

RUMBLINGS OF REVOLT SHAKE WAR CAMPS

Hands off the Trade Unions, Mister Roosevelt!

AN EDITORIAL

Hundreds of labor unions and central labor bodies have been sending to Washington their protests against the union-busting campaign being conducted by the Roosevelt government through the Department of Justice and its Federal Bureau of Investigation—the G-Men.

What they are protesting against was aptly summarized by Thomas V. Smith, secretary-treasurer of the General Drivers Union of Omaha, Nebraska, in a recent statement to the Labor press on the FBI persecutions of the Midwest teamsters' unions:

"The Department of Justice and its Federal Bureau of Investigation is on a road which is surely leading to the development of American soil of the same sort of anti-labor political police which is the instrument of the ferocious dictatorships in Europe and Asia."

Arnold Cracks Down on Labor

The Department of Justice has answered these protests, in the form of a letter by Assistant Attorney General Thurman Arnold, sent to the secretary of the Central Labor Union of Indianapolis and simultaneously published in the press on Nov. 20.

The Roosevelt government plainly declares in this letter its intention systematically to employ the Sherman Anti-Trust Act against the labor movement, listing "five types of union activity" as "unquestionably violations of the Sherman Act."

The Sherman Anti-Trust Act was passed by Congress in 1890 as a law against the industrial monopolies, under the pressure of mass discontent. By the most flagrant formalism, the courts, in typical judge-made law, proceeded to apply the Sherman Act, not against the monopolies, but against labor unions as "restraining commerce." In that way Debs was sent to jail, the famous Danbury Hatters union members stripped of their life savings, etc. As the result of a national wave of labor revolt, Congress in 1914 passed the Clayton Act expressly exempting unions from the anti-trust laws.

But the Clayton Act and similar legislation have been whittled away by the judges for the benefit of the bosses. It was bad enough when bosses used the Sherman Act against unions, but the climax came when Attorney General (Tea-

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Behind the Lines

By GEORGE STERN

The tight game of power politics involving the United States, Japan, and the U.S.S.R., is beginning to be played a little faster and more furiously. It is by far the most important sector of the diplomatic front of the war, far more important than any in Europe, because its outcome will decide in large measure the form and tempo of U.S. entry into the war itself and will have a decisive effect upon the further evolution of the conflict.

Fresh signs of approaching agreement between Japan and the Soviet Union have forced Washington to increase its pressure upon Tokyo. Cordell Hull and Sumner Welles roll out their verbal batteries. Once again the inviolability of Wall Street's "interests" in China are reaffirmed and Japan is angrily informed that these "interests" will be vigorously defended.

Without any effort to depict it as a coincidence, the Navy Department announces a sizeable increase in the submarine force attached to the U.S. Asiatic Fleet. The largest and newest submarines in the navy will take their places in the first line of prospective action against the Japanese fleet in the Pacific. The announcement comes as a little semi-colon or dash punctuating the diplomatic barrage. A semi-colon or a dash—because the matter is far from concluded.

The Main Strategy
Let us reiterate once again the central significance of this diplomatic tug-of-war: it still remains the essential strategy of the Allies, including of course this country, to transform the war into a war against the Soviet Union as the most convenient and least damaging way out of the present impasse. This was the hope raised so high at Munich only a lit-

tle more than a year ago. It has by no means been abandoned, even though the powers, driven helplessly by forces they could not entirely control, are at present at war.

In Europe the main hope of carrying out these plans continues to be the hope that Hitler will be displaced by another regime, preferably a dictatorship of the "moderate" Reichswehr generals and possibly even a restored Hohenzollern monarchy. With such a regime, the British and French indicate they will find it possible to make a deal that will end the stalemate on the western front and turn war's spearhead eastward again.

The Game with Japan
In the Far East the strategy consists of keeping Japan and Russia at sword's points and to ensure thereby Japanese participation in the eventual anti-Soviet drive. We have said in this column repeatedly that it is a question of Japan's price. Britain and France have already all but withdrawn to the sidelines and it is U.S. imperialism that is left to play the game of combined pressure, wheedling, promises, threats, and counter-threats that is called modern diplomacy.

The Russians, fully conscious, naturally, of the stakes, are pushing ahead with all their might to get in first with a deal at Tokyo. General agreement "in principle" has already been announced and we can look for sizeable Soviet concessions to the suspicions of the Japanese militarists.

For them it is a question of being convinced of greater immediate gains to be had through elimination of the western powers from China than through a deal with the Western powers that will involve Japan in an early war against Russia that would take all that remains of her material resources.

JERSEY S.W.P. POLLS STRONG ANTI-WAR VOTE

Only Party with Program for Workers in State Elections

Official announcement was made this week that Alfred Lowenthal, candidate of the Socialist Workers Party of Essex County, New Jersey, had received 1,306 votes in the November 7th elections for General Assembly.

This vote, a few hundred lower than that polled by the Thomas Socialist Party and the Stalinist Party, was generally regarded as an encouraging reply to the campaign of the Socialist Workers Party, which had run throughout the campaign as the party of revolutionary struggle against the war and the war-makers.

The capitalist parties, here as elsewhere throughout the country, were extremely careful to avoid all mention of the main issue, the war. Not once did either party's candidates for any office in the state take any position on the war.

They insisted that that was a national issue, and that the elections were state issues. But even on the state issues both parties showed how completely bankrupt they were.

After the war question, the most important issues in the elections were unemployment and relief, pressing labor legislation, and steps against racial discrimination and Jim-Crowism.

As the Newark Socialist Appeal, SWP election paper, made clear, the two boss parties had no more of an answer to these problems than they had to the war.

