above all the specter of the "social disturbances" that followed the last war in Russia and all Europe which motivated the hands that wrote the Industrial Mobilization Plan.

Wars Since the "War to End War"

- 1918-19—Polish-Ukrainian War.
- 1919-22—Inter-Allied Intervention Against Soviet Russia.
- 1919-20—British military occupation of Ireland.
- 1919-26—Conquests in Arabia by Ibn Saud.
- 1920—Soviet-Polish War.
- 1920—Turkish-Armenian War.
- 1921-22—Greek-Turkish War.
- 1921-26—Franco-Spanish Wars against Riffs.
- 1925—French military expedition to Syria.
- 1925-27—Civil war and foreign imperialist intervention in China.
- 1925-35—Gran Chaco War between Bolivia and Paraguay.
- 1927—Occupation of Nicaragua by U. S. Marines.
- 1931-32—Japanese seizure of Manchuria.
- 1932—Sino-Japanese war at Shanghai.
- 1935-36—Italo-Ethiopian War.
- 1936-38—British bombing operations on India's Northwest frontier.
- 1936-39—Spanish Civil War: Franco aided by Hitler and Mussolini.
- 1937—Sino-Japanese War.
- 1937—British war on Arabs in Palestine.
- 1938—German occupation of Austria.
- 1939—German occupation of Bohemia, Moravia.
- 1939—Hungarian invasion of Slovakia.

APPEAL ARMY

"We are very proud to work with such a splendid paper and organization."—R. F., literature agent of the Louisville Branch.

THE BRANCHES AT WORK:

"The Central Branch has been doing very well as far as the sales of the Appeal are concerned. Last week the Branch sold 120 copies and it seems to me as though the organization of a centralized branch will help circulate the paper to a much greater extent than before."—Sam Richter, literature-leader of Chicago.

Abe Miller of New York has developed the novel idea of organizing a chain letter scheme to advertise the Appeal. He places a leaflet in each copy of the paper sold or distributed which says, among other things, "We ask you to send a letter to three friends requesting them to subscribe to and buy the Appeal. In turn, these three friends are to send a letter to three friends of theirs, etc. until we reach thousands of workers. For more copies of this leaflet, write to the Socialist Appeal, 116 University Place, New York City."

A splendid idea, Abe—and we urge other branches to try the same method of chain-letter writing.

APPEAL SUB DRIVE SLOWS UP:

We list below the results up to April 1 of our subscription campaign for 1,000 new readers. Although the month of March was the best in our history with close to 400 new subscriptions, nevertheless we will have to close with a rush if we're to complete the drive by April 15.

There are two weeks still left. During those two weeks the branches should concentrate all efforts on completing their quota for the campaign.

Revisit old subscribers, contacts and friends who weren't home during the first visit; visit new friends that the Appeal has won; have every branch member become a subscriber; put out leaflets when you hold branch mass street sales. Our March successes have proven again that it's easy to get subscriptions for the Appeal. We have two weeks left to go and must get 400 subs in that time. On to 1,000 new readers by April 15!

Here's the list of subscriptions for this past week:

NEW YORK CITY	23
Chicago	14
Boston	14
Louisville	6
Minneapolis	6
California	5
St. Paul	4
Ohio	3
Michigan	3
Washington	2
Foreign	2
Washington, D. C.	2
Philadelphia	2
New York State	1
Connecticut	1
Kansas	1
Florida	1
Total	90

One bundle order increase: Seattle, Wash. now takes 30 copies of each issue.

NOTE: See next week's APPEAL for full details about the special May-Day Issue!

QUOTA STANDING AS OF APRIL 1

Branch	Quota	Obtained	Percent
Youngstown, O.	10	14	140
Austin, Minn.	5	6	120
Boston, Mass.	30	31	103
Houston, Texas	5	5	100
Berkeley, Calif.	10	10	100
New Haven, Conn.	10	10	100
Minneapolis, Minn.	100	90	90
Quakertown, Penna.	10	9	90
New York City	200	168	84
Fargo, N. D.	5	4	80
Los Angeles, Calif.	50	36	72
Columbus, O.	5	3	60
Akron, O.	10	6	60
Philadelphia, Pa.	40	24	60
Seattle, Wash.	5	3	60
Chicago, Ill.	100	52	52
San Francisco	30	15	50
Washington, D. C.	10	5	50
Louisville, Ky.	10	5	50
Cleveland, O.	40	19	48
Lynn, Mass.	25	12	48
Newark, N. J.	50	22	44
Rochester, N. Y.	20	8	40
St. Paul, Minn.	50	20	40
Kansas	5	2	40
Worcester, Mass.	5	2	40
Detroit, Mich.	50	16	32
Allentown, Pa.	10	3	30
Baltimore, Md.	10	3	30
Clayton, Mo.	10	3	30
Toledo, O.	10	2	20
San Diego, Calif.	10	2	20
St. Louis, Mo.	25	5	20
Oakland, Calif.	20	3	15
Hartford, Conn.	10	1	10
E. Chicago, Ind.	10	1	10
Sacramento, Calif.	10	0	0
Denver, Colo.	10	0	0
Patterson, N. J.	10	0	0
Totals	1,005	614	61

This Week at the Marxist School

Tuesday, April 4 at 7 P.M.:

JOHN G. WRIGHT—The Theory of the Permanent Revolution.

Tuesday, April 4, at 8:50 P.M.:

JAMES T. FARRELL, author of Studs Lonigan, etc.—The American Novel.

Wednesday, April 5, at 8 P.M.:

GEORGE NOVACK—The American Civil War of 1861-1865 and Its Significance.

The Monday classes in American Politics, and in Practical Trade Unionism are being postponed one week. The next session of these classes will be held April 10, at the usual time.

All classes held at IRVING PLAZA, Irving Place and 15th Street, N.Y.C.

