

BRITISH BID TO GERMANY AIMED AGAINST USSR

The Kremlin's Aim In the Finnish Crisis

Until a few days ago it appeared that the original demands of the Soviet government upon Finland would be peaceably compromised. Suddenly, however, all indications of compromise seem to have disappeared. Why? What has happened? You cannot tell from the preposterous and wild vituperation in the Soviet press or its repetition in the Stalinist press. Nor can you tell from the anti-Soviet propaganda which dominates the "democratic" press. As in all other questions connected with the Second World War, we in the "third camp"—the camp of revolutionary struggle against the war—must make our analysis independently of both the warring camps.

The general international situation is characterized by continuation of the attempts of Britain to reach an agreement with German imperialism, minus Hitler. Such a peace would be made at the expense of the Soviet Union. "Every big war, irrespective of its initial motives, must pose squarely the question of military intervention against the USSR in order to transfuse fresh blood into the sclerotic veins of capitalism." These words, from our international theses on war (1934) are now receiving fresh confirmation. Chamberlain in the House of Commons on Tuesday made a new bid to Germany—the very same day that the Soviet government denounced its non-aggression pact with Finland. The Soviet bureaucracy is aware of the mortal danger which the prospect of a British-German peace would signify for the Soviet Union. It endeavors to ward off that danger. But its endeavor is conditioned by the nature, history and ingrained methods of the Soviet bureaucracy.

Only Real Defense of the USSR

The only real way to defend the Soviet Union against the encircling capitalist world is to put an end to that capitalist encirclement. Only successful proletarian revolutions in the advanced countries can save the Soviet Union; otherwise the capitalist world is certain to put an end to the Soviet Union. But this method of defending the workers' state is one which the Kremlin will not and cannot undertake. It has no faith in either the Soviet masses or the international working class. Its own rule at home is based on a totalitarian political system, which can last only so long as the Soviet masses remain passive; revolutions abroad would break that passivity and put an end to the Kremlin oligarchy. It fears socialist revolutions as much as do the imperialist rulers.

Having no faith in the international working class, the Soviet bureaucracy has placed its fate on pacts with one imperialist power or another. For five years it deluded the workers with slogans for "defense of the democracies." Now that Hitler is the ally, the Stalinist press whines that the

(Continued on Page 4)

Behind the Lines

By GEORGE STERN

The war atmosphere so carefully created by Roosevelt, by the State Department and by the entire press, naturally assumes its sharpest forms the closer you get to the probable zones of US participation in actual hostilities.

While Wall Street diplomacy hopes to bring Japan into conflict against Russia and thus save itself part of the overhead expenses of the war, Japan remains the principal prospective foe. For even if it realizes its cherished hope of smashing the Soviet State, US imperialism still has the primary task of crushing the Japanese threat to its supremacy in the Pacific.

The most spectacular American war moves are consequently directed at Japan—for the immediate purpose of exerting pressure upon Japan's own policies and for the ultimate policy of ending forever the Japanese dream of conquest.

This is apparent enough from the public declarations of high officials like Senator Pittman, from the inflammatory editorials in leading papers like the New York Times and Herald Tribune.

But in Hawaii, Wall Street's principal Pacific outpost, these moves are felt, seen, and heard in their most substantial form. There the inhabitants are closest to the actual war preparations. There the war jingoism in the press is loudest, most blatant.

Take for example an editorial in the Hawaii Sentinel, a Honolulu weekly, which has taken as its holy and sacred mission to get Washington to crack down on the large Japanese population of the islands as spies, aliens, and tools of the hated Nipponese emperor.

"There is a feeling of unrest in Hawaii," this paper says. "... American battleships are entering and leaving Pearl Harbor ... Their comings and goings are practically under a censorship."

"In the sky above Honolulu can be heard from time to time the roar of planes, that are being detailed to duty along the air bases, now functioning on the Islands that make up America's biggest Maginot line in the Pacific. Other planes are taking off in formation for the Philippines. Destroyers and submarines of the latest type drop into Hawaii ports and then sail under secret orders toward the west in the Pacific."

"America is on guard in the Pacific. There is some grim business afoot. Hawaii is the hub of that grim business."

"Which brings us to the question: when is Uncle Sam going to move into Hawaii and see that the elements behind America's Maginot line in the Pacific are not a menace to all this grim activity."

"Hawaii, whether she likes it or not, is being prepared for a grim role. Her silly days, as the playground of silly tourists, are over; as is her role at playing indulgent godfather to Shinto-Americans ..."

In Hawaii the Japanese form a good third of the population; and the number of those born in the Islands, thereby making them American citizens, is fast reaching the point where they will normally come into vote-control if permitted to do so.

That is why also when the "grim business" comes to the point, Hawaii will be one of the first to feel the heat of the war dictatorship.

PACKINGHOUSE WORKERS WIN NLRB ELECTION

Dies Investigation Fails to Break Sol- idarity of Workers

By WM. SIMMONS
CHICAGO, Ill.—In spite of the most adverse high-pressure publicity the CIO packinghouse workers union won an election for collective bargaining last week at the Chicago Armour plants, by about two to one.

It just so happened that the Dies Committee reopened its hearings in Chicago a couple of days prior to these elections. And by a mere coincidence it chanced to pick on this particular union as the first victim to be investigated in the search for "un-American" tendencies. Naturally the daily papers made the most of this, never forgetting to mention the scheduled elections jointly with the hearings.

Both Herbert Marsh of the packinghouse workers union and his assistant director, Johnson, were cited to appear before the Dies Committee. Both denied membership in the Communist Party. Yet the predominant Stalinist influence in the leadership of this union is no secret. If nothing else the miserable record of belly-crawling and kowtowing to Armour and Co. by practically all of the higher officials would be a sufficient indication.

Also cited to appear was the former president of the Chicago Armour local, who complained that several times the heat had been put on him when he resisted joining the C.P., and that finally, when he persisted in his refusal, found another occupant at the president's desk.

Protest was made to Dies of his arbitrary manner of picking on only one union while there was another in the field contending for the favor of the packinghouse workers. So as a matter of form he subsequently invited a couple of officials from the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen (the AFL affiliate) to appear and have their say. What they said could not have been much; nobody paid any attention. But now the sum total of these valiant efforts by Mr. Dies is a resounding victory for the CIO.

Win Resounding Victory

There were 7,253 workers eligible to vote in the Chicago Armour plants elections—those in the production and maintenance departments who were on the payroll Oct. 28, excepting certain supervisory employees. Of the total 785 did not vote, and 161 of the ballots cast were disqualified or challenged. The tabulation showed 4,006 votes cast for the CIO union, 1,047 for the AFL union, and 1,254 workers voting for neither union. Obviously a large majority of the packinghouse workers in Chicago, Dies Committee or no Dies Committee, are perfectly conscious of the fact that they want a union right in the yards, an industrial union, which they know to have been associated with militant activities. Hence they voted for the CIO. They have done so once before. To disappoint these workers would be criminal.

NEUTRALITY LAWS DON'T APPLY TO BANKERS

OTTAWA—American bankers do not worry about United States neutrality laws or the Johnson Act which prohibits loans to belligerent nations and those who defaulted on the debts owed from the last war. They expect to get their share of war profits through loans to Canadian munition corporations. In recent weeks representatives of New York investment bankers have been frequent visitors to the offices of Canadian armament concerns arranging for loans for plant expansion.