The Relief Problem

With a quarter of a million unemployed and with no money appropriated for relief, neither boss party dared to offer a real answer to the problem. After an 8-month session the Republican-controlled Legislature had been able to adopt only the idea of a state referendum on relief to appropriate \$21,000,000 through a bond issue for the years 1939 and 1940. (The minimum required to maintain even the present low standard for the two year period is \$60,000,000.)

The Republican Legislature presented this referendum to the people for a vote—but the Republican Party before the elections came out strongly against its passage. In this way they hoped to do two things: 1. Avoid appropriating money for relief. 2. Avoid the responsibility for not appropriating the money. The Hague Democrats on the other hand came out for the referendum, hoping to pick up

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His Turkey Dinner



Give Thanks--Twice!

You May Not Know It But Conditions Are So Good, F.D.R. Gave Us 2 Thanksgivings

Thursday is Thanksgiving Day.

Young and old, good and bad, rich and poor, lithe and lame—all are supposed to pause, pray and give thanks. It's an old American custom, even older than the horse-drawn trolley and the buffalo nickel.

Naturally, there are many people who have things to be thankful for.

The Sixty Families, for example, will have one helluva time on Thanksgiving Day.

In their lavishly appointed mansions, they will sit around innumerable big, fat turkeys and in between their fowl mouthfuls and burps, give thanks.

That the President is a big Navy man, That the war has finally started,

That the big, fat contracts are rolling in,

That profits are sky-rocketing,

And that, as a matter of fact, every day is Thanksgiving Day—for the Sixty Families.

President Roosevelt will have many things to be thankful for. After the newsreel men have left with their clips of the Chief Executive carving up the biggest turkey of them all, the Prez will pause and give thanks.

That he has in Frank Murphy an Attorney General who knows how to frame up that blankety-blank Minneapolis labor movement,

That he was able to ram through Congress a juicy part of his program for involving

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BOSSSES SPURN JUST DEMANDS OF AUTO UNION

Corporation Makes Big Haul of Profits, Offers Slaves Slim Pickings

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

DETROIT, Nov. 22—Chrysler workers will go without their Thanksgiving dinners Thursday, thanks to the lockout the corporation is maintaining in its stubborn refusal to make any reasonable concessions.

No agreement is yet in sight on the question of wages, the latest issue over which negotiations have bogged down. The UAW-CIO originally demanded an all-around 10 cents an hour increase in wages. It revised this proposal downwards to five cents. In terms of annual wage increase the original sum of \$18,000,000 was revised downwards to \$8,000,000.

Corporation officials countered with an annual wage increase of \$3,000,000 which the UAW justly rejected as "ridiculous." The union's rejection is buttressed by some very solid statistics:

For the first six months of 1939 the Chrysler Corporation reported a net profit of \$26,000,000. Rising prices dig a deep hole into the wages of the Chrysler worker but they hardly make a dent in the millionaire stockholders' dividends.

Below Subsistence Wage

"The 'subsistence wage' for a family of four in Detroit, according to the most recent Department of Labor figures, is \$1,423.85," R. J. Thomas, union president said.

"Chrysler production workers do not earn anything near that amount. The average hourly wage in June of this year was 93 cents. Given forty weeks of work a year, at thirty-two hours a week, Chrysler workers earn \$1,190.40 a year.

"That is \$233.45 less than the government says is required to keep a Detroit family of four in the ordinary necessities of life."

Dickinson At It Again

The other day our pious Governor broke into print again. This time, however, he wasn't on his knees to Jesus, but to the Chrysler corporation. His pipeline to God always makes a detour to the back door of the auto companies.

Somebody told him, it seems, that the negotiations were reaching a settlement. So in jumped "Little Dick" in the nick of time to offer any scabs who wanted it state protection. If the local cops can't get strikebreakers into the plant, I'll send down my National Guard, so the statement ran. Now if the corporation wants to put the kibosh on negotiations and start some strikebreaking it knows where to look to for support.

Third Camp Raises Its Head in First Weeks of War

In Prague, Dublin, India, Paris, Moscow War-Makers Tremble at Spectre of Masses In Rising Against Their Bankrupt Rule

By FELIX MORROW

The first known large-scale struggle of a section of the masses against its "own" government during this war has taken place. The Czech students and workers have the honor of initiating the revolutionary struggle against the war-makers.

That this open clash came during the first months of the war, whereas years elapsed during the first world war before such a clash—that is the difference in the tempo of the two epochs.

The main attention of the "democratic" press has been concentrated on the dramatic resistance of the Czech students. It is clear now, however, that the workers also participated in the struggle. As early as Oct. 27, the Nazi officials of Prague officially branded "labor agitation" as "the work of Trotskyite Communists"—the universal designation of revolutionists by reaction. That strike calls were answered by the workers last Saturday is discovered from an official assertion that the strikes were terminated by Monday. But that would indicate that the strikes were not for economic demands, but were political protest strikes, in solidarity with the students, called for a specific time period and then terminated.

In addition to the execution of twelve student leaders and the herding of thousands of others into concentration camps, it is reported that the Nazis fired artillery into the workers' quarters of Prague. The desperate measures taken by the Nazis is a measure of the profound crisis undermining their rule.

Europe Sits on Powder Barrel

But their rule is not the only one which is being undermined. As everybody understands, the measures necessary to a totalitarian regime mean that internal contradictions have reached an intolerable tension—only the most dreadful oppression keeps the internal contradictions from exploding. And this explosive situation exists outside of Germany too.

The Nazis, in answer to the "democratic" glee over the meaning of the Prague events, retort—in the words of the *Diplomatische Politische Korrespondenz*, Foreign Office publication—that England and France, in Palestine and Damascus among other places, "have shown what methods they themselves are accustomed to use."