Admission 25 cents per lecture

OFF THE RECORD

By Dwight Macdonald

The Things They Don't Talk About

Already we are getting a preview of what is in store for the labor movement in the next war. They don't talk about these things much in political speeches, they don't print much about them in the papers, and so you very probably don't even know they are happening. You might think, for instance, that an army fighting for democracy would accept Negroes on equal terms with whites. You might think that when a nation goes off on a holy war for democracy, the rights of its workers at home would be scrupulously guarded. You might think that, in such an idealistic enterprise, business men would not be allowed to make money out of their fellow citizens' blood. But what happened last week in Congress when the Army Air Corps Expansion bill was passed shows that you would be wrong on all three counts. To itemize:

(1) The bill originally provided that at least one Army air school should train Negro pilots. "Much distressed," reports Time, "the Air Corps quietly went to work on Capitol Hill to get Negro training killed."

(2) The bill originally forbade the award of contracts for Army planes to all firms which had been convicted of violating the Wagner Act. The C.I.O. and the A.F.L. had joined forces to get this provision inserted. But as the bill was going through its final stages, the War Department "emphatically demanded" that this protection for labor be removed from the bill. It was.

(3) There is a lot of talk in Congress about "taking the profits out of war." Just what the honorable Congressmen mean was clearly enough shown when the Air Corps bill "limited" profits on all Army contracts to . . . 12%!

Those idealistic liberals who want us to act as policemen for the world seem to be forgetting—as they did in 1917—that to fight a war, whether for democracy or not, you must turn the nation over to those experts in death: the munitions makers and the War Department. The next war will be a crusade for democracy—somewhere else.

Tom Girdler, Dove of Peace

"The steel industry abhors war and reverently hopes for peace," Tom Girdler, of Republic Steel Corp. and the Memorial Day Massacre, recently told a gathering of mining engineers. "The impression prevails," he said sadly, "that the steel industry looks eagerly at profits from war. That is not true. War brings no genuine prosperity to the steel industry."

It would be interesting to get Girdler's definition of "genuine prosperity." In 1917 Bethlehem Steel earned \$54,000,000 and in 1918, \$57,000,000. U. S. Steel earned \$333,000,000 in 1916 and \$330,000,000 in 1917, declaring in the latter year an extra dividend of 18%. Coming down to the present, I see by the papers that the Navy Department has signed contracts for \$24,000,000

worth of armor plate with three steel companies—this being merely one of many such contracts involved in our current preparations to save the world again as we did so nobly in 1917.

In a certain sense, however, it is true that the steel barons don't want war. "We have seen the effects of war," said Tom Girdler, "as written in the social, economic and political upheavals since 1918. These stresses and strains have brought civilization near the cracking point. Another world war might well result in the complete collapse of civilization."

Neither Tom Girdler nor any other responsible member of the ruling class wants war now if it can be avoided in any possible way—short of giving up their profits, that is. As any one who has seen his gun thugs in action knows, Tom Girdler is no humanitarian. When he expresses fears lest the next war may mean "the complete collapse of civilization," he really means "the complete collapse of capitalism."

This is what is behind the concessions made by Chamberlain and Daladier to Hitler at the Munich Conference last fall. To quote the London correspondent of the N. Y. Times: "The real motive of 'appeasement' is the fear of a war that might crack the political, economic and social structure of this country beyond repair, whether Britain won the war or not. Mr. Chamberlain and his colleagues feel sure that the British Empire could survive a war with Germany at the cost of untold human misery, but they are not so sure that the men and the system that have ruled the country for so many years would still be ruling it when the war was over." Moral: the more militancy the workers show, the less chances of a war.

Business Is Business

Business men overwhelmingly approve of President Roosevelt's imperialistic foreign policy; and but you don't find them passing up any chances for profits. If a dictatorship wants munitions and can lay cash on the line, it gets them—and from the same business interests as support so enthusiastically the New Deal's war drive to save "democracy." Thus, the Department of Commerce has announced that the biggest foreign purchaser of American steel ingots and scrap iron in January of this year was Japan. In 1937 Italy got 63 per cent of its scrap iron imports from this country. Last year the United States supplied 68 per cent of Italy's scrap imports.

Not long ago, a friend who had just returned from Pittsburgh told me of an interesting married couple there. The husband was president of a big firm of scrap iron dealers, and his best customer was the Japanese government. His wife was a leader in the Stalinist stooge outfit, the League for Peace and Democracy, and at the time was especially active in getting the women of Pittsburgh to boycott stockings made of Japanese silk.

"Turn Imperialist War Into Civil War"

-- V. I. Lenin

In 1915 Lenin and Zinoviev collaborated in writing a pamphlet, "Socialism and War," from which the excerpt below is taken. The great majority of the leaders of the international socialist movement had turned traitor to the workers and become rabid patriots, but Lenin and Zinoviev, in exile, with a small group of other loyal socialists, continued to oppose the war. Two years later, in 1917, Lenin returned to Russia and led the magnificent revolution of Russia's toiling people against their oppressors. Lenin died in 1924. Although Zinoviev worked as one of Lenin's closest collaborators in the leadership of the revolution, he was shot by Joseph Stalin in 1936 as a "fascist mad dog." Just as the Social Democratic organization in 1914-18 stood for support of the capitalist democracies against "Kaiserism" so its spiritual off-spring today, Stalinism, stands for patriotic support of capitalism under the slogan "Fight to Save Democracy from Fascism." Leninism stands for uncompromising struggle against capitalist war.

Social-chauvinism is adherence to the idea of "defending the fatherland" in the present war. From this idea follows repudiation of the class struggle in war time, voting for military appropriations, etc. In practice, the social chauvinists conduct an anti-proletarian bourgeois policy, because in practice they insist not on the "defense of the fatherland" in the sense of fighting against the oppression of a foreign nation, but upon the "right" of one or the other of the "great" nations to rob the colonies and oppress other peoples. The social-chauvinists follow the bourgeoisie in deceiving the people by saying that the war is conducted for the defense of the freedom and the existence of the nations; thus they put themselves on the side of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat.