Democracy on the Home Front



Defense Riddles FBI Frame-up Against Mpls. WPA Workers

Government Acted as Scab and Strikebreaker In Enforcing Woodrum Law With Armed Force, Attorney For Defense Proves

MINNEAPOLIS, Nov. 23—Since last Wednesday, when the parade of 158 government witnesses in the third WPA strike trial finally came to an end, the defense has been presenting its case.

As was expected, Judge Joyce denied the defense motions for dismissal of the case, although the parade of government witnesses had failed to establish the indictment charges that the strikers had violated Section 28 of the Roosevelt-Woodrum Relief Law by "intimidating" WPA workers and that they had "conspired" to that end.

In his first speech to the jury, defense attorney Tom Davis termed the trial an historic case and one of the strangest in American jurisprudence.

"The indictment," he said, (Continued on Page 2)

The Socialist Appeal Returns To Weekly Publication

Owing to extraordinary financial difficulties, the Socialist Appeal is obliged, for the time being, to discontinue twice-weekly publication and to return to a weekly basis, beginning with this issue. The price of single copies returns to the original price of five cents. The subscription rate remains as before.

For nearly ten months we have published the Appeal twice a week without skipping a single issue. Following the outbreak of the war crisis we even managed to bring out the paper three times a week. All this was done at the cost of exceptional efforts and financial sacrifices on the part of our party membership and the friends of our movement.

In the recent period, as a result of a combination of circumstances, the financial strain has become too great. In spite of all economies and the generous contributions of party members and friends, the weekly deficit which had to be made up by contributions continued at such a figure as to absorb our financial resources, plunge us into debt and disrupt the proper balance between literary propaganda and organizational work. Under these circumstances a temporary retreat became unavoidable.

This alone will give us the possibility of readjusting our budget and preparing for another step forward.

This step, dictated by economic necessities, does not, however, relieve us of the extremely difficult financial problem of the moment. In view of our accumulated and pressing debts the maintenance of the weekly publication and the development of our field organization work will be possible only if the organization press fund campaign, provided for by our last convention, is carried through to a successful conclusion.

The plans and provisions for the completion of this campaign which are now before the party branches will be reported in subsequent issues of the weekly Socialist Appeal.

PREPARE STRIKE IN NEW JERSEY CRUCIBLE STEEL

Company Stalls in Negotiations with Steel Workers

NEWARK—Negotiations for a new contract between the Crucible Steel Company and the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, begun Oct. 17, reached a stage of final breakdown and pending strike this week, as it became apparent that the Company's attitude of temporizing on union demands is an attempt to weaken rank and file militancy.

The fight for the new contract was instituted last June by the Jersey City and Harrison lodges of the SWOC. Working conditions in these plants had reached such a miserable state of affairs that the life of the union was endangered. The Company refused outright to bargain with union representatives. Minor grievances were referred to "impartial arbitrators" for settlement. Major cases were deferred from month to month. Unsettled grievances were the rule.

The Company insisted on the use of the stagger system—a plan of work week whereby the workers are felled out of time and one half for Saturday and Sunday work under this system the plants would be in operation 365 days of the year. Officers, shop-stewards and grievance committee-men were constantly intimidated and discriminated against. A new contract granting these basic demands became a life or death issue for the union.

Rising Prices An Issue

Another important factor agitating the rank and file was the rise in the cost of living. The (Continued on Page 2)

RACE RIOT AGAINST AUTO UNION FIZZLES

Corporation Organ- izes New Vigilante Groups in Detroit

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
DETROIT, Nov. 27—The Chrysler Corporation is now taking the first active steps in launching a back-to-work movement. This morning 200 Negro strikebreakers were escorted under heavy police guard through a picket line of more than 5,000 workers into the Dodge plant. The scabs were jeered by the pickets and a clash was averted only because of shouted orders by Richard Frankenstein, U.A.W. Executive Board member, and Pat Quinn, President of the Dodge U.A.W. local.

It was clear to observers here that this strikebreaking move can have no other significance than as a provocation by the corporation. The 200 Negroes are almost exclusively foundry workers and the corporation cannot hope to operate its Dodge plant, with a normal capacity of 25,000 workers, with twenty times the number that was escorted through the picket line today.

Attempt to Foment Race-Riot

Union leaders accurately pegged the aims of the corporation when they called it an attempt to foment a "race riot" in Detroit. The clash that company officials hope to provoke between Negro and white workers is intended to create a battle between the workers themselves on a racial issue and thereby facilitate widespread strikebreaking and ultimate state intervention.

The corporation is persisting in its denial that it has no intention of organizing a back-to-work movement. But it is obvious that running scabs through the picket line has no other purpose than to break the morale of the union men who have now been starved in this lockout for some 46 days.

Negro Appeal for Solidarity

A long step towards creating cooperation between Negro and white workers was taken in a statement issued by Detroit Negro community leaders in a leaflet of 15,000 copies distributed in the Negro district. The leaflet condemned the back to work movement stating that,

"Any effort to put Negroes back to work in the factories over the majority of the workers will spell doom to Negro workers in the factories. Negro workers must not allow themselves to be used by irresponsible leaders."

This latest back-to-work movement, as in all other cases in the (Continued on Page 2)

Roosevelt Also Seeks Jap-USSR Conflict

In the very midst of intensified warfare on the sea, Great Britain this week made a new and very definite bid to Germany for a reshuffling of the cards in the European war deck.

"None of us know how long this war will last," said Chamberlain in the House of Commons on Tuesday, "in what direction it will develop or, when it is ended, who will be standing at our side and who against us."

This unmistakable bid to Germany came at a time when Stalin seemed to be readying his grab of Finland, a move that Germany cannot possibly relish, for it would put Soviet Russia astride Germany's vital northern trade routes.

It is at this hour that Chamberlain once again says to the German generals and to any of the Nazi leaders who care to listen: It is still not too late to stop the war between us and join hands against the Russian menace. All you've got to do is remove Hitler and we're ready to talk business.

The alternative the British offer is strangulation of Germany through its blockade on imports and exports.

US Anti-Soviet Moves

Washington and Wall Street are meanwhile working might and main toward the same end—the transformation of the war into a war against the Soviet Union.

It is to this end that American pressure on Japan is growing every day. This is the meaning of the threats of an embargo against Japan—i.e., the threat of open war. Just as Chamberlain says to Germany: tie your wheel to our chariot or we will crush you!—Roosevelt is now in effect warning Japan to stop its dealings for a pact with Russia, to become the spearhead of an attack against Russia, or else feel the might of Wall Street's Navy.

This is the real essence of what is wrongly called the "phoniness" of the war. Chamberlain, spokesman for the British Empire at war, says ten weeks after war's outbreak that it is impossible to predict who will prove to be friends and who the foes.

(Continued on Page 3)

Announcing

MUTINY!

A New Series of Special Articles, Beginning in This Issue. . .