France Under Martial Law

France is today also a totalitarian regime—in the "democratic" form of martial law. To its previous repressive measures the government on Nov. 19 added new ones—"effective as long as France is under martial law"—under which "individuals dangerous for national defense or the security of the state may be transferred from their place of residence to a center that the War and Interior Ministries select." Which, translated into plain language, means that the decree gives these ministries power to proceed against anybody without recourse to the usual legal procedures, courts, etc., the ministries having the authority to define what individuals come under the decree. "With these decrees the government," says the *N. Y. Times* report, "will be in a position to take drastic action against any insubordination such as has been advocated in clandestinely circulated propaganda." These Hitlerite methods mean that France, like Germany, is a smoldering volcano.

Uprisings in North Africa

What does the Nazi taunt about Damascus mean? There are rumors current in Paris about uprisings in French North Africa. Not a single dispatch has been published from Algiers in the American press in weeks! The French censorship is even stricter than that of the Nazis, all dispatches being subject to censorship before being sent. The volcano is smoldering.

Indian Volcano Seething

Britain is in no better plight. At the very beginning of the war the "Jewel of the Empire," India, with its 375 millions of revolting slaves, demands in irreconcilable language its freedom from British rule. Even Gandhi, who himself wanted to give unconditional support to Britain in the war, has now been compelled to threaten civil disobedience if the British do not yield. Remove India from the foundations of the British Empire, and the entire structure comes crashing down.

Yet so impotent are the British rulers that they can do nothing about the inspiring symbol which shows the way to the five hundred million colonial peoples oppressed by Britain: at England's very door is Ireland which, despite a government plant in England's hands, will have nothing to do with the imperialist war.

Fritz Thyssen, who financed Hitler's rise to power, has left Germany because of a lack of faith in Hitler's war program. Such a break within the ruling clique is one of the harbingers of the downfall of a regime. But the British have little to be happy about. For among their own ruling caste are such figures as Lloyd George, who conducted the last war and who now—at the very beginning!—has so little faith in the ruling class' ability to withstand the shocks of war that he wants, somehow, somehow, to reach an understanding with Hitler.

The Spectre Haunts Europe

But if they could not reach a stable understanding in the years of "peace," they can find none now. Each imperialist power needs what the other also needs, and only arms can settle the argument. There are no bridges back to the "peace" of Munich. A long and pitiless war is ahead, and its vistas frighten the ruling class of every country. For at the end of it they see the spectre which is haunting Europe today more than ever before: the spectre of revolution.

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The Appeal Needs Your Aid!

By MARTIN ABERN

The second half of the National \$10,000 Organization and Press Fund Drive must go over the top on scheduled time. The twice-weekly SOCIALIST APPEAL is at stake.

Without doubt our Party and its sympathizers are quite capable to insure the maintenance of our most important instrument for spreading the program of the Fourth International and the Socialist Workers Party.

Our semi-weekly paper has been maintained without missing a single issue since our twice-a-week was established. One must not even contemplate a retreat, but, on the contrary, must look forward to increased frequency of the SOCIALIST APPEAL.

The Party branches in the past have responded to the requests for the necessary financial assistance to sustain the SOCIALIST APPEAL. By a similar response in the second half of the campaign there can be no doubt but that our Press can be maintained and established on a sounder footing than ever.

The reports from the Party branches throughout the country indicate their readiness to proceed with full speed to fulfill their quotas. We are confident that all supporters of our revolutionary Press will make every effort to fulfill their quotas for the National Organization and Press Fund Campaign before February 1st.

THE HORRORS OF WAR—

"PARIS, Oct. 21 (Delayed)—Paris is putting the finishing touches to her wartime wardrobe . . . Women are going practical all along the line . . . We are wearing short skirts at all hours; we insist on keeping smart, but we have no heart for frivolities. We have put away our plumed hats and our splashy jewelry; maybe we'll begin to take them out when the boys begin to return home on leave. Hair is coming down or off; coiffures are being simplified, for high, formal hair-dos are incompatible with gas mask practice.

"The day after war was declared, nearly every dressmaker in Paris, except Lanvin and Paquin, was closed. Molyneux kept the ground floor shop open just to sell such things as perfumes and lipsticks; the rest of the place was shut tight . . . Chanel closed

ed on the first day of mobilization, reopened soon after, and reclosed on the day the Russians marched into Poland.

"Lanvin was a rock in the storm. She kept her place open and, with one mannequin, showed her winter collection to the few intrepid clients who still wanted to see it . . .

"The couturiers are on their mettle, and the French never work so well or fight so well as when confronted with apparently impossible obstacles. There's been a lot of talk of the possibility of transferring the couture to Biarritz. Asked about this, M. Lelon said, 'Never! Paris is the style capital. It would never be the same anywhere else.' And Agnes said, 'What an idea! When you get to Biarritz, you can't think of designing anything but a beret.'"

Feminine Fashion Dept. in The New Yorker of Nov. 11.

By B. J. WIDICK*

Loggers' Indictment

8. Using the IWA as a front to build the Communist Party—on the members' dues dollar.

Opposition's Program

After breaking with the AFT Carpenters Union and its Czar William Hutcheson, who sought

Vigilante Terror Fails To Break United Ranks Of Negroes and Whites

Stalin Fears German Revolution

Stalin, A Fair-Weather Friend

That is the other side of the present picture of growing reaction and repression. War and its attendant horrors are one side of the coin. The other is the world revolution, whose first rumblings are now being heard in Prague and Munich, Paris and Algiers, Bombay and Calcutta, Leningrad and Moscow.