BETRAYAL OF PAST

To the social democrats belong those who justify and idealize the government and the bourgeoisie of one of the belligerent groups of nations, as well as those who, like Kautsky, recognize the equal right of the Socialists of all belligerent nations to "defend the fatherland." Social-chauvinism, being in practice a defense of the privileges, prerogatives, robberies and violence of "one's own" (or any other) imperialist bourgeoisie, is a total betrayal of all Socialist conviction and a violation of the decisions of the International Socialist Congress in Basle (1912, Ed.) . . .

The war has undoubtedly created the acutest crises and has incredibly intensified the sufferings of the masses. The reactionary character



LENIN

of this war, the shameless lie of the bourgeoisie of all countries which covers its predatory aims with "national" ideology, all this inevitably creates, on the basis of an objective revolutionary situation, revolutionary sentiments in the masses. Our duty is to help make these sentiments conscious, to deepen them and give them form. The only correct expression of this task is the slogan "Turn the imperialist war into civil war." All consistent class struggle in time of war, all "mass action" earnestly conducted must inevitably lead to this. We cannot know whether in the first or in the second imperialist war between the great nations, whether during or after it, a strong revolutionary movement will flare up. Whatever the case may be, it is our absolute duty systematically and unflinchingly to work in that particular direction. . . .

DUTY OF REVOLUTIONISTS

A mass sentiment for peace often expresses the beginning of a protest, an indignation and a consciousness of the reactionary nature of the war. It is the duty of all Social-Democrats to take advantage of this sentiment. They will take the most ardent part in every movement and in every demonstration made on this basis, but they will not deceive the people by assuming that in the absence of a revolutionary movement it is possible to have peace without annexations, without oppression of nations, without robbery, without planting the seed of new wars among the present governments and the ruling classes. Such deception would only play into the hands of the secret diplomacy of the belligerent countries and their counter-revolutionary plans. Whoever wishes a durable and democratic peace must be for civil war against the governments and the bourgeoisie.

Socialism and War, August, 1915.

"The Main Enemy Is in Your Own Country!"

-- Karl Liebknecht

Karl Liebknecht together with Rosa Luxemburg were leaders of the valiant band of revolutionary internationalists in the German Spartakusbund. During the World War they fought against the capitalist slaughter and tried to organize the working class for socialist revolution. They were murdered by Noske and Scheidemann, former socialists who had turned traitor to the workers and supported the German capitalist class during the war. It was Karl Liebknecht who penned the immortal phrase "The main enemy is in your own country!"

But to learn and not forget applies also, and above all, to the heroic struggle against the war which our Italian comrades waged and are still waging. They fight with their press, with meetings, with street corner gatherings. They fight with revolutionary strength and courage, opposing their bodies and their lives to the raging impact of the waves of nationalism whipped up by the government. Their struggle is worthy of our enthusiastic felicitations. Let their spirit be our model. May it become the pattern for the International . . .

The absurd watchword, "see it through," was disastrous; it can lead only deeper into the maelstrom of destruction. International proletarian class struggle against the international imperialist mangling of the people is the command of the hour.

The main enemy of the German people is in Germany: German imperialism, the German war party, German secret diplomacy. The German people must wage a political struggle against this enemy in its own country, in conjunction with the struggle of the proletarians of other countries against their own imperialists . . .

The enemies of the working class rely upon the forgetfulness of the masses; take heed, that their reliance may be groundless! They speculate on the forbearance of the masses—but we raise the stormy cry:

How much longer are the imperialist gamblers going to abuse the patience of the people? Enough of butchery! Down with the war-mongers on both sides of the border!

The slaughter of the people must end!

Proletarians of all countries! Follow the heroic example of your Italian brothers! Unite for the international class war against the conspiracy of secret diplomacy, against imperialism, against the war, for a socialist peace!

The main enemy is in your own country!

(From a leaflet issued on the occasion of Italy's entrance into the World War in 1915.)

Trotsky Interviewed by the London Daily Herald

Only The Revolution Can Put An End To War!

German Masses Will Find a Way

Is not the world too afraid of Hitler?

The democratic governments look upon Hitler, who succeeded in "liquidating" the social question, with admiration and fear.

The working class, which during one and a half centuries, periodically shook the civilized countries of Europe by its revolts, is suddenly reduced to complete silence in Italy and Germany. Messrs. the official politicians attribute this "success" to the internal, quasi-mystical properties of Fascism and National Socialism. In reality the strength of Hitler is not in himself, nor in his contemptible philosophy, but in the terrible deception of the working masses, in their confusion and in their lassitude.

During many decades the proletariat of Germany built up a trade union organization and a Social Democratic party. Abreast of the strong Social Democracy appeared later a powerful Communist party. And all these organizations, which rose upon the shoulders of the proletariat, were in the critical moment a zero, and crumbled away before the offensive of Hitler. They did not find in themselves the courage to call the masses to struggle, as they themselves were completely degenerated, bourgeoisified and had lost the habit of thinking about struggle.

The masses pass through such catastrophes heavily and slowly. It is incorrect to say that the German proletariat has reconciled itself with Hitler! But it no longer believes in the old parties, in the old slogans, and at the same time it has not yet found a new way. This and only this explains the strong-arm omnipotence of fascism. It will continue until the masses have dressed their wounds, have regenerated themselves and once more lifted their heads. I think we can expect that in not a long time.

A Struggle for World Domination

The fear Great Britain and France has for Hitler and Mussolini explains itself by the fact that the world position of these two colony-holding countries, as has already been said, no longer corresponds with their economic specific weight. The war can bring nothing to them, but can take a great deal from them. It is natural that they attempt to postpone the moment of a new partitioning of the world and that they toss a bone, as Spain and Czechoslovakia, to Mussolini and Hitler. The struggle for colonial pos-

sessions, for the domination of the world. The attempt to represent this brawl of interests and appetites as a struggle between "democracy" and "fascism" can only dupe the working class. Chamberlain will give all the democracies in the world (there are not many left) for a tenth part of India.