I. "We Want To Go Home!"

THE MUTINY OF THE RUSSIAN BRIGADES ON THE WESTERN FRONT

II. "... At Least I Know Why I Am Dying!"

THE 1917 MUTINIES IN THE FRENCH ARMY

III. "We'll Make Peace Ourselves!"

THE KIEL AND WILHELSHAFFEN MUTINIES IN THE GERMAN FLEET

IV. "We're Fed Up!"

THE POST-ARMISTICE STRIKES IN THE BRITISH ARMY

V. "Comrades! Why Are You Shooting Your Brothers?"

THE BLACK SEA MUTINIES IN THE FRENCH FLEET

VI. "Your Only Enemies Are Your Officers!"

LESSONS AND CONCLUSIONS

(Continued on Page 2)

"Lost Colony"---The End of the 'Croppers Trail

99 Families Live in Starvation and Squalor On "Squatters" Land In Missouri After Government Had Hounded Them Off Highways

By ROBERT L. BIRCHMAN

Nearly 500 ex-sharecroppers face starvation and death in a colony near Poplar Bluff, Missouri. The colony is reminiscent of the worst Hoovervilles and Rooseveltburgs, but it is home to the men who were evicted last January when the planters decided to hire day laborers, so that they would not have to share federal subsidies with the croppers. There ninety-nine families live in rag tents and barrel-stave shacks.

"Relief" for Croppers

They live—if one can call it living—on relief. And what relief! Each family receives four pounds of corn grit, four pounds of meal, two pounds of beans for a month. No salt, baking powder or grease. Many families number as many as ten. There is only spring water for drinking and cooking. Coffee is made from rebelled grounds, and drunk without sugar. There is no meat and all the milk is supplied by three poorly fed cows. Most of the 160 children are under ten years of age, including 16 babies, three born at the camp. Most of the adults are over 40. These homeless croppers took

refuge on 93 acres of uncleared land good only for "squinting." After having been hounded along the highways by the police and local authorities for months they located at the "Lost Colony." The land, hard-scrabble hill land, with a thin layer of soil over its gravel and rock bed, was purchased for \$3 an acre by money donated by sympathizers in St. Louis. The land at the best could not furnish sustenance for more than five families.

Live in Rag Tents

Many of the families live in rag tents. A number of shacks have been built, using small logs for the frame and discarded barrel-staves from a nearby barrel mill for the roofs and sometimes the sides. Lack of nails has held up completion of many of these half-finished shacks. Holes have been chinked with mud, which the first heavy rain will wash out. Only a few have obtained lumber for doors. All have open windows, screened by paper, sacks, or clothes. The bare ground is the only floor. When it storms the rain sweeps down in gusts that often soaks the tents and they are overturned.

Not One Good Stove

There is not one good stove in the camp. The cooking is done in the open and such meals as there are, are eaten outdoors. Many families, those with several children, run out of beans before the end of the month. Mothers feed their children at the breast for two and three years—there is nothing else to feed them. A number of the families have adopted children and aged dependents. Some of the aged women had applied for old age pensions, but received such technically worded replies that they dropped the matter then and there.

Medical attention is impossible to secure. Mildred G. Freed reports in the New York Post that she saw a young Negro woman tossing feverishly in bed from a miscarriage—her third within a year. When she asked if a doctor had been called the reply was "Private doctor he won't come 'cause we ain't got money an' county doctor he said he ain't never gonna help us."

Forbidden to Fish

While the river is at the edge of the camp and woods all around it, the colonists are forbidden by the sheriff to hunt or fish. One old man, who was deaf and had not heard the sheriff read the law went fishing and was arrested. A boy was shot and wounded when he was found hunting in the woods.

The "Lost Colony" is composed

of the remnants of the 1500 vassals of King Cotton and the cotton nobility who were evicted last January from their miserable shacks when they refused to accept a change in status to that of day laborers. The plantation owners were making this change in order that they would not have to share the cotton reduction parity payments with the croppers.

In 1938 the cropper received parity payments of approximately \$100, about one-third of their income. The laborer received from 75 cents to a \$1 a day for 100 to 120 days and no advanced credit from the planter, which the cropper receives. The increase in day laborers would bring the day rate down to as low as 40 cents for a 10 to 14 hour day.

Had Lived on Highways

Living under a tyranny often worse than under chattel slavery, the croppers revolted by the hundreds last January and advertised their plight and homelessness to the nation by camping in tents of rags on the Missouri highways. The local, state and federal authorities found one pretext after another for not supplying the croppers with relief or homes. After some days they gave meagre hand-outs to the croppers. The St. Louis CIO Council sent truck loads of food on the third day of the demonstration.

The planters protested against giving relief to the croppers and blamed "agitators" for the "damnable scheme" and demand-

Cotton Kings Howl for Government To Cut Off Miserable Relief; Want To Force Croppers To Become Day-Laborers

an investigation. Owen H. Whitfield, local leader of the croppers and vice-president of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union was threatened by the planters. Since then he has worked in St. Louis to secure aid for the croppers. J. R. Butler, president of the Union, was "escorted" to the state border by the state police when he sought to advise the croppers.

"Menace to Public Health"

The State Health Commissioner declared the croppers "a serious menace to public health" and forced them from the highways. Twenty-three families were piled on the Mississippi levee; thirty-two families were dumped into a two-room abandoned building and twenty-five families were crowded into an unused church. Soon the owners of the buildings instituted proceedings against the "trespassers." Friends of the croppers and the CIO in St. Louis then bought them the strip of land where they now live.

Education Among Croppers

The few white children in the camp must walk two miles to a junction to meet a school bus. No provision has been made for the

more than ninety Negro children of grade school age and they manage the best they can. Several of the high school students in the camp are making attempts after their school hours to teach the children. The Federal government has offered to provide WPA teachers if the croppers will provide a school building. These people without resources are building a combined meeting hall and school. The work is held up for lack of nails, roofing and windows. And unless a heating system is provided, no school can be held.

The Southern Tenant Farmers Union has asked for Federal aid. The colonists have written to Washington themselves but are always referred back to the local authorities who do absolutely nothing.

"There are no jobs for them," says Pres. J. R. Butler of the STFU, "and they can't hold out until Spring unless they get relief from some place."

No longer needed by the cotton nobility now seeking new ways to garner profits from cotton, the croppers are thrown on the scrap heap to starve and freeze to death.

WORKERS' FORUM

TROTSKY GIVES N. Y. TIMES WRITER A FEW POINTERS

Editor
New York Times
New York City, N. Y.
Sir:

Your Moscow correspondent in a letter on the foreign policy of the Kremlin (New York Times, November 12) affirms that this policy is dictated by Marxist doctrine. Mr. Gedyer reiterates insistently: "They are Marxists first, last, and always." Thus Mr. Gedyer agrees completely with this evaluation which the heads of the Kremlin are giving themselves and which is necessary for them in order to sustain the reputation of their international agency, the Comintern. It is impossible of course to enter here into a discussion upon the Kremlin's "Marxism." However, there are more concrete affirmations in Mr. Gedyer's letter which I cannot pass over.

Kremlin Falsifications

"The leaders have not adopted," writes Mr. Gedyer, "the theory of Leon Trotsky of 'permanent revolution' and the view that Socialism in one country is impossible. Far from that, they are as convinced as ever that Lenin was right. . . . These two sentences contain, mildly speaking, two misunderstandings. Lenin never propagated the theory of socialism in one country. On the contrary he affirmed constantly that the ultimate fate of the social order of the USSR depends completely upon the fate of international capitalism. Permit me to refer to my History of the Russian Revolution (Vol. III, pp. 378-418) where, I dare believe, it is proved irrefutably that Lenin stood on the conception directly opposed to that which is now ascribed to him by the Kremlin. Even after the death of Lenin in the Spring of 1924, Stalin still continued to explain in his compilation, Problems of Leninism, how and why Lenin considered it impossible to construct a socialist society in a single country. Only in the next edition of the same book in the Fall of 1924 did Stalin, moved by practical and not theoretical considerations, radically change his position on this not unimportant issue. Following this turn, the Kremlin made an attempt to force Lenin to change his conception too. Mr. Gedyer unfortunately supports this attempt.