Other candidates of the opposition, all of whom are men of long experience in this field, are: Les Cadieu, for vice-president; Worth Lowry, for vice-president; H. I. Tucker for secretary-treasurer; and George Brown for trustee.

Four days later, the company launched its back-to-work movement by sending threatening letters to the workers and dispatching foremen to plead and threaten in the homes of the

Recruiting in the French-Canadian regiments is proceeding at a very slow rate. Even the inducement of unusually good pay

ployees to "allow" them to join the army. It is generally believed that similar measures and even conscription might have to be resorted to in order to secure Canada's quota of cannon-fodder.

9,000 Rochester Families Face Starvation; FSCC Administrator Threatens to End Plan

The continuance of the orange and blue food stamp plan in Rochester depends now upon an agreement between the head of the Federal Surplus Commodities

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the United States in the Second World War,

JERSEY S.W.P.

Continued from Page 1

Similarly on vitally needed labor legislation. It was easy to show by the record that neither party had moved a finger to do anything about the legislation called for by the trade union

TEN DOLLARS will sub
Send your contribution
FUND, Socialist Workers

So far neither party has mentioned the fate of nine thousand families whose food will be cut by a third, should the F.S.C.C. unit be removed.

isolation, anti-injunction bill, a little Wagner Act, the abolition

**FIGHT AGAINST THE
WAR;**

The reports from branches and literature agents of the Socialist Appeal indicate that they are quite able now to distribute the twice-weekly Socialist Appeal effectively and with increasing success. Indeed, their legitimate complaint in recent days has been the failure of the paper to arrive on schedule on cer-

The various agents point out that it is easier to sell the Socialist Appeal if there are stories of local interest, such as those dealing with trade union matters, factory conditions, etc. This is true, but for the Socialist Appeal to carry such material, it is necessary also for the local comrades to submit the stories.

Wisconsin	1	Moreover in the past month,
Cleveland	1	due to varying reasons, many of
	—	the units have failed to maintain
	14 13	their payments on their bundles,
Newark is making very determined efforts to stabilize and increase its circulation. In recent		and, as a result their indebtedness to the Business Department is higher than at any previous period.

months matters have improved considerably, so that the Newark unit was able to increase its bundles and sales. Newark is selling more papers now than ever before, but has to solve other problems, including an old debt, to increase its bundle stuff further.

ANTI-SOVIET PICTURE IS CONDEMNED

Dear Comrade Editor,

leave a bad taste. At the station the three Communists take a Nazi for their crack which isn't funny because of the dirty crack at socialism. A minute later Ninotchka makes

NEV
Telep
NOM C

marries rich and good looking play-boy and they live happily forever after. I don't think, comrade editor, that poor people can appreciate this because they know that as far as they are concerned "happy ending" is a lie, like prosperity.

ANNOUNCEMENT

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

Notice

Y. P. S. I.

MEMBERSHIP MEETING

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*

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all shades of opinion*

Figure 1

Drop in and browse around

LA

ON

Lending Library

THE NEGRO QUESTION

By J. R. JOHNSON

Negroes in Steel (Continued)

Let us continue with our examination of the Negro in the steel industry, as portrayed by Cayton and Mitchell in their book, *Black Workers and the New Unions*.

The Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers for years did practically nothing to organize the Negroes—or for that matter, anybody else. The union officials passed resolutions and talked about accepting Negro workers as well as whites, but they did nothing to bring numbers of Negroes into the union, even after the passage of the National Industrial Relations Act. The union continued its policy of equality in words and segregation in action.

But among the new unions formed after the NRA, there was a new spirit, and officers and members went after Negroes, recognizing that without them it was impossible to win victories against the bosses. Wherever the proportion of Negroes in the plant was large the workers made a determined drive. An interview with a worker in McKeesport, Penna., shows in a few words the role of the Negro in steel:

"Negroes must be organized here if the union is to have any show at all; it would be impossible to ignore them completely because of their great numbers, especially since difficulties have been experienced in bringing in the highly skilled American workers."

Outstretched Hand Not Enough

But the Negro has behind him three hundred years of deception and exploitation by whites. Many whites make the mistake of thinking that as soon as they go with an outstretched hand to the Negro he will forget everything and accept it. It is not so easy. Many of the white workers found that they had to make a special effort to get Negroes in. One of the most frequent methods adopted was to get Negro speakers to address meetings. And certain lodges elected Negroes to offices in the unions, so as to give practical proof that the equality of which they spoke was more than verbal bait for the Negroes. In Homestead, Penna., the financial secretary of Spirit of 1892 Lodge No. 172 tells of the great success that follows the election of Negroes to office:

"... Then the rest of them came in droves. They are a clanish bunch, passing word of all such developments around among themselves. Each man brings his friends, and the next meeting the friend brings other friends, until enormous numbers of them attend in force."

The two areas where most Negroes filed into the union were Pittsburgh and Birmingham, one in the heart of the industrial district of the Northeast and the other in the backward South. This shows us once more a lesson that we must never forget, that in the last analysis it is economic relations which are decisive in politics.

No Racial Question in Profits

The economic relation is decisive in politics. The capitalist does not allow race prejudice to interrupt his profits. When union activities became threatening, the owners in one factory tried a novel way of splitting the workers. Previously Negroes were not allowed to work the open hearth or as first helpers, but were kept as second or third helpers. To divide the working class, the company promoted several Negroes to first helpers, the most aristocratic, skilled, and well paid job in the whole mill. This had a double effect. Those Negroes who got the job would have nothing whatever to do with the union. And the other Negroes in the shop felt that at last promotion was open to them and they therefore became much cooler to union organization.