The strength of Hitler (at the same time also his weakness) consists in the fact that, under the pressure of the helpless position of German capitalism, he is ready to resort to the more extreme means, using blackmail and bluff in passing, at the risk of leading to war. Hitler has fully realized the fear of the old colony-holders before any disturbance and has played on this fear, if not with a very great heart, at least with indubitable success.

Counsel for the Workers

Should the "democracies" and the U.S.S.R. unite to crush Hitler?

I do not feel that it is my mission to give counsel to imperialist governments, even if they call themselves democratic, nor to the Bonapartist clique of the Kremlin, even if it calls itself socialist. I can only give counsel to the workers. My counsel to them is not to believe for a single instant that the war of the two imperialist camps can bring anything else but oppression and reaction in

both camps. It will be the war of the slave-owners who cover themselves with various masks: "democracy," "civilization," on the one hand, "race," "honor," on the other. Only the overthrow of all slave-owners can once for all put an end to war and open an epoch of true civilization.

Does Hitler represent a great danger for the democracies?

The "democracies" themselves represent a much greater danger for themselves. The regime of bourgeois democracy appeared on the basis of liberal capitalism, that is to say free competition. That epoch is now far in the past. The present monopoly capitalism which has decomposed and degraded the petty and middle bourgeoisie, has thus undermined the ground under bourgeois democracy. Fascism is the product of this development. It does not come at all "from without." In Italy and Germany fascism conquered without foreign intervention. Bourgeois democracy is dead not only in Europe but also in America.

Capitalism Cannot Be Saved

If it is not liquidated in time by socialist revolution, fascism will inevitably conquer in France, England and the United States, with the aid of Mussolini and Hitler, or without this aid. But fascism is only a respite. Capitalism is condemned. Nothing will save it from collapse. The

more resolute and audacious will be the policy of the proletariat the less the socialist revolution will provoke sacrifice, the sooner mankind will enter upon a new road.

My opinion about the civil war in Spain? I have expressed myself on this subject in the press many times.

The Spanish revolution was socialist in its essence: the workers attempted several times to overthrow the bourgeoisie, to seize the factories; the peasants wanted to take the land. The "people's front," led by the Stalinists, strangled the socialist revolution in the name of an outlived bourgeois democracy. Hence the disappointment, the hopelessness, the discouragement of the worker and peasant masses, the demoralization of the Republican army and, as a result, the military collapse.

"Democracies" Aided Franco

To invoke the treacherous policy of England and France explains nothing. Of course the "democratic" imperialists were with the Spanish reaction with all their hearts and helped Franco as much as possible. It was so and will always be so. The British were naturally on the side of the Spanish bourgeoisie, which passed entirely to the side of Franco. Only, in the beginning Chamberlain did not believe in the victory of Franco and feared to compromise himself by a pre-

mature revelation of his sympathies. France, as ever, executed the will of the French bourgeoisie. The Soviet government played the role of hangman toward the revolutionary Spanish workers, in order to demonstrate its trustworthiness and loyalty to London and Paris.

The fundamental cause of the defeat of a powerful and heroic revolution is the treacherous anti-socialist policy of the so-called "people's front." If the peasants had seized the land and the workers the factories, Franco never would have been able to wrest this victory from their hands!

Can the regime of Franco maintain itself?

Of course not for a thousand years, as the boasting National Socialism of Germany promises. But Franco will maintain himself for a certain time thanks to the same conditions as Hitler. After great efforts and sacrifices, after terrible defeats, in spite of these sacrifices, the Spanish working masses must be disappointed to the bottom of their hearts in the old leading parties: socialists, anarchists, "communists," who by their common forces, under the banner of the "people's front," strangled the socialist revolution. The Spanish workers will now pass inevitably through a period of discouragement, before they begin slowly and stubbornly to look for a new road. The period during which the masses

(Continued on Page 4)

MEN AND WOMEN OF LABOR

Out of the Past

BY EMANUEL GARRETT

EUGENE V. DEBS

(Nov. 5, 1885—Oct. 20, 1926)

"I hate; I loathe; I despise Junkerdom. I have no earthly use for the Junkers of Germany, and not one particle more for the Junkers of the United States."

Gene Debs was speaking. The day was June 16, 1918. The place, Canton, Ohio.

The United States had declared war upon Germany a few weeks earlier. The great majority of leading socialists, even those who had in April approved a Declaration by the Socialist Party convention against the war (the St. Louis Declaration) had turned avid war patriots. Charles Edward Russell, William Walling, and scores of others. The entire "peace" movement, had collapsed in an orgy of jingoism.

The Moral Courage to Stand Erect

Gene Debs rose that day in Canton to pillory the jollers, the bosses, the traitors who were bounding worker militants, and socialist fighters. His tall figure towering from the platform, his arm outstretched, his finger pointed accusingly at boss injustice, Gene Debs affirmed his solidarity with all the persecuted anti-war fighters. Bitterly he denounced the turncoats, and those who howled for working class blood. Passionately, he made his own sympathies known:

"They who are animated with the unconquerable spirit of the socialist revolution, they who have the moral courage to stand erect, to assert their convictions, to stand by them, to go to jail or to hell for them—they are writing their names in this crucial hour, they are writing their names in fadeless letters in the history of mankind."

The government swooped down on him. The boss press was furious. The Terre Haute Tribune wrote that Debs was suspected of being "in a plan with the Trotsky group to spread Bolshevism in this country."

Debs was arrested. Debs was tried. Debs was sentenced—to ten years imprisonment for the crime of speaking his mind. Wilson denied him an amnesty. And so Debs entered the jail on April 18, 1919. "I enter the prison doors a flaming revolutionist—my head is erect, my spirit untamed, and my soul unconquerable." Later, Debs wrote his "Prison Creed":

"While there is a lower class I am in it; While there is a criminal element I am of it; While there is a soul in prison I am not free."