Not less erroneous is the assertion concerning the theory of "permanent revolution" allegedly subscribed to by me. The theory of "permanent revolution" (not "revolt"), starting from an analysis of the class relationships in Czarist Russia, reached the conclusion that the democratic revolution in Russia must lead inevitably to the conquest of power by the proletariat and thus open the era of socialist revolution. I don't believe that the latest events have refuted this theory promulgated at the beginning of 1905. In any case it has nothing in common with the theory of "permanent revolution" which seems to me simply nonsense. The totalitarian press of Moscow more than once of course has represented my views in a caricatural form. Mr. Gedyer obviously has assimilated this caricatural presentation.

Correspondents "Worked On"

I must say in general that nowhere are the foreign correspondents so persistently and successfully worked upon as in Moscow. In the past years we have observed how some American journalists systematically induced American public opinion into error by their articles upon the "most democratic constitution in the world," upon the Kremlin's profound sympathy for the democracies, upon the Kremlin's not less profound hatred for Hitler and so on. As a result of such information the latest turns of the Kremlin took the public by surprise. In a country where the books devoted to the history of the party and the revolution, the historical plays, historical films, historical paintings, are nothing but consciously fabricated falsifications, the foreign correspondent should provide himself with a good deal of critical distrust if he really wishes to inform public opinion in his own country and not simply maintain friendly relations with the Kremlin.

Sincerely yours,

L. Trotsky

Coynean, D. F.
P. S. — Permit me to utilize this occasion for another correction. Several times I have encountered the allegation in your paper that Lenin characterized Trotsky as the "most clever member of the Central Committee." I am afraid that this translation—not only incorrect but tendentious—originated also from one of the too trustful Moscow correspondents. The word "clever" in this context has an ironical, a somewhat degrading connotation of which there is not a trace in the so-called Testament of Lenin. "Sami spo-

soberly," the exact Russian word used by Lenin, can be translated into English as "most able" but in no case as "most clever."

L. T.

CAPITALISM HAS NO NEW FRONTIERS

Editor:
Speaking in Boston, before the League of Women Voters, Elliot Janeway, Business Editor of "Time," said, "A tremendous catastrophe, similar to the Chicago fire or the Tokio earthquake, here in the United States would be an economic blessing, providing us with a frontier ready at hand and forcing us to go ahead and rebuild."

When spokesmen for the capitalist system openly admit that wholesale destruction of the productive machinery is the only way to instill new blood into the stinking corpse of the capitalist system then it is time to scrap that system.

We can see other frontiers such as eliminating disease, giving every family enough to eat, clothes to wear and a decent shelter over their heads. These frontiers capitalism does not and cannot tackle.

However much capitalism raises production it will never be able to offer the workers anything. At the present time production has reached the 1929 level but unemployment continues undiminished. The reason for this is that new industrial techniques have been introduced so that the productive capacity of the individual worker is greatly increased. Hence they need fewer workers today than they needed yesterday to produce a given quantity of goods.

But our masters say, "Aha, but we do have a frontier. It is on the Rhine." We answer, "We also have a frontier. It is right here and you are our enemies against whom our fire will be directed." Let them think that over before they add slaughter of the working class to the starvation already inflicted.

MAC INGERSOLL

Boston, Mass.

"THAT THEY MAY LIVE," A REAL ANTI-WAR MOVIE

Dear Comrade Editor,
The other night a couple of us socialists went to see the French movie, "That They May Live," because we heard it was an anti-war picture like "Grand Illusion." We were not so hot about going as we know that real anti-war pictures are even scarcer than real anti-war fighters.

We got a pleasant surprise, though. We found that the picture was made after the author-director became convinced that the outbreak of the new war was certain. What's more, the climax of the story is the fight against war after it has started.

The hero of the picture is a French soldier who sees all his buddies die on the last day of the World War. He sees that they didn't die for anything worthwhile and swears he will stop any new war. During the following years of peace he lives in Verdun where there are 100,000 graves and where the crosses stand almost as close together as cornstalks. There he invents bullet-proof armor for anti-war fighters. The armor is stolen by the factory owner, the old vet's boss, and is sold to the government for war purposes. Then the politicians come to the factory to incite the workers to war for "final victory and freedom."

The old soldier loses his mind and goes blind. After war is declared he goes back to Verdun and calls all the dead soldiers and sailors from their graves. He tells them to march against the real enemy, the profiteers and traitors at home. Their wounds make them look horrible.

When the people see what's happening they take the blind old soldier and try to burn him, just like they burned and tortured anti-war fighters in the last war. But the dead anti-war vets rescue him and all the ignorant and corrupt people run away like rats.

The movies is fine because it is based on truth, not on government lies. Of course, we can not expect the ten million dead who learned the lesson of the last war to get up and fight for us. We'll have to do the fighting ourselves. I think, comrade editor, that the movie is good entertainment and a good lead for workers who still trust Uncle Sam.

Comradely yours,
J. P.

New York
P. S. The French government outlawed it.

Join the Socialist Workers Party

Defense Riddles FBI Frame-up Against Mpls. WPA Workers

(Continued from Page 1)

"charges violation of Section 28 of the Woodrum relief law. The government must not only prove that Section 28 was violated, but that the defendants CONSPIRED to violate it.

"The testimony will show that on the night of June 30 the Woodrum law was passed and that immediately afterward, all over the country, strikes broke out. On July 5 in Minneapolis the Building Trades Council voted to strike in protest against this law. 'Maybe some of you jurors think you can't strike against the government. The court will tell you that you CAN STRIKE AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT AND YOU CAN PICKET.'"

Government a Scab

Davis bitterly condemned the relief law as showing a total disregard of the entire wage structure of the country, and that the act made the government a scab. To show the ridiculousness of the charge of conspiracy, Davis pointed out that in St. Paul at the fair grounds, practically every worker walked out on strike, yet the chief WPA workers' organization here, the Federal

Workers Section of General Drivers Union Local 544, did not have a single member on the project. 'Almost all the 25 defendants in the present trial are members of the Federal Workers Section. The trial revolves around the sewing project, which was closed down by the strike. When the government, after it had been closed by agreement for several days, attempted to re-open it on July 14, police fired into the pickets, killing one and wounding a score of others.

Ed Palmquist, Max Goldman and Eddie Alberts, defendants and leaders of the Federal Workers Section, were the principal persons called to the stand so far by the defense.

Armored Cars Used

As US District Attorney Anderson toyed nervously with a photograph, Palmquist told of the murderous police assault on the pickets—how the cops had no sooner opened the doors of the sewing projects, than they directed a hail of bullets and tear gas at the pickets across the street.

"I saw a man fall. It was Emil Bergstrom. He was killed. Arm-

ored cars were running into the crowd, coming from all directions, shooting. I saw Fred Johnson shot full in the face with a tear gas shell. I caught him and helped guide him to safety, then I saw Pat Roselle of the Federal Workers Section, shot through the arm with a bullet. I got some help and took them to the hospital."