The white workers were now paying for their previous neglect of and discrimination against the Negroes. We shall see more of this in the future. But in any serious competition, on a large scale, between the workers and the bosses, the great majority of Negro workers—99 percent of them—will find their places beside their white brothers. Economic relations, though not the whole story, are the most important part of the story.

Many of the Negro workers are sympathetic to the union. They know that they will get little from the company, but what they fear is that in the event of a closed shop the white workers might discriminate against them. This has happened in many unions and nothing but the most vigilant honesty and fair play on the part of the white workers can break down this justified distrust. Yet despite these difficulties, the unions were able to attract and to hold Negroes.

Equality Begins Among Workers

An important part of this work is the election of Negro officers. In nearly every important lodge in the Pittsburgh area this has taken place. First of all the lodges began by electing Negroes to office simply in order to attract other Negroes. Later, as more Negroes came into the union, these voted for additional colored officers. And finally all the workers, white and black, recognized the capabilities of certain among the Negro officials and voted for them without regard for the color of their skin. In Clairton, Penna., for instance, according to an interview,

"There were more colored than white elected to office. Here in Clairton there are about ten whites to one colored person. When the nomination came off, they nominated whom they wanted. We wanted to put up as many Negroes as we could. We voted by secret ballot. They had a colored man and a white man watching the ballot box. Six colored were nominated and of these, four were elected. Mr. M. was elected corresponding representative, J.E. financial secretary, M.R. trustee, and J.R. another trustee."

When the Negro sees that he can make his influence felt and can elect some of his race to office, he can more easily turn his back on the bosses. It is in this way that the great battle for equality not only on the economic but on the political and social field will be won.

The Homestead, Penna., lodge, according to one of its officers, "... held a couple of bingo games and a dance, all of which Negroes attended in force with their ladies. At the dance, held in the lower section of the city near the Negro district, there were no restrictions. Dancing was mixed racially and sexually, whites with Negro partners. I danced with a Negro girl myself. Negroes enjoyed themselves immensely and there was no licks from the whites. This lodge will soon have a picnic which will also be mixed."

There are many such successful attempts, despite some failures. This attempt of the workers to get together, naturally suffers from the tremendous pressure to which they are subjected by the race prejudices of a bourgeois society. But it is here that the battle for racial equality must be fought, and it is here that it can be won. Not in dances in Greenwich Village, or by bourgeois hosts and hostesses who invite intelligent Negroes to their houses for dinner in order to show that they are enlightened and above the vulgar prejudices of capitalist society. Some of these people mean well; some of them do not. But their activities, their parties and lunches, are a mere drop in the ocean. They are not important. Black and white workers struggling together for socialism will bring equality, and nothing else will.

Socialist Appeal
116 University Place
New York City.

I would like to get better acquainted with your paper, the Socialist Appeal. Please send me sample copies for the next few weeks.

Name

Address

City

Hands Off the Trade Unions, Mr. Roosevelt

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pot Dome) Daugherty used it to secure the injunction which smashed the railway shopmen's strike of 1922. Every weak-kneed liberal, in Congress and in the legal profession, admits that the Sherman Act's use against labor is a flagrant anti-labor weapon.

Sherman Act Dragged Out Again

One sure sign of the growth of reaction is the reappearance of the Sherman Act as an active weapon against labor. That sign came in April of this year—the Apex hosiery case—when a Federal judge fined the hosiery workers union three-quarters of a million dollars under this law for a sit-down strike. And since then, an even surer sign, has been the return to this weapon by the government itself—unprecedented since Daugherty used it against the railway shopmen in 1922.

The "five types of union activity" which the Department of Justice letter outlaws under the Sherman Act read as if they were very specific and, on their face, unjustifiable union practices—until we examine them and discover that they are in reality blanket rules being established against labor.

Take one of these "types," jurisdictional strikes. To make it sound good, Arnold's letter points out that the AFL has condemned jurisdictional strikes. It is true that the AFL has moved to put an end to the jurisdictional strikes between building trades unions, and every progressive unionist is opposed to such conflicts between bona-fide unions.

But many a time an anti-labor employer, unable to fight a union head-on, resorts to the device of evading the union's demands by forcing the workers into a fake or impotent union. Sometimes CIO or AFL officials help bosses put this over. We have only to recall the notorious examples of the AFL giving a charter to the "blue card" company union in the tri-state lead fields, so that thereafter the unionization fight of the CIO smelter workers was, formally, a jurisdictional strike against the AFL "union"; or when the AFL chartered Organic's "Progressive Miners" to fight the United Mine Workers. A particularly flagrant example of the CIO descending to this level is a CIO Stalinist-controlled "oil workers" local in Minneapolis and St. Paul, which will work with any boss against the legitimate locals in the field, affiliated to the Teamsters' Union.

Under the ruling of the Department of Justice, any time any stooge local connives with a boss to prevent real unionization, the real union, if it fights back, is liable to prosecution under the Sherman Act. So much for one of the specific "types of union activity" outlawed by the Department of Justice. We could similarly analyze the other four to show that they are equally vicious.

The Aim Is Wage Cuts

But that isn't all. In addition to the five specific examples, the Department of Justice makes two blanket prohibitions. Unions, it declares, "may not act as a private police force to perpetuate unnecessarily costly and uneconomic practices in the housing industry." And, furthermore, "preventing improved methods of production" is another "labor activity which goes beyond any legitimate labor purpose."

Just what Thurman Arnold means in outlawing "unnecessarily costly and uneconomic practices in the housing industry" will be understood if we recall what this same Assistant Attorney General told the Temporary National Economic Committee on July 7 in a speech announcing that the Department of Justice was shortly to investigate the construction industry.

