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ArmChina Mass, Only War Hope

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Tientsin area and actually forced some of the units under his command to evacuate their positions. The Nanking Government, as its ambassador in London admitted on July 26, acceded to this settlement, hiding its capitulation behind a refusal to accord "formal" recognition to any local arrangement.

The resistance of the 29th army soldiers to the orders of their own commanders and the revolt of the supposedly pro-Japanese Chinese militia at Tungchow, however, convinced the Japanese imperialists that they could not reliably depend on any Chinese forces. So they moved in with men, planes and tanks and took over Peiping and Tientsin themselves. Abandoned by Nanking and by their own officers, the soldiers of the 29th army put up an heroic but futile resistance. They were smashed by the enemy in a week.

Japan Refuses Partial Surrender

When ten days ago Japan, pursuing its advantage, struck in full force at Shanghai and in the Yangtze Delta, Chiang Kai-shek again left the door wide open to a settlement, reaffirming his readiness to come to terms with Tokyo so long as it would agree to recognize the nominal sovereignty of the Nanking regime. But Japanese imperialism soon signified its unwillingness to accept another partial surrender along the lines of those which enabled the Nanking regime to give up Manchuria and Jehol and half of Chahar. It proceeded with the attack on Shanghai. It dispatched loaded transports southward and is distributing its entire fleet along the China coast preparatory to the proclamation of a blockade. Japanese planes are systematically bombing Nanking and points far inland in an attempt to destroy military and aviation bases. At Shanghai a decisive battle is being waged in an attempt to impose the will of Japanese imperialism once and for all on the Chinese bourgeoisie.

Here Chiang Kai-shek has been compelled to make a stand against the invaders in defense of the right of the Chinese bourgeoisie to exploit the Chinese masses. But all the channels for an agreement with Tokyo remain open. The Japanese demonstra-

tively withdrew their diplomatic representative from Nanking, but the Chinese ambassador remains at Tokyo and Nanking has not yet asked the Japanese ambassador, now stationed in Shanghai, to leave. Nanking has refrained from taking any irrevocable steps, such as the open rupture of economic and diplomatic relations or a genuine mobilization for war. To the representatives of the Powers at Shanghai, Nanking's spokesmen have repeatedly proclaimed their readiness to negotiate for peace, if only Japan will desist from its attack.

Tokyo's Calculations

Tokyo's calculations are clear. It has openly declared that negotiations are out of the question until a defeat has been inflicted on the Nanking government. It must inflict that defeat quickly and decisively, or else it is lost. Temporizing in long and slow negotiations is no longer possible for Japanese imperialism. Nanking's hopes are no less clear. It was ready to surrender North China, and it is still ready to do so. Resistance to the Japanese is being offered at the Yantze Delta to the extent necessary to draw terms from Japan or to encourage Anglo-American intervention, at least in the form of pressure for the conclusion of a truce.

These hopes are slim. Convinced that the internal crisis in the Soviet Union and the complete preoccupation of the Great Powers with the crisis in Europe leaves it for the moment with a free hand, Japanese imperialism is obviously driving forward this time toward the complete subjugation of China. In any case this much is clear—if the resistance is left up to the Chinese bourgeoisie alone, all past experience teaches that the end will only be a new capitulation, a new betrayal. Nanking, despite the advance guarantees of the Stalinists of the abandonment of all revolutionary activity, will never dare arouse the masses and arm them. It knows only too well that such measures dictate its own ruin. Yet the armed masses, fighting in their own interests and under their own banner, for the land and for an end to all exploitation, are the only force capable of waging a consistent and victorious struggle against the Japanese imperial-

ists, just as in Spain today only the armed workers and peasants, flying the banners of revolution, can guarantee the final victory over the Fascist.

Mobilize the Masses

The efforts of all revolutionists in China and abroad must be directed toward precisely this independent mobilization of the masses. Above all, the American workers must intervene directly in the struggle against Japanese imperialism. cargoes destined for the Japanese military machine must be immobilized. That is the key task here. Let the slogan be raised for the seamen and longshoremen on the West Coast, particularly: "Not a ship, not a ton of cargo for Japanese imperialism!" The powerful organizations of the maritime workers have it in their power in this country to strike a mortal blow at Japan's imperialist drive in China.

When the Stalinist party today calls upon the government at Washington to invoke the "Nine-Power Pact" they line themselves up with the drive toward the future war of American against Japanese imperialism. With this the working class has nothing in common. Against this the working class must pit all its forces or else again become cannon fodder "to make the world safe against the Mikado."