Max Goldman was able to show the nationwide character of the strike, a fact which by itself shows up the absurd "conspiracy" charge leveled by the Federal Government against the Minneapolis unemployed.

Come Relief

One of the lighter moments came when defense attorney Davis called District Attorney Anderson to account for his insulting behavior toward the witnesses. Anderson excused his actions by saying that people sometimes act that way "in moments of righteous indignation." Whereupon Davis pressed Anderson and got him to admit he was not "righteously indignant." In other words, he was just putting on an act.

But the same act has already succeeded in convicting eight WPA workers in the first two trials, with the aid of the judge's exceedingly broad definition of conspiracy and juries convened from out-state rural areas.

A. Phillip Randolph Speaks in L. A.

LOS ANGELES, Nov. 19.—A. Phillip Randolph, International President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (AFL), speaking at the Second Baptist Church today presented his program for the Negro people.

He clearly pointed out the cause of unemployment and economic insecurity as being the obsolete capitalist system and described the present war in Europe as a conflict between rival imperialisms seeking to protect or acquire colonial interests. Nevertheless, he urged the Negroes to support the "progressives" in the Republican and Democratic parties, especially Roosevelt and the New Deal, completely disregarding the fact that these parties both represent and defend that same capitalist-imperialist system. Not one word was said exposing Roosevelt as a warmonger, or criticizing recent administration moves which have converted the New Deal into a War Deal.

ANNOUNCEMENT

The extensive German pamphlet by H. David: *The New World War and the International Labor Movement* is on the press. It answers many questions and clarifies not a few problems that have arisen during the present crisis.

Order it from Dale Edwards, P. O. Box No. 173, Sta. D, NYC. (20c) *Unser Wort* with the declaration of the IKD will appear shortly.

PREPARE STRIKE IN NEW JERSEY CRUCIBLE STEEL

(Continued from Page 1)

workers found themselves in a permanent state of financial bankruptcy, for their weekly wage was insufficient to pay their daily living expenses.

Though the Walsh-Healy Act set an hourly minimum of 62½ cents per hour on government contracts in the Steel Industry, the products covered by the Act failed to include ordnance and other munitions work. This directly affected the Harrison plant—primarily a war ordnance plant which manufactures shells, torpedoes and cannon. Flowing from the text of the Act, a general demand for a 62½c minimum with a general 6c per hour increase for all classes of labor is on the order of the day. The minimum at present is 56½c per hour.

Other demands include a union shop, a bona-fide seniority clause, an equalization of wage rates, one week vacation with pay after one year of accumulated service, check-off, etc.

Delegates from ten lodges of the Crucible Steel, headed by Nathan Cowan, representative for the SWOC, met in New York with L. S. Harding, labor relations director for the Company and negotiations continued for several days.

But they were rudely broken off at the end of the fourth day when Harding presented a company-dictated contract to the delegates for acceptance. The National Office of the union immediately ordered the lodges to hold strike votes.

Lead Steel Struggles

The history of the Crucible Steel Workers has been one of militancy and sacrifice. Since the rise of the CIO, they have been frustrated in their fight for a genuine contract. The mistakes of the SWOC in the Crucible Steel strikes of 1937 were a tremendous set back in the organization of steel as a whole. This had its reflection in the strength of the SWOC in the Crucible Chain.

Not only were the Crucible workers forced to carry the brunt of their own fight but also the leadership in the fight for organization of Republic, Bethlehem and Inland Steel. Numerous sit-downs and rank and file strikes have been their method of warding off the attacks of the Company.

Newspaper Organizes Fight

The formation of the North Jersey Steel Workers Council composed of twenty lodges in northern New Jersey has been an important factor in maintaining the strength and militancy of the rank and file in the area. The "Steel Workers Organizer," monthly publication of the Council, carried on the fight for a new contract in the Crucible Steel Co. in an uncompromising fashion. Crucible workers in all ten lodges of the Company are avid readers of the "Organizer" and look to it for leadership.

During the week of October 28th-November 5th, fifteen thousand Crucible Steel Workers, an

Guns Instead of Vitamins For British Workers

Vitamins are important. They prevent rickets in children and scurvy in grown-ups. Fresh fruits are the cheapest way of getting those all-important vitamins.

But the British workers aren't going to get the vitamins they need.

The British Food Ministry has just barred all imports of fresh fruit.

Officials of the Ministry, commenting on the ban, asserted, according to an Associated Press dispatch:

"Britain can hardly squander her foreign currencies in fruit when there are such things as war materials to be bought and paid for."

overwhelming majority of the workers in the ten plants of the Crucible Steel Co., voted to strike. Faced with the threat of strike, the company notified Clinton S. Golden, northeastern director of the SWOC that the Company was ready to reopen negotiations. After a week of continued conference, negotiations bogged down once more. A deadlock exists at present.

Up to Leadership

A temporizing attitude on the part of the SWOC will weaken the rank and file before an intense Company barrage of fake rumors. An immediate strike call will bring forth a militant display of solidarity and determination. A victory for the Crucible Steel Workers will pave the way for a victory in the fight to organize Little Steel. A decision of prime importance faces the National Office of the SWOC.

Announcing
the
Modern Bookshop
27 UNIVERSITY PLACE
NEW YORK, N. Y.
Telephone GRamercy 3-0917

Now Open for Business

Full Line of Books on Labor,
Politics, Economics

*
*The Center of Political Pamphlets of
all shades of opinion*
*
Drop in and browse around
LATEST FICTION

Lending Library Greeting Cards

Marxism In Our Times by Leon Trotsky

AN INTRODUCTION TO:

Living Thoughts of Marx

A 200 page abridgement of the first volume of Karl Marx's CAPITAL, including a brilliant exposition of the fundamental principles of Marxism in the light of modern day events. An entire section is devoted to the newer reformist movements, especially the Roosevelt "New Deal." Also examines the perspectives of the American and International labor and revolutionary movement.

This book, PRICED AT \$1.00 by the publishers,
Longmans-Green Co.,

TOGETHER WITH A ONE YEAR SUBSCRIPTION
either to

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL

or

SOCIALIST APPEAL

(Subscription rate, \$2.00 per year)

for \$2.25

ORDER NOW!

Address:

The New International

116 University Place

New York, N. Y.

(Note: For Socialist Appeal subscription in Manhattan and Bronx, add \$1.00 for 1 year postage)

THE NEGRO QUESTION

By J. R. JOHNSON

Destiny of the Negro

(Outline of the course at the Marxist School)

The subject for this week's discussion is "Emancipation from Slavery and the Destruction of Feudalism." The *New Internationalist* for December, devoted entirely to the Negro question, includes an article, "Revolution and the Negro," by J. R. Johnson, which describes in some detail the revolutionary contributions of the Negro to the destruction of feudalism in England, France, and America. All who are interested in this subject should secure a copy of the December number and study it closely. Here we shall make some political analysis of the role of the Negro in this phase of the development of Western civilization.

First of all, what is feudalism? That is not easy to answer in a sentence. It is a form of society based on landed property and simple methods of cultivation. You have a landowning class which rules; at the other end of the social scale you have the serfs, who get a part of their produce to feed themselves and contribute their surplus to the landowning aristocracy. Side by side with the landowning aristocracy is the clergy. The main characteristic of social life in feudal society is the fact that the aristocracy and clergy have great privileges, and the serfs and others have very few or none. This is not a matter of custom, but a question of law. (In capitalist society, in theory, all men are equal before the law.)