It was a tirade against the labor unions in the construction industry. Tucked away in it was one paragraph which admitted that "unlawful restraints" (by labor) are not the only sources of high construction costs. "Credit facilities offer one of the outstanding means of reducing ultimate costs. Land values are often high. Remedies . . . however [for these ills] are not within the scope of this report." And having thus dismissed the real reasons for high costs of housing, Arnold went after the labor movement:

"We can say to labor, 'You can get the same thing the heavy industries are getting: a greater annual income, based on having more work to do during the year, without need to stretch the hours of work and the rate of pay on each particular job.'" (N.Y. Times, July 8, 1939)

Surrender your union wage rates and submit to a speed-up, in return for an unguaranteed—and unguaranteeable—promise of more work per year—this is the Department of Justice's openly avowed program for the construction industry, backed up by the G-men, frameup trials and the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. That's what Arnold now means by outlawing "unnecessarily costly and uneconomic practices in the construction industry."

G-Men Supplement Sherman Act

Nor is this all. The Sherman Act, even by the most difficult stretching, is an insufficient basis for all the prosecutions which the Department of Justice is now conducting against the labor movement.

The FBI has just railroaded convictions against seven teamsters' union leaders of Des Moines, Sioux City and Omaha. The original charge was one for the local police courts: that fifteen months previously a truck had been allegedly damaged during a Sioux City bakery strike. As a matter of fact, the charge was forgotten as soon as the minor strike was settled. But the Sioux City local was part of that magnificent North Central Area Drivers' Council which is the brightest spot in the American labor movement today, having brought a twelve-state area under a uniform contract for 350,000 over-road drivers and helpers. So that forgotten police court case was picked up by the G-

Riveting War Chains on Labor

The CIO and the Third Term

By GEORGE CLARKE

The New York and New Jersey State CIO conventions meeting last weekend adopted unanimous resolutions favoring a third term for President Roosevelt. Exactly one month was required for the top CIO leadership to clarify its non-committal position at the San Francisco convention and to jump on the Roosevelt bandwagon in double-quick time.

There is little doubt that an attitude of open hostility on the part of John L. Lewis to the third-term campaign would have made the passing of these resolutions at the state conventions difficult if not impossible. What happened in the month to give Lewis a change of heart is not known. The deal that Lewis made with Roosevelt—trading CIO support to the president in return for miserly concessions in war-time?—has remained the property of secret conferences. All we know is that in the disagreement in CIO top circles on the third-term, Hillman's point of view appears to have prevailed.

Whatever happened in the secret conclaves with Roosevelt—certainly nothing of benefit to the labor movement—there is not the slightest plausible reason for the trade unions to back Roosevelt in 194. This is said entirely aside from the general proposition that labor commits hara-kiri every time it supports a capitalist candidate. Specifically, Roosevelt's record in the past year has been viciously anti-labor.

ROOSEVELT PREPARES FOR DICTATORSHIP OVER LABOR

Side by side with these overt actions against labor came measures more subtle but even more inimical to the trade unions. Billions of dollars were appropriated for the super-armoraments program for America's imperialist intervention in the war. Roosevelt's War Department staff worked out the last details for the military strait-jacket to be tightened around the unions when he openly enters the war. In the commanding position of the M-Day dictatorship over labor were seated its worst enemies, appointed by Roosevelt: three lieutenants of the firm of J. P. Morgan and the fourth a scion of another of the Sixty Families.

In face of Roosevelt's record the support tendered him by the New York and New Jersey CIO bodies can be characterized as a monstrous betrayal of the interests of labor, callous and scornful in its disregard of the rank and file workers of the CIO unions. The leadership of the CIO is riveting the chains of a reactionary War Deal administration around the ankles of the workers. And by this fact, it is in advance committing the American unions to supporting Wall Street's imperialist war. By this action, the CIO leaders become a partner to

men, who put any amount of money and men over a fifteen-month period into cooking up a frameup against seven of the teamsters' union leaders.

Nor could the Sherman Act, with any amount of stretching, cover the dirtiest job of all which the G-men are now carrying out—in Minneapolis. As part of the nation-wide strike of WPA workers, the Minneapolis labor movement called out the projects. Because the Minneapolis AFL unions are progressive enough to understand the need for unity between employed and unemployed, and the unemployed and WPA workers there were a recognized section of the union movement, the WPA strike there was more effective than elsewhere. In addition, the Minneapolis labor movement has been in the vanguard of labor's advances since 1934 and its militant policies have inspired successful union campaigns throughout the country.

For all these "crimes" the G-men were dispatched to Minneapolis. During the WPA strike they disguised themselves as strikers and went on the picket lines—what dirty work they did there is yet to be unearthed, but it is clear they performed the malodorous role of agents-provocateurs.

Then they worked for months cooking up a case against the strikers. They have so far succeeded in railroadng convictions against eight defendants; the third trial, involving 25 WPA workers, is now on, and a total of 150 have been indicted.

In the Minneapolis persecutions, the FBI stands revealed in all its foul viciousness. For here they are not dealing with those non-existent figures, the "well-paid" aristocrats of the building trades, but with half-starved WPA and unemployed workers. There's the War Deal of the Roosevelt government in all its nasty nakedness!

During the First World War and the post-war years, the FBI was an anti-labor political police, carrying out the Palmer Red Raids, systematic strike-breaking and snooping against the unions. All that was done away with after 1924, under Attorney General Harlan Stone—or so they said. Labor was given a solemn promise that the FBI would not be employed on prosecutions against the labor movement.

That promise, it is now as plain as day, has been broken. The FBI, as Brother Smith of the Omaha Drivers has put it, is being turned into an anti-labor political police.