In 1921, the war-time hysteria abating, Harding released him, without restoration of his citizenship rights.

A Life Devoted to Socialism

Debs' loyalty to the socialist cause in the face of war was the crowning act of a life richer in its devotion to the working-class than any other American. When Debs, the leader of American socialism, walked through the gates of the jail, he had behind him years of ceaseless socialist labor.

Born into a family of ten children, Debs had gone to work in his youth on the railroads.

Joining the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, he before long rose to the position of national secretary. Disgusted, however, with the conservative methods of the Brotherhood, realizing the need of new, more militant tactics, Debs quit the Brotherhood, and organized the American Railway Union. In April, 1894 the A. R. U. won an important victory from the Great Northern Railway, after an eighteen day strike.

When shortly afterwards the Pullman workers struck, they turned to the A.R.U. for aid. The A.R.U. declared a boycott against the Pullman Company, and Debs lent his services to the leadership of the strike. A sweeping injunction was handed down by the courts against the strike; an injunction more severe in its provisions than any previously issued. President Cleveland sent federal troops to smash the strike. Troops and injunction together did smash the strike. Debs, who had defied injunction, was tried for contempt of court, and sent to jail for six months.

In jail he read; in jail he became a socialist. Debs, leaving the jail, was no longer a mere trade unionist. Debs was a socialist; he understood the need of working class political action. He worked at first with Daniel De Leon, and then in 1904 he helped found the Socialist Party.

Five times, Debs ran as socialist candidate for President. His "Red Special," in the campaign of 1908, became famous as he toured the country, thundering his denunciations of capitalism. In 1912, he polled 901,062 votes. In 1920, while in jail, he polled 919,799 votes.

Hardly a worker, conscious of his being a worker, failed to go to hear Debs. Debs was the idol of the American worker—in Terre Haute, Indiana, and in New York. Mothers, fathers, children, came to hear Debs not only because he was a great orator; they came also because they loved this relentless fighter in freedom's cause.

A Citizen of the World

Great events pressed. And Debs did not try to avoid them. From his jail cell, Debs criticized the S. P. for watering its revolutionary aims. From his cell, he defended the Russian revolution from attack despite incidental criticisms he himself made. "Behold," he had written of the Revolution, "its sublime majesty, catch its holy spirit and join in its thrilling, inspiring appeal to the oppressed of every land to use their might, shake off their fetters and proclaim their freedom to the world."

In the history of American labor, Debs stands as its greatest figure. He was great because he did not have the feeling of nation; he was a worker, a socialist, and only that. While "socialists" voted war credits in Germany, and others turned to the selling of liberty bonds—for American or German, or French—"democracy," Debs cried out: "I have no country to fight for; my country is the earth; I am a citizen of the world."

Leon
Trotsky
Addressing
the
Red
Army
of the
Russian
Revolution



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FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST
WORKERS PARTY FOR:

1. A job and a decent wage 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.

We Are Not Pacifists

The pacifist usually shares the outlook of the American capitalist: he does not oppose the profit system, he is against the working class taking matters into its own hands, etc. His pacifism consists of believing that the present world order should be maintained without the use of force. He is blind and indifferent to the day by day coercion of the dollar and the cop, of the school, press and radio, over the minds and bodies of the workers.

And when war does come, and it becomes plain that the war is part and parcel of the profit system to which the pacifist is not opposed, then the pacifist usually ends up by finding "idealistic" reasons for supporting the war.

We are not pacifists. The revolutionist is as far from the pacifist as he is from the war-monger. We are the most consistent, most determined, opponents of the capitalist war-makers. But there are...

Wars We Are For

There are wars in which we have willingly fought, and in which we will willingly fight again.

The war of the workers and peasants of Spain against Franco and his Italo-German backers was our war. Not only our Spanish comrades, but comrades from all over the world gave their lives in the fight against fascism.

The war of the Chinese masses against the Japanese warlords is our war. Our Chinese comrades support it wholeheartedly, as do we and Fourth Internationalists the world over.

The coming war of the peoples of India against British imperialism is our war, likewise the struggle of Irish Republican Brotherhood, the Jamaican and other West Indian Negroes, the native Africans, the Arabian people, against the British Empire.

The coming war of Syria and North Africa and Indo-China against the French Empire is also our war. We are in complete solidarity with the Nicaraguans and Haitians suppressed by United States marines, and with the entire Latin-American world now writhing under the boot of Yankee imperialism.

We are for the war of the German people against Hitler, and the armed struggle of the Italian people against Mussolini.

In short, we are for wars of liberation. At this stage of world history this means: wars of colonial peoples against their imperialist oppressors, and civil wars of the working class and poor farmers against their "own" capitalist class.

To liberate the peoples of the earth is the one thing worth fighting for. And in that fight, it would be senseless to abstain from using the weapons which, in any event, the oppressors everywhere already use against the oppressed: the weapons of modern warfare.

To depend on these weapons alone for victory, however, means sure defeat. That we have just learned anew from...

The Lesson of Spain

Pravda, Stalin's personal organ, explains the Spanish debacle as resulting from "a foul stab in the back," dealt by the British and French diplomats.

Pravda's use of metaphor is extremely revealing. Who stabs in the back? Not a known enemy, for he is never permitted to get behind us if we can help it. We fight him face to face. But the Stalinist apparatus dinned into our ears day and night throughout the period up to Munich—that is, up to nearly the end of the Spanish civil war—that the only salvation of Spain lay in securing the support of the British and French democracies. Stalin's flunkies ordered us to believe that the Chamberlains and Daladiers were possible friends—Daladier they pictured to us throughout as already a friend. Stalin, it was, who was stabbed in the back by those he chose as friends!

But the Spanish workers were stabbed in the back, not by France and England, but by those who insisted—by propaganda and the bribery of Russian arms first, by rope and faggot later—that the Spanish workers and peasants must stake everything on secur-

It took place at home, in Spain itself. The hand that wielded the dagger was that of the Spanish Stalinist, social democrat and anarchist leaders. They, trusted by the masses, looked to for leadership, drove the dagger home.