Feudal economy in Europe did not in any way have contact with Africa. It was essentially a subsistence economy; that is to say, it produced what it needed to feed and clothe itself. About the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, however, there grew up in Europe a new class, the merchants. These were the first real capitalists.

Europe's First Dealings With Africa

Soon their business began to be of great importance in the state. With increasing wealth, they gradually changed the economies of certain countries from producing chiefly food and the simple things that the community needed, to the manufacture of goods on a large scale. This particular class was concerned as much with production for trade in other parts of the country and abroad as for use at home. It was this drive for trade, for raw materials, for markets, and for profit, that created the necessity of expansion, and in the fifteenth century finally sent expeditions to America and to Africa. Thus it was the development of capitalism in Europe that brought the millions of Africans into contact with Western civilization.

Capitalism demands above all else landless laborers. In Europe the capitalist class created a class of landless laborers by driving them off the land whenever possible, for if the serf or the peasant had land on which to work or earn his keep for himself, naturally he would not hire himself out to any capitalist for long hours and small pay.

When the capitalists discovered America they tried to use the Indians as landless laborers. But the Indians died. There was so much land that it was impossible to get landless laborers from among the early colonists. Because of this, the capitalists in Europe and their agents in the colonies brought millions of Negroes as slaves to America and thereby provided the colonies with the necessary labor. By this means capitalism enormously expanded its capacity for making profit.

By means of these vast profits that they made at home and abroad, the capitalists in Britain and France, for example, not only built up tremendous trade and business, but, with the profits accumulated, they began to organize factories, and extended the application of science to industry. The standard of civilization rose, and the power and profits of the capitalists increased also. But the governments of France and Britain still continued to be under the domination of the old feudal nobility. When came much trouble.

Capitalists Make Their Revolution

Trade and factories were more important than land. Yet the rulers of the country were princes, dukes, lords, bishops, and archbishops. That was all very well when they had the economic power, but now it had passed from them. Not only were they proud and arrogant, but they tried to keep the laws and the government suitable to land ownership when, owing to the shift in the economic basis of the country, the laws and the government should have been organized to help trade and industry. It was no use pointing out to them that they should give way. It took revolutions to do it.

In Britain there were two revolutions. One took place in the seventeenth century and lasted off and on for nearly sixty years. In France, revolution began in 1789, and by the time it was over the power of the aristocracy and the clergy was wiped away completely.

What part did the Negroes play in all this? The capitalists who first profited by slavery were commercial capitalists and the planters in the colonies. These planters were partly capitalist in that they traded their produce far and wide, and partly feudal in that they kept their slaves in a state of subjection comparable to the old serfdom and built up a type of feudal society. But as capitalism developed, these commercial traders and the plantation owners collaborated closely with the aristocracy, and many of them became aristocrats themselves. By the time the industrial capitalists were busy developing their factories, the aristocrats, the planters, and the commercial capitalists formed, roughly speaking, one reactionary group.

An End to Slavery

Now one of the things that the industrial capitalists wanted to do was to finish with slavery. It was too expensive. Slave production was backward compared with modern methods and more highly developed capitalist production in agriculture. So that you had on one side the industrial capitalists determined to destroy the slave power of the aristocrats, the commercial capitalists and the planters. It was in this political struggle that Negroes got their chance to fight for their freedom. They played a small part in the English political struggle, a larger part in the French struggle, and a decisive part in the American struggle. This was not accidental. A few figures will show us why.

In 1789 British colonial trade was five million pounds out of an export trade of 27 million. Britain had lost America in 1783 and had few slaves in the West Indies. We can therefore see that slavery was playing a very minor part in British economy. The British Negroes on the whole played little part in the destruction of British feudalism.

Negro In The French Revolution

In France in 1789 the export trade was 17 million pounds. The colonial trade was 11 million pounds—two thirds of this. The question of abolition was therefore of tremendous importance. It took a prominent part in the revolution. The Negroes fought magnificently and being thousands of miles away, gained their independence. This is how Haiti came into being.

In America in 1861 this combination of the commercial bourgeoisie and the plantation owners was not a minor part of American economy. It was a major part. The combination was not a colony of thousands of miles away. It occupied hundreds of thousands of square miles inside the country. To defeat this combination took the greatest Civil War in history, and the Negro's share was far greater than it had been in France.

This is the way we must look at history. People who only see black men in general, being oppressed by white men in general, and are unable to trace the historical dialectic do not understand anything and therefore cannot lead. That is the great value of being a genuine Marxist, an adherent of the Fourth International. You can study history and understand where we are to today and why and where we are going tomorrow.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The Black Jacobins by C.L.R. James.
History of Negro Revolt by C.L.R. James.
The series of articles by George Novack which are now running in the *New Internationalist*. They are the only Marxist study of the pre-Civil War period and they are invaluable.
The relevant chapters in Beard's *Rise of American Civilization*.

British Empire Faces Rising Tide of Revolt In African Colonies

By BRITANNICUS

From the beginning of the war it has been the policy of the British government to play up the idea of a united people and a united empire. Already in these columns we have shown that there is at present a firm core of revolutionary resistance in Great Britain, small though it is. We can be certain also that it would already have been much larger, had it not been for the fact that at the very beginning of the war the British government arrested some 6000 persons as "spies." (In much the same way President Roosevelt, through his stooge, Attorney General Murphy, is whipping up the lynch spirit against "spies" in this country, in other words, against persons who are determined to oppose the war.)

In its principal colonies, however, the British bourgeoisie is confronted by a rising tide of revolt. The *Socialist Appeal* has analyzed the rattle scamper of Gandhi from pro-Ally conversations with Lord Linlithgow, the Viceroy, to frantic shouts about the necessity of Britain granting independence to India as the price of India's support in the war. Gandhi, the representative of the Indian millowners and the land-lords, has not changed his pro-British subservience between September and his present fire-breathing policy. It is the Indian masses who are determined not to give any support to their 300-year-long jailers. And Gandhi must protest or perish. The Indian masses are for war but for war against Britain.

Now Africa takes the field against British imperialism.

British West Africa has a climate not at all suitable for Europeans. The political situation there, therefore, is not nearly so acute as it is in British South Africa, Rhodesia and Kenya, where the climate allows Europeans to live. Among twenty million people in West Africa, there are only 5,000 Europeans and in Lagos, a town of 150,000 inhabitants, there are only 1000 whites. Inasmuch as in the early years of British domination no British settlers wanted land, British imperialism was graciously pleased to guarantee to the Africans the possession of their land. Recently, however, Lord Leverhulme, of the famous firm of Leverhulme Brothers, soap manufacturers, has realized the importance of taking away the Africans' land, and is intriguing against them. However, the Africans have had their land for a hundred years under British rule and will lose it only at the cost of a desperate civil war.

BACKGROUND OF PRESENT NATIVE STRUGGLES

They are on the alert and increasingly hostile to Britain. In 1929 the women of Nigeria, thirty thousand strong, led a revolt against taxes which resulted in nearly two hundred being either killed or wounded. In 1937 there was a general strike of the Gold Coast farmers, which was joined by the truckdrivers and dockers. The British government sent out a commission, which, with much verbiage, finally decided essentially that the Gold Coast farmers had as much right to form combinations and to protect their prices as the employers had to form their combines.