The first step in fighting this development is for organized labor to understand that this development has occurred. The facts outlined above must be tirelessly explained over and over again in every union hall in the country, in every union paper. When organized labor realizes what has happened, the ways and means of smashing the government's union-busting campaign will be easy enough to work out and carry through.

the M-Day dictatorship plans of the Roosevelt administration.

STALINISTS MEET ISSUE FACING BOTH WAYS

The resolutions for the third term at the New York and New Jersey conventions were adopted unanimously. The Jersey resolution was made unanimous after a vote of 96-66 carried it. These unanimous votes included the delegates from the Stalinist-controlled unions. Have the Stalinist trade union officials bucked the party line of opposition to Roosevelt, laid down by Earl Browder in his Boston speech? Browder said in that speech:

"The President and his Administration succumb more and more every day to the greed for profits by American monopoly capital, and makes use of its former prestige among the masses to secure their acceptance of the program of Wall Street."

That the president fed "the greed for profits by American monopoly capital" since the day he took office—Browder cannot say. Only yesterday, as everyone recalls, the President was still the White Hope of Browder and Co. Browder no longer backs Roosevelt only because Roosevelt's foreign policy is no longer consistent with Stalin's foreign policy. Hence the decree to the party members and all its trade unionists to go into opposition.

In the New York CIO Convention, Michael Quill of the Transport Union and Irving Potash of the Fur Workers, as well as other Stalinists, voted for the Third Term resolution. In New Jersey 66 delegates, most of them Stalinists, at first voted against the Third Term resolution. How is this to be explained? Confronted with the acid test of going into outright opposition to Lewis, Hillman and the Roosevelt administration, Quill and Potash backed down. They had too much to lose by fully supporting the position of the Kremlin bureaucracy. In New Jersey, on the other hand, second line union bureaucrats could make the gesture of opposition—and then join in the unanimous vote—without facing the consequences that would be in store for top leaders like Quill and Potash at the hands of Lewis.

STALINIST SPEECHES SHOW PARTY LINE HYPOCRISY

The speeches of Quill and Potash, qualifying their support of Roosevelt are perfect examples of how spurious and hypocritical is the new "radical" line of the Stalinists.

"We believe," said Quill, "that endorsing a third term at this time is correct. But we are dealing with the President's record only up until now. From now on labor has no right to predict what the President will do. And while we now adopt this resolution and support him, we remind and warn the entire labor movement that it should look out and see that President Roosevelt and

any official of the American government should never attempt to drive the American people into war. We are against war." Potash spoke in a similar vein.

How can anyone say he is against war, and support the "president's record only up until now"? "Up until now" the president has made his biggest strides towards plunging the US into the war. "Up until now" a five billion dollar armament program has been passed. "Up until now" the United States has been turned into an armory for the Allies under the new Neutrality Law. "Up until now" the president's public declarations on the war have been indistinguishable from those of the belligerents. "Up until now" the President has used the Department of Justice and the FBI as a political police to frame up and smash the labor movement. "Up until now" the President has taken almost every step in the war game but the actual declaration of war.

That Quill and Potash, who have been accomplices in every step in the preparation of war, will balk at the final step, the declaration of war, is a fairy tale to deceive little children. But that they were able to support Roosevelt "up until now" is just another way of expressing the Stalinist line: so long as Roosevelt and Stalin were in the same war camp, the "president's record" was good enough; but now that Stalin has jumped into the Hitler camp, we must "be vigilant and watch everybody from Washington down . . ." as Potash put it.

It isn't exactly consistent to call Roosevelt an agent of "monopoly capital," to urge distrust and "vigilance" on the one hand, and on the other support him for a third term. It isn't consistent, indeed, because the Stalinist policy is a fake from beginning to end. That's why there is not one word of criticism of Quill and Potash in the Daily Worker. The Stalinists are not mobilizing the masses against Roosevelt's war policy; they are merely trying to frighten Roosevelt into coming to terms with the Hitler-Stalin war camp. The Stalinist opposition to Roosevelt is just as fraudulent as is the Lewis-Hillman defense of the workers against Roosevelt.

The CIO organizing drive two and three years ago became a crusade of effective strike movements only because the workers, the third camp, seized the handle of opportunity in their own hands.

The CIO today needs a third camp again. This time to beat back the war-mongering Lewis-Hillman supporters of war-mongering Roosevelt and the Stalinist war-mongering supporters of war-mongering Hitler-Stalin.

A third camp of the rank and file from the shops and factories against the war and against capitalist reaction at home! That is the need of the hour.

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by Leon Trotsky

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One Frameup Flops

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

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

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

Too Young To Die

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

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

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

Not on your life!