No, we must intervene in our own way in support of the Chinese struggle against the Japanese imperialist invasion, without identifying ourselves or our action for a moment with the imperialist interests of "our own" government. Working class action in the post-war years paralyzed the inter-allied intervention against the October Revolution. Lack of working class action and resort to fruitless and treacherous appeals to the "democratic" Powers and the League of Nations delivered Ethiopia into the maw of the Italian Fascists and is helping to strangle the struggle of the workers and peasants of Spain in their struggle against Fascism. Our forces are gigantic, if only we will have faith in them, boldly raise our own banners and act without and against the class enemy!

In China the revolutionists, united today under the banner of the Fourth International in the Communist League of China, will participate to the fullest extent in the direct struggle against Japanese imperialism. They will strive to mobilize the workers in their own party and under their own banner, and to arouse the peasants in the vast hinterland for the real struggle against imperialism and its agents, the struggle for the land.

What Was Done In Scottsboro?

There is no principle more firmly established among class-conscious workers than the labor defense principle of uncompromising defense of class-struggle victims. Rally the masses against legal lynching! Fight for the unconditional freedom of the Scottsboro boys! No collaboration with Jim Crow elements! No deals with the prosecution!

When the Scottsboro Defense Committee was formed, with the participation of Norman Thomas and the League for Industrial Democracy, the program of the Committee gave a blank check to Samuel Liebowitz. The Committee rejected the proposals of the Non-Partisan Labor Defense for a class-struggle policy.

The inevitable happened; Liebowitz made a deal with the prosecution. He himself—for in his underworld code of ethics such a deal was permissible—told the story at the New York meeting to welcome the Scottsboro boys. Norman Thomas spoke too, and by his silence gave assent to the deal.

The original deal, agreed to last December, is described as follows by Morris Shapiro, secretary of the Scottsboro committee and a member of Norman Thomas' faction in the party:

"At a meeting in the New Yorker Hotel Mr. Liebowitz and (Alabama Attorney General) Carmichael agreed that Patterson's seventy-five-year sentence should be commuted to five years, that four of the Negroes should get off with five-year sentences if they would plead to charges of simple assault, and that the remaining four—the same ones who now have been given their freedom—should go scot-free." (The Nation, August 14, 1937).

Shapiro, who speaks for Thomas in Scottsboro work, tells this story of an agreement for four defendants to plead guilty,

Forward for the struggle against imperialism, but no confidence or support to the Kuomintang government, the government of the white terror, the government of the betrayers and the exploiters!

Forward to the organization of a proletarian party, of trade unions and peasant associations! For the convocation of a National Assembly in China, elected by universal suffrage!

Not a ship, not a ton of cargo for Japanese imperialism!

as if it were the most sensible idea in the world! That means that the Scottsboro Defense Committee agreed to it. For months after the agreement was made, there was no Scottsboro defense campaign. Then Judge Callahan, according to the story, refused to abide by the deal.

But was that the end of the deal? We doubt it. For Liebowitz then did, what the Scottsboro Committee had promised would never happen. He advised Ozie Powell—who, under the unbearable provocations of a brutal deputy had fought back, had been shot, and separately indicted for attacking the deputy—to plead guilty of assault with intent to kill!

This crime against the Scottsboro boys, against the principles of labor defense, has been condoned by the Scottsboro Defense Committee, by the Stalinists, etc., no to forget the silence of the Socialist Call.

Satir Removed In Cook Country

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branches for more than a year and a half), last night the Clarity leaders made the round-up. With the representatives of the numerous Jugoslav branches present they had a majority.

Utilizing this majority they proceeded to upset the actions of the CCC meeting of July on technical grounds of an extremely tenuous kind. McDowell, the "constitutional expert" falsely interpreted the local constitution as requiring a semi-annual election of delegates to the CCC (it called only for a reapportionment), moved to reconsider the actions of the July meeting on the ground that the meeting was illegal. The real reason for his action lay in the fact that the July meeting elected Satir to the County Central Executive Committee in place of Ben Fisher who is now in Detroit. Utilizing an old agreement made at the time of the elections to the CCC, the Clarity group demanded that Satir first decline in favor of McDowell on the ground that he represented the same tendency as Fisher and should replace him. This proposal Satir correctly rejected and because he did so and ran and was elected, the Clarity group determined to "show him a lesson".