Had these leaders been revolutionists, they would have taught the Spanish masses this fundamental thought, now almost forgotten by the labor movement, but once clearly grasped, in the days of the Russian Revolution and the ensuing heroic years of revolutionary struggle in Europe.

In any civil war or war for liberation, the side of reaction usually commands material instruments of warfare far superior to those available to the progressive side. To leave the issue of victory solely to the purely military struggle means, therefore, certain victory for reaction. Consequently, the progressive side can win only if, to its military resistance, it adds a political offensive.

The Russian Red Army was victorious against the interventionist armies of the whole world, not because it had superior military equipment—it did not have and could not have had that—but because of its superior political resources. The Soviets demoralized enemy armies by revolutionary propaganda, created insurrections behind the interventionist armies, inspired guerilla warfare, roused workers throughout the world to stop intervention. And the Soviets could do this only because, prior to that, they had made a proletarian revolution, had given the workers the factories, the peasants the land, and the whole world a new hope for the future.

This is the lesson that now applies directly to...

The Struggle in China

China is engaged in a titanic struggle against enslavement by the Japanese imperialists. Every blow struck at the imperialists in China is a blow against world capitalism, a blow that materially aids the cause of working class emancipation everywhere. That is why we support with all our strength the heroic struggle of the Chinese masses and make the cause of Chinese national liberation our own.

For more than a century that great nation of 400,000,000 people has been the target of the imperialist pirates of the West, of Britain, France, Germany, Italy, and the United States. Japan's robber war in China during the last seven years has been fought to bring the material and human resources of the country under the monopolistic control of the Japanese industrialists and financiers.

When the British, French, and American governments prepare to challenge this Japanese drive, it is not because they are interested in the cause of Chinese liberation but because they want to enslave the Chinese people themselves.

That is why it is the grossest and most dangerous treachery to place the fate of the Chinese people in the hands of these gangsters, to depend on the British and American fleets to defeat the Japanese, to tell the Chinese masses that in Washington and London they have firm and friendly allies.

The Chinese capitalists and landowners have always made common cause with the foreign capitalists against their own workers and peasants—who are among the most exploited in the world. They are fighting the Japanese now only because the Japanese capitalists are too hard-pressed to be able to share the loot with them. They tried for five years to compromise, surrendered vast territories without a struggle and only when pushed to the final extremity did they offer battle—a battle which has been ill-organized and sabotaged by corruption, treachery, and misleadership.

The real job of carrying the fight through to its victorious conclusion will rest with the Chinese masses—not with the Chinese exploiters.

Twelve years ago these same leaders, Chiang Kai-shek & Co., sold out to the imperialists and they will do so again at the first favorable opportunity. That is why the independent organization of the workers and peasants of China under a banner and with a revolutionary program of their own, is the firmest guarantee that the war will be fought through to the end and won. The victory of the Chinese workers and peasants will give an enormous impulse to...

The Fight for World
Emancipation

Today, when we seem closer than ever before to the brink of a world catastrophe, the struggle to free the world from this horror becomes one of frightful urgency.

Because capitalism can't work, can't keep the wheels going, can't keep millions in sufficient food, it turns to bloody wars, wars for markets, raw materials, colonies, profits.

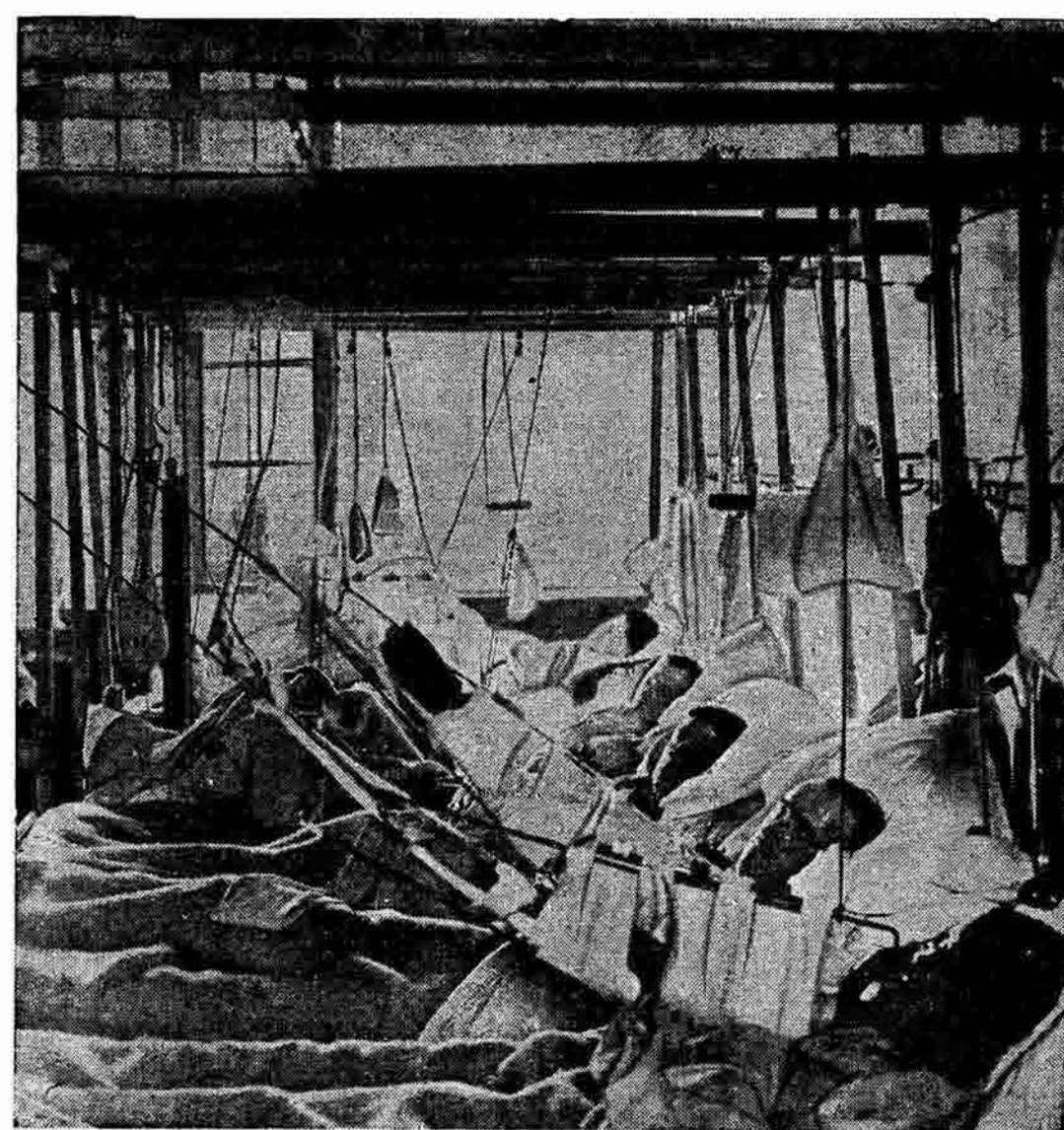
The bosses have no other way out if they are going to keep themselves in control of the gigantic machinery of production which capitalism brought into being. The machinery has become too big for them so they try to cut it down, they depress the living standards.