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Willi Changes Bosses

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

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

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

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

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

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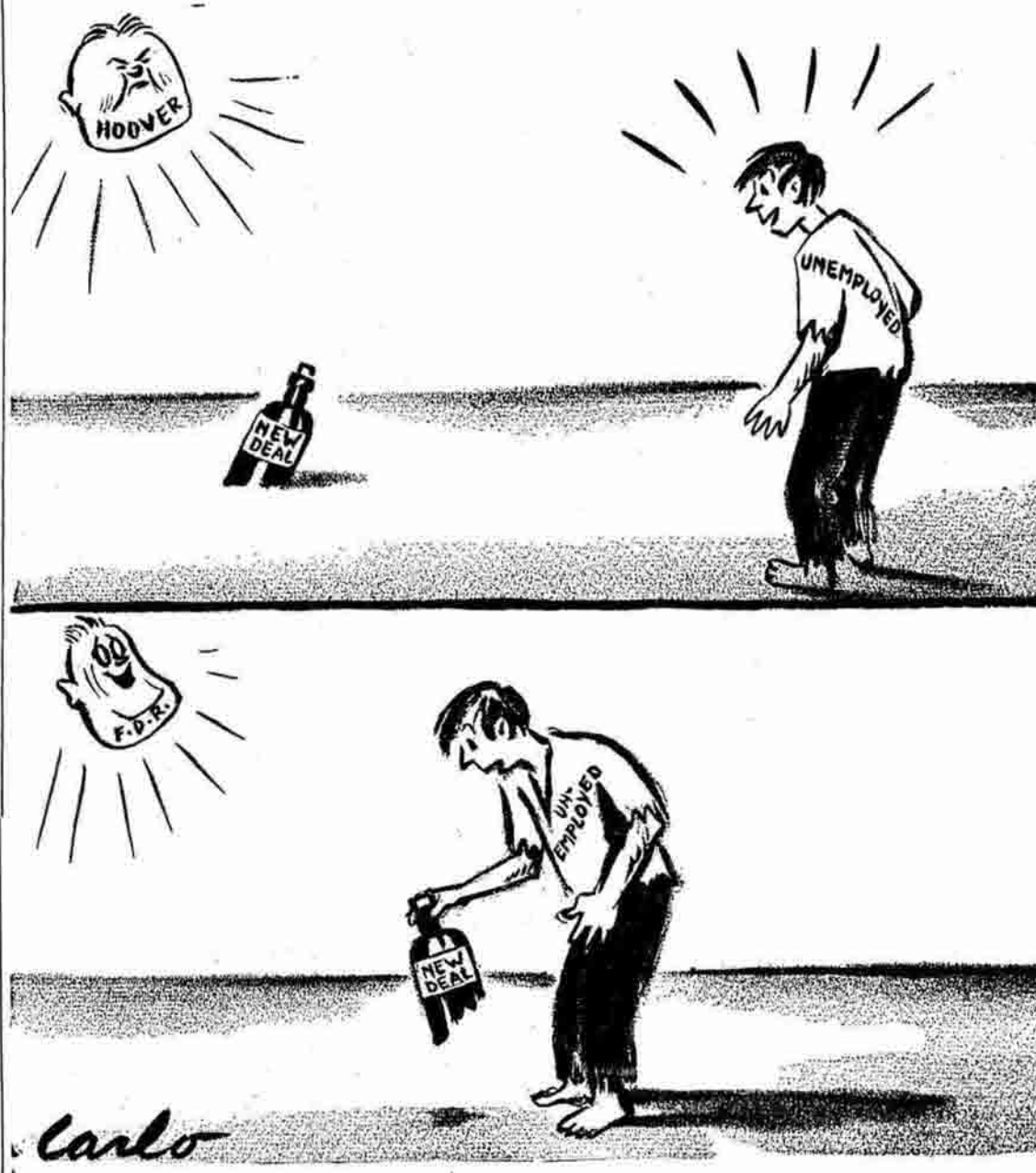
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The Mirage



By Dwight Macdonald

SPARKS IN THE NEWS

Il Duce on War

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

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

"There is not an economy for peacetime, and an economy for wartime. There is only a war economy, because historically . . . it has been demonstrated that a state of armed warfare is a normal state of the people, at least of those living on the European continent, because even in years of so-called peace other types of war are waged, which in their turn prepare our armed warfare."

"Therefore, it is the fact, or rather the imminent fatality, of armed warfare that ought to dominate and that does dominate economy."

"He who fails to reach this conclusion is an ignoramus who has not got the right to complain or be surprised at the catastrophe toward which he is going."

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

"We're All Socialists Now"

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

A proclamation was issued by a labor leader the other day to the proletariat of a certain European country: "SOCIALISM AGAINST CAPITALISM! THAT IS OUR BATTLECRY!" These words were addressed to the workers of Germany by Dr. Robert Ley, head of Hitler's "Labor Front." The war aims of Germany Dr. Ley defined as "the complete destruction of England and the domination of her moneybags over the rest of the people on the globe." (It might be added that the main point of Dr. Ley's message to the German workers was that their working day was to be increased two hours—at no extra pay.)

Thus the Nazis are beginning to raise on high the banner of socialism. Perhaps even more extraordinary, the rulers of the Soviet Union have also taken this banner out of the Kremlin attic and have flung it to the breeze, exuding a strong odor of mothballs. Charlie McCarthy Molotov denounces the war as an imperialist blood bath. Charlie McCarthy Browder damns the Roosevelt Administration as the tool of the bourgeoisie and even ventures a few unkind words about the Roman Catholic Church. And the puppet master in the Kremlin smokes his genial pipe in approval, removing it only to ask for a few more islands in the Gulf of Finland.

Rousseau to Ribbentrop

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

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

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

The Ideological Wardrobe

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

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

In the last few months, the Kremlin and its mouthpieces have used indifferently, as instruments to be picked up or tossed aside according to the turn of events from day to day, the idealistic phrases of liberal bourgeois democracy and the impassioned rhetoric of Marxist revolution. When these bewildering changes of costume are possible, it is more important than ever for all who sincerely believe in the revolutionary road to cut through the jungle of phrases to the hard political reality underneath. Also to make this clear to the workers, lest they fail to differentiate between Stalin's fake "Marxism" and the real thing.

SPECIAL NEGRO NUMBER NOVEMBER NEW INTERNATIONAL

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Their Government

By James Burnham

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

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

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

The Uneasy Protectorate

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

What is Foreshadowed?

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Each time you roar. Your flame is fed
With twenty thousand loaves of bread.
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Seek bread to fill their mouths again.