The West African youth is also militant and organized. They have had better opportunities of education than Negroes elsewhere in Africa, and, social discrimination, for the historical reasons described, is not as strong as elsewhere in Africa. Within recent years there has developed a West African youth movement, sixty thousand strong, which is in opposition not only to British imperialism but also to the caste of native lawyers, doctors, magistrates, and other government officials, who can be found in British West Africa and in no other British African colony.

The leader of the youth league is Wallace Johnson, a West African Negro, who has been active in politics in West Africa for

many years. He organized a labor union in West Africa and led several successful strikes. He ran a paper, was arrested for sedition, and was driven out of the country. He went to England and for a time was secretary of the International Service Bureau, which has always taken a militant revolutionary position against the war and whose manifesto has been published in the *Socialist Appeal*. Early in 1938 Johnson returned to West Africa and organized a political campaign of progressive Africans against the old-line municipal councilors, who were as subservient to the British government as Gandhi and his mill-owners are in India. In a fierce political campaign last year five candidates, supported by the West African Youth League, won a smashing victory over the old fakers who formerly misrepresented the people in the Lagos municipality.

HITLERITE CONCENTRATION CAMPS OF THE BRITISH

Now comes the news that Wallace Johnson has been arrested by Sir Douglas Jardine, the English governor, and thrown into a concentration camp with Germans and others as a "man likely to disturb peace and order during the war."

We can get no further news about his arrest. In the House of Commons Campbell Stevens of the Independent Labor Party asked Malcolm MacDonald, Secretary of State for the Colonies, to state the crime for which Johnson was arrested. MacDonald refused. The hypocritical British government knew quite well the sensation that would be created if it were stated in the House of Commons that Johnson was openly carrying on agitation against the imperialist war. It would lay bare to the British public the lie about the unity of the empire and, coming so quickly after the revelation of the real state of affairs in India, would help expose British imperialism, not as the friend of "democracy" and civilization but as the greatest enemy of the democratic rights of people, hated by the millions it oppresses, who wish nothing better than to see Britain's downfall in the present crisis.

JOHNSON'S VIEWS IN AFRICAN MANIFESTO

We have no direct news of what Johnson has been doing, but it is enough to quote from the war manifesto of the International African Bureau to which he subscribed: "We denounce the whole gang of European robbers and enslavers of the colonial peoples—German Nazis, Italian Fascists, French, British, Belgian and Dutch democrats—all are the same IMPERIALIST BANDITS whose common aim is the enslavement of humanity throughout the world."

"To the workers of Britain we appeal also. You must unite in the struggle of the colonial peoples against the common enemy, who is in your own country. To white and black the solution is the same: Organize and be ready to seize the opportunity to overthrow the enemy."

"FOR COMPLETE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL LIBERATION OF THE COLONIAL PEOPLES!"

"DOWN WITH THE IMPERIALIST BANDITS!"

"WORKERS OF ALL LANDS, UNITE!"

We can state with confidence that that is the sentiment of hundreds of millions of colonials, in India and in Africa. What they need is political clarification, organization, and a perspective. More than ever we can see the crying necessity of a powerful revolutionary organization, world-wide in scope. Wallace Johnson was once a follower of Stalin, but broke with the Comintern when it preached that "democratic" Britain should be supported against fascism. There are hundreds, nay thousands, of such leaders in the colonies. We have to get to them somehow!

British "Peace" Bid

(Continued from Page 1)
What it boils down to is this: the capitalist powers caught in the mesh of the crisis of their own system lunged forward into a war among themselves. They all know the probable consequences. They know war will bring in its train the revolution that will destroy them all.

That is why they hope desperately even now to postpone the decision—and they hope to do it by transforming the war into an eastward push against the Soviet

Union by destroying the basis of the workers state and winning a partial respite for themselves by opening up Russia for capitalist exploitation.

This remains the nub of the war strategy of the great powers.

FIGHT AGAINST THE WAR

1. "We Want to Go Home!" MUTINY! 1917: The Mutinies of the Russian Brigades in France

by "Spartacus"

THE FIRST FLAMES of mutiny on the Western Front were lit by sparks from the Russian revolution. Some twenty thousand Russian troops fighting in France were the fuel for the fire.

These Russian soldiers had been sent to France in the freighters which landed munitions for the Czar's armies at Archangel, Murmansk, Vladivostok. It was a fine business transaction. The French had plenty of munitions but needed cannon fodder; the Czar had plenty of cannon fodder but needed guns. Furthermore, the French boats avoided an unprofitable return trip in ballast.

There was no trouble getting volunteers for the trip. Incredible rumors were circulating in the Russian ranks about conditions in the French army. It was said there was no fogging, that rifles were so plentiful that every man got one all to himself, and that even privates wore leather shoes.

The Language of the Whip

When the first of the Russian regiments landed at Marseilles, they were greeted with cheers and flowers—even more enthusiastically, according to eyewitnesses, than the Americans were later on. But the soldiers soon found their existence as wretched under the Third Republic as it had been under the Czar. They were kept together in two brigades—about twenty thousand of them altogether—under Russian officers, and floggings and brutality flourished on the democratic soil of France just as much as on the autocratic soil of Holy Russia. "That's the only kind of language the Russian soldier understands," explained their officers. Furthermore, these Russian regiments had terrible losses, being "spent" by the French General Staff in the reckless way they had with colonial troops of "inferior" races. Even Winston Churchill, in his history of the war, admits that the Russian brigades "were used by the French in a ruthless manner."

"Unrest began," writes T. H. Wintringham in *Mutiny*. "A paper called *Nashe Slovo* ('Our Word') was printed in Russian in Paris and copies of it reached the brigades; it protested against the abuses of which the men complained. The Russian command decided to employ Tsarism's usual methods: to send into the ranks agents provocateurs, who would lead the men into some sort of riot; then severe punishment could be inflicted, an example made. A man called Vining, from the Russian Embassy in Paris, seems to have done his work too well: a Colonel Krause was set on and stoned to death. Eight men were shot for this, *Nashe Slovo* suppressed. An almost unknown journalist called Leon Trotsky, who had helped to run the paper, was expelled from France." Thus, for a moment of history, the fates of these twenty thousand Russian soldiers and of the future leader of the Red Army were joined in symbolic union.

"We Want to Go Home!"

In March of 1917, the Czarist regime was overthrown, cast aside in a few days of almost bloodless struggle by the awakening Russian masses. Despite the strenuous efforts of the French authorities, news of the revolution quickly reached the Russian brigades. At once, delegates were elected, secret meetings called, and finally open assemblies—Soviets. Out of all the talking and voting, one basic, simple demand emerged: "We want to go back to Russia!" All through the long draw-out affair, this was the only demand made: "Send us back to Russia. We want to go home!"

"Very soon after the February revolution," writes Trotsky in his *History of the Russian Revolution*, "the first brigade broke discipline. It did not want to fight for Alsace or for Lorraine; it did not want to die for beautiful France. It wanted to try living in the New Russia." A simple, reasonable desire, certainly! So little, and yet—from the viewpoint of French G.H.Q.—so much! Colonel Netchvolodov, a battalion commander, indicated most dramatically just how the high command felt about this simple little request. When a delegation presented it to him, he fainted on the spot. The delegates had to pick up the Colonel out of the mud and carry him to doors to be revived.