When pressed by recurring crises, the biggest bosses bring the workers under the heel of Fascism in order to destroy the meager "rights" permitted them under the more elastic form of "democracy." But this does not solve the crisis and pushes them relentlessly into wars from which they hope to emerge with enough loot to keep them going.

This is not our way out, workers! We can take over this mighty machine of production! We can make it work! We can make it satisfy the needs of all the people in the world! We can make it grow to heights now undreamed of! We can end wars forever, end human suffering, end the degradation that makes us grub like animals in the dirt, unable ever to raise our eyes to the skies and to begin living like thinking creative men and women!

All this we can do by crushing the parasites who live off our labor, by destroying the profit system that breeds only starvation amid plenty, war and death and suffering amid limitless opportunities for human happiness.

This is the goal of the Fourth International—the mighty goal of world emancipation—and to our banner of struggle against war, against Fascism, for the right to live freely, we summon all the workers and exploited of the world!



All over the world there are still maimed victims like these of the last world slaughter. Young men broken in body and spirit to feed the Moloch of capitalist war. Behind them come the new generation of youngsters, who are being trained in advance to wear gas masks, to grow accustomed to horrors, to death, and the constant presence of bloody conflict, so that they too will be ready to become cannon fodder on the battlefields of the new war. This is what capitalism offers succeeding generations of youth!



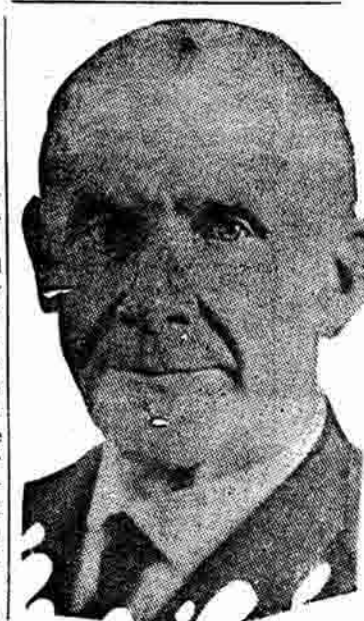
By Eugene V. Debs

In What War Shall I Take
Up Arms and Fight?

Since my characterization of the soldier in the Jingo edition (as "the hired assassin of his capitalist master"—Ed.) I have been asked if I was opposed to all war and if I would refuse to be a soldier and to fight under any circumstances, and to make my answer through the Appeal to Reason. No, I am not opposed to all war, nor am I opposed to all under all circumstances, and any declaration to the contrary would disqualify me as a revolutionist. When I say I am opposed to war I mean ruling class war, for the ruling class is the only class that makes war. It matters not to me whether this war be offensive or defensive, or what other lying excuse may be invented for it, I am opposed to it, and I would be shot for treason before I would enter such a war.

If I were in Congress I would be shot before I would vote a dollar for such a war.

Capitalist wars for capitalist conquest and capitalist plunder must be fought by the capitalists themselves so far as I am concerned, and upon that question there can be no misunderstanding.



as to my position.

I have no country to fight for; my country is the earth; and I am a citizen of the world.

I would not violate my principles for God, much less for a crazy Kaiser, a savage czar, a degenerate king, or a band of pot-

belled parasites. But while I have not a drop of blood to shed for the oppressors of the working class and the robbers of the poor, the thieves and looters, the brigands and murderers, whose debauched misrule is the crime of the ages, I have a heart-full to shed for their victims when it shall be needed in the war for their liberation.

I am not a capitalist soldier; I am a proletarian revolutionist. I do not belong to the regular army of the plutocracy, but to the irregular army of the people. I refuse to obey any command to fight from the ruling class, but I will not wait to be commanded to fight for the working class.

I am opposed to every war but one: I am for that war with heart and soul, and that is the world-wide war of the social revolution. In that war I am prepared to fight in any way the ruling class may make it necessary, even to the barricades.

There is where I stand and where I believe the Socialist Party stands, or ought to stand, on the question of war.

—From the Appeal to Reason, September 11, 1915.

Trotsky's Stand On War Issue

(Continued from page 3)

lie prostrate will coincide precisely with the time of Franco's domination.

The Menace of Japan

You ask how serious a menace Japan is to the U.S.S.R., England and the United States. Japan is not capable of a war on a great scale, partly for economic reasons, but above all for social reasons. Not having emancipated itself up to now from the heritage of feudalism, Japan represents the reservoir of a gigantic revolutionary explosion. In many respects it calls to mind the Tsarist empire on the eve of 1905.

Japan's leading circles attempt to escape from the internal contradictions by the seizure and pillage of China. But the internal contradictions make external success on a great scale unfeasible.

To seize strategical positions in China is one thing; to subdue China is another. Japan would never dare to challenge the Soviet Union, if there were not a glaring antagonism, evident to everyone, between the leading clique of the Kremlin and the Soviet people. The regime of Stalin, which is weakening the U.S.S.R., can make a Soviet-Japanese war possible.

What would be the results of this war?

I cannot believe for a single instant in the victory of Japan. I think that the most indubitable results of the war would be the collapse of the medieval regime of the Mikado and of the Bonapartist regime of Stalin.

My Work in Mexico

On my life in Mexico I can communicate very little. On the part of the authorities I have met

with nothing but kindness. I am absolutely apart from Mexican political life, but I follow the efforts of the Mexican people to conquer a complete and true independence with ardent sympathy.

I am finishing a book on Stalin, which will appear this year in the United States, England and other countries. The book is a political biography of Stalin and has as its objective an explanation of how a second or third rank revolutionary can appear at the head of the country when the Thermidorian reaction begins. The book will show, in particular, how and why the former Bolshevik, Stalin, is now completely ripe for an alliance with Hitler.

LEON TROTSKY

Coyoacan, D. F.
March 18, 1939IN THIS
CORNER

By Max Shachtman

At bottom, the dispute between the so-called "isolationists" and the advocates of "collective security" is either meaningless, unimportant, or entirely beside the point with which workers are really concerned, namely, stopping or fighting war.

Where it is not a patent absurdity, isolationism in the modern world is a patent fraud. In so far as the negative criticism of that position goes, it is easily accomplished. The idea that the United States, with its tremendously powerful position in world economic and political life, can, or does, or will remain isolated from any important conflict is preposterous. The Seminoles of Florida's Everglades or the Plutes of Utah may have been able to pursue an isolationist life a hundred or more years ago. Modern American imperialism, regardless of the statesmen at its helm, simply cannot, does not, will not.

Nobody Likes War

The "collective security" advocates are simply the traditional defenders of imperialist booty, in new guise and with strange recent recruits. No more or less sane person, however reactionary—and this goes also for Fascists—is in favor of war for its own sake. Even the Fascists, we repeat, because however mad they may seem to be, they are not unaware of the fact that a large-scale modern war is a risky and expensive affair. That is why, in their own way, the Fascists too are for "collective security." Thus, Mussolini and Hitler are for "collectively securing" the Blackshirt conquest of Ethiopia. They are for "collectively securing" the Nazi conquest of Czechoslovakia. They would not object for a moment to having England and France and all the other "Democracies" join them in the "collectivity."

The "democratic" advocates of the policy merely want to secure "collectively" not their conquests of 1938-1939, but the booty they acquired in 1918-1919 and in the preceding decades. There, fundamentally, is the difference between them and the Fascists on this point.

Why the working class should fight to "secure" England's rule over, let us say, South Africa, or Belgium's over the Congo, any more than the German workers should fight to secure Hitler's rule over the Czechs, is not intelligently demonstrable.

The "isolationists" differ from the "collective security" advocates—as the last war showed—in that they refuse to assist either one of the two sets of their imperialist rivals: the Anglo-French or the Germano-Italian. Let them fight it out to the point of exhaustion, so that if we intervene later on it will be as indisputable masters of them both. Why should we now tie ourselves down to helping one of our competitors against another one?

To take either of the two positions is, therefore, to take a stand for imperialism and, consequently, for war.

Democratic Rights Do Matter

Is there, then, no way in which to stop Fascism, to stop Hitler's advances, to stop the war which we all realize is so imminent? Can we, then, take the position that it doesn't matter a particle whether we live, so to say, under Hitlerism or Rooseveltism, Fascism or capitalist democracy?

There is a way to smash Fascism and war! There is a difference, an important one, between Fascism and bourgeois democracy. Those who attribute to the revolutionary Marxists the view that it doesn't matter to the workers which political regime they live under, is deliberately distorting our position.

The democratic rights which the workers enjoy, in part only, to be sure, but nevertheless in part, under capitalist democracy—they are deprived of altogether by Fascism. But the whole point is that these rights not only cannot be extended and made more genuine, but they cannot even be preserved in their present vitiated form, if the workers continue to support in the slightest degree the power, the rule, the state of the bourgeois democrats.

Wherever we look today, we see that these gentlemen are interested first and foremost in the preservation of capitalist private ownership. Roosevelt, for example, reiterates his allegiance to capitalism on all occasions. "Democracy" interests them only in the second, tenth or fiftieth place. And when and where such democratic rights as the right to free speech, assembly, press, the right to organize, strike and picket, conflict with the interests of capitalist property, the former are nonchalantly—more often, brutally and cynically—suppressed for the sake of the latter.

This elementary and ever so important truth, the professional democrats in the labor movement systematically conceal from the masses.

But War Ends These Rights

Take the democrat Daladier. He is against the German dictators. Good. To "fight" them, to preserve French imperialist interests, he asks for the powers of... a dictator! In his war for democracy, he starts out by refusing to guarantee in any way the democratic rights of free speech, free press and assembly. And under modern capitalism, this is absolutely in the order of things. Tomorrow, it will be Roosevelt's turn to do the same. The bourgeois democrats thus pave the road for Fascism! Fascism can be stopped only by fighting these spurious "democrats"—and this is precisely why the workers need an independent class movement, an independent class struggle.

What holds for the struggle against Fascism is doubly true for the struggle against war. If Daladier—the bourgeois democratic type—tramples so rudely upon democratic rights even before war breaks out, how many of these rights will he allow to be exercised after war breaks out? We have seen and we know enough to say with complete sureness that the political regime of the "democracies" during the war and that of the Fascist states, will be as different as two eggs.

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