Casualties: Sixty-six per cent

The men made no immediate attempt at mutiny. They pressed their simple request, but continued to obey orders. In April, General Nivelle, the new French commander-in-chief, launched his grand offensive that was to smash the German lines once and for all—and that almost smashed the French military machine once and for all. The Russians were ordered up into the line. They discussed the matter in their "Soviets" and decided to obey.

One of their brigades, nine thousand strong, was given the task of capturing one of the main buttresses of the German line: Fort Brimont, a fortress with deep concrete redoubts, almost impregnable to infantry attack. Nivelle had planned to outflank it after the break-through and take it from the rear. But the break-through never came, and so the Russians were ordered to take it by frontal attack. They had to go up hill, in full view of the German defenders for two and a half miles, crossing a deep canal and getting through twenty-six lines of barbed wire defenses. Day after day they struggled on, dying in whole companies under the German machine guns. When they finally reached the earth-covered slopes of the fort itself, they had lost two thirds of their original strength—six thousand killed and wounded. The exhausted survivors were unable to take the fortress.

Even after the Nivelle offensive, the Russians did not mutiny. But now began those widespread mutinies in the French army which will be described in the next instalment of this series. As we shall see, these French mutinies never became politicalized, thanks largely to the efficient work of the French authorities in isolating the troops from all contact with workers and revolutionaries. The Russian troops were a dangerous source of political infection, with their increasingly militant demands, their close ties with the Russian revolution, and their "Soviets"—the word sent shivers into the polished boots of the General Staff!

Wintringham quotes the frank words of Paul Painlevé, French Minister of War at the time: "The example that these Russian soldiers gave in their Soviets, their deliberations, their attitude towards their officers, demoralized the French troops alongside them and repercussions of this were felt on the whole front. The only remedy was to transfer them to the interior of the country."

(NEXT WEEK: French G.H.Q., fearing the spread of the Soviet idea to its own troops, isolates the Russian soldiers in a camp at La Courtine. Left to themselves, without officers, the men organize a model democratic community. G.H.Q. finally suppresses the Soviet when it orders the camp surrounded by artillery and at bayonet-point forces one of the brigades to fire upon the other.)

Indian Workers in Mass Strikes Against British Imperialist War Rule

News concerning the anti-war

activities of India's 375,000,000 people is finally beginning to pierce through the heavy British censorship.

In previous issues of the *Socialist Appeal* we have reported on the rising wave of anti-war sentiment and activity for India's freedom that is now sweeping the country. The negotiations between the conservative Gandhi leaders and the British authorities broke down completely because of the unwillingness of the British to make even the slightest promise or concession. At that time we predicted that a period of direct mass action on the part of India's workers and peasants would begin.

While the Gandhi leaders of the Nationalist Congress have continued their futile playing around with the British Viceroy, the masses of people have not been inactive.

Workers Take the Lead

Of utmost significance is the emergence of the industrial workers—the Indian proletariat organized in their militant trade unions—as the leaders of the oppressed nation. In the city of Calcutta there is now a general strike of all textile workers which is threatening to spread to Bombay, Ahmedabad and other textile centers. This localized general strike can easily become a nation-wide strike.

In Calcutta, one of the world centers of the jute industry where millions of sand bags are now supposed to be produced for British war needs, 31,000 Hindu and Moslem jute workers walk-

ed out on strike at the beginning of last week. This too will spread rapidly and shortly involve the more than 100,000 jute workers who toil in the British factories around and in Calcutta.

Massacre Nationalists

In Karachi, a major seaport of the country and a center for nationalist propaganda, the British applied some of their "democratic" practices last week. In cold blood, British troops and police shot down and killed 20 Indian nationalists who were conducting an anti-war parade and demonstration. The number of wounded is unknown, but this action of the police who were confronted with absolutely unarmed people can only be labelled as another example of typical British criminal massacre. British rule in the colonies is based precisely upon such actions as the Karachi slaughter.

Meanwhile, the British are making every effort to relieve the constantly growing pressure by stirring up Hindu-Moslem communal discord. There are reports of numerous Hindu-Moslem riots, mostly in the Northern sections of India—that is, where the hatred of British rule is deepest and most militantly organized. It is undeniable that these efforts to pit Hindu against Moslem have had some success. This is primarily due to the actions of the pro-British Moslem League who work for the imperialists, and the failure of the Gandhi leadership to prove in action the possibility and need for Hindu-Moslem unity.

Leave Door Open
At its latest session the Con-

gress Working (executive) Committee adopted a resolution which, while affirming the demand for immediate independence and a popular Constituent Assembly, left the door open for further negotiations. No practical actions were proposed. This is because the Gandhi leaders fear the masses at least as much as do the British.

But the initiative is no longer in their hands! It rests firmly in the hands of the workers and peasants who have passed beyond the conservative boundaries of their "leaders" and who are already reaching out for freedom and power. Rebel India is indeed on the march again and its pace will increase rapidly within the next weeks and months!

The Unofficial War

Great Britain scored a big point this week in its struggle against the United States over control of South America's markets.

The government of Argentina Tuesday repudiated its Aug. 23 declaration for multilateral trade—which opened the way for the US to take over Britain's Argentinian markets—and, through Alfredo Louro, Director of the Exchange Control Bureau, declared: "All requests for exchange for importations of other countries of merchandise that can in some form be acquired in Great Britain will be refused."

Wants No 1914 Repetition
During the last war, the United States interests took advantage of British preoccupation in Europe to forge ahead at a tremendous rate in Latin America. Wall Street, which prior to 1914 played second fiddle to British capital, was enabled by the war to advance by leaps and bounds, while its British rival was in no position to throw capital across the sea. In the period of the war and the reconstruction that followed it, the investment of British capital was practically at a standstill in comparison to the inroads made by US capital.

Argentina is one of the few countries where Britain still retains a large measure of control, and the British are fighting hard to maintain that control. The Argentine bourgeoisie, although largely linked to the British, both sides of this fight within the "democratic bloc." The sweat and blood of the Argentine workers and peasants are just mere items of trade to be pushed over the counter to the highest buyer.

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Vol. III, No. 91 Saturday, December 1, 1939

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

Editors:

FELIX MORROW MAX SHACHTMAN

General Manager: Assistant Manager:
MARTIN ABBERN SHERMAN STANLEY

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for six months.
Foreign: \$3.00 per year, \$1.50 for six months. Bundle
orders: 3 cents per copy in the United States; 4 cents
per copy in all foreign countries. Single copies: 5 cents.

"Reentered as second class matter September 29,
1939, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the
Act of March 1, 1879."

FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST
WORKERS PARTY FOR:

1. A job and a decent living for every worker.
2. Open the idle factories—operate them under workers' control.
3. A Twenty-Billion dollar Federal public works and housing program.
4. Thirty-thirty—\$30-weekly minimum wage—\$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 percent 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 "International." 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 unfitness. 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 come 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 119.

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 35% 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."

Just Out!

WHY NEGROES SHOULD
OPPOSE THE WAR

A message that affects the life
of every Negro

By J. R. Johnson

Price—5c per copy. Bundle rates—10 to 50—
3c per copy. 50 or more—2½c per copy
SPECIAL RATES TO ORGANIZATIONS
ORDER NOW!

PIONEER PUBLISHERS
116 UNIVERSITY PL. NEW YORK CITY