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Editor. HAROLD ROBERTS FRANK GRAVES Associate Editors.

BOB BROWNE Business Manager.

A. F. of L. Expulsions

ecutive Council to expel the United Mine he is by no means a Trotskyist. Workers and two other international Workers and two other international Kuomintang - Stalinist leadership of unions, is a reactionary blow at the pros-

Miami, their vision circumscribed by the alism and all its native allies. narrow horizon of craft unionism into which they split the American workers for years, simply would not reconcile themselves to the living, unchallengeable reality constituted by the successes of industrial unionism under the banner of the C.I.O. Goaded especially by Republican Party stooges like Hutcheson, who fear the development of an independent political movement of labor, they have put one obstacle after another in the path of unity. Even their thoughts on the subject have been dominated by the consideration of how many thousands of members they can split off from the existing industrial unions so as to enlarge their per capita power in the obsolete craft union set-up and to keep the power of craft unionism dominant in the organized labor movement.

The move for unification, which still represents the best interests of labor in the United States, should not be slowed down for an instant because of the Miami decision. On the contrary, it calls for an even more vigorous assertion of the rank-andfile's demand that the split in the labor movement, especially in face of the critical situation in industry, be promptly overcome-not at the expense of industrial unionism, to be sure, but rather with guarantees of the unassailable rights, proved Roosevelt has the right to public office, Mr. a dozen times over in struggle, of the in- Roosevelt's most ardent advocates also dustrial form of organization.

The War In The Far East

lions rise up and fight against their would- Banner! Its's enough to put to shame the be enslavers.

nese hostilities, the invaders of China have that soul-stirring anthem. held the masses back from the struggle. once said: "We are all socialists now."

Let Off Steam

(Continued from page 1)

Caught inescapably between the

crushing weights of the two

great class forces, they can only

complain and whimper. With no

program of their own, the best

program of their masters. Roo-

in their own lives the heavy hand

of the big corporations. Their

and absurd gestures against

finance-capital, following the

lead already given by Roosevelt

during the month preceding. "We

urge the strengthening and en-

forcement of all laws seeking to

curb monopolies," says plank 13.

"We oppose a surtax on 'small

business' closely held corpora-

tions," adds plank 21. We "urge

approval of legislation designed

to curb destructive competition

of chain stores," says plank 12,

speaking plaintively for all the

single-store proprietors present

at the Conference.

let off steam.

on the task of effecting a junction between the invading forces in North China and those in the Yangtze region. Success for this venture will mean virtual Japanese control of all territory between the Great Wall and the Yangtze at least as far west as the Peiping-Hankow Railway.

And still there is no indication of any attempt being made by the Kuomintang to mobilize the masses against the invaders. A Shanghai dispatch to the N. Y. Times on February 5 brings this fact into bold relief. Says the correspondent:

"Despite the announcements in Hankow concerning the enthusiasm for continued mass participation in prolonged hostilities, the Kuomintang Rightists (those who make government policy - Ed.) oppose such a policy if it means greater freedom for the masses, agrarian reforms or basic domestic housecleanings which the former Communists advocate. According to a version widely believed here, the Kuomintang fears the common people more than it fears the Japanese and would compromise with Japan if moderate terms were offered."

The Times' correspondent thus confirms what has been pointed out by us almost The decision of the A. F. of L. Ex- from the commencement of the war, and

pects of peace in the ranks of organized struggle itself is far from ended. In the labor and a blow at organized labor itself. coming phase the masses must move to the The fossilized bureaucrats assembled in forefront to spell out the doom of imperi-

** Keep Gerson, Mr. Isaacs!

The American Legion, the Catholic Church, and even the Sons of the American Revolution have called upon Manhattan Borough President Isaacs, upon Mayor La-Guardia and Governor Lehman to have Simon W. Gerson, ex-reporter of the Daily Worker and Communist Party functionary removed from his appointed position of assistant to President Isaacs.

However Popular this new Front may seem to many, we respectfully decline to support it. In fact, our brows are knit in puzzlement at the to-do that is being made around Mr. Gerson's case.

Is Mr. Gerson's Americanism being chaltury Americanism.

Is his loyalty in question? There is no more frenzied supporter of the American form of government, of the present government itself, than Mr. Gerson and his political associates. And we say that if Mr.

sachems of Tammany Hall, whose whiskey During seven months of the Sino-Japa- tenors are notoriously poorly adapted to same title. We must enquire of the Versailles Treaty.

been able to score a number of important | A Communist? Forsooth, forsooth, and Collective Security. military victories-because the Kuomin- flandoodle! Of Gerson's type of communtang rulers, aided by the Stalinists, have ism (or socialism), the late-Elbert H. Gary of Collective Security seems Collective Security was the Mussolini, Hitler and the Mikado reminded of their own conduct

Japan's war machine is now concentrated | Mr. Isaacs, keep Gerson!

A More Than Apt Pupil



lenged? We don't know what ship his fore- The above cartoon is reproduced without permission and without apology from the bears came over on or what their XVIIth, "Daily Worker" of three years ago. Even more timely now than it was then, it offers XVIIIth or XIXth Century Americanism was. But we are ready to give expert testimony on the flawlessness of his XXth Cen- ganize effective support behind the President's policy."

What Is Collective Security?

The current war program of the Stalinists is summed up in

At first glance, the program there does exist the possibility of preventing the spread of war, states.... Considering the eco- ally be the greatest of all threats The originators of Collective FDR Peace Talk promises to double it in the near future. He has made regular payers, it would clearly be sufficient division.

Hats off to Chicago and Karl

COLLECTIVE SECURITY

whether it can in fact preserve

peace-or whether it is even de-

signed to preserve peace. The

ORIGIN OF

program incorporated their timid | Socialist Appeal 116 University Place

New York City

Socialist Appeal. One year-(\$2.00); Six Months-(\$1.00).

I enclose \$..... as my contribution toward building the Socialist Appeal.

Seek A Joshua

Above all, they want to stop the relentless march of history. "If American leaders, as represented by the Federal Government, would light some place and maintain a constant perch rather than flit about like a canary, American business would find encouragement." If only, in other words, history would stop, and leave us alone, immune to its conflicts and troubles, maybe we the repeal of the Wagner Act,

in their hearts was let loose. Big Act, insists on broadening of the to Little Business and its pro- ing satisfied with the results, revert to barbarism, to do so in

Little Men Fume, Party and Press The Socialist Workers Party is one of the bright spots on the growing. As a matter of fact it | Appeal horizon.

He has increased the Chicago is growing out of proportion to bundle order by 50 per cent and

are feeling the big squeeze, the growth of the Party press. For every new member that comes into the Party, there ments on back bills and kept up should be five new subscriptions payments on current bundle orto the Socialist Appeal.

Thus far, Chicago is the only scription drive which has already they can accomplish is to patch local that has demonstrated in an brought in more subs than we up second-hand versions of the effective manner its determina- have received from any other sevelt showed his usual political tion to carry out the Convention local since the Convention. decision so far as the press is skill by giving them this mass Conference in which they could concerned. From one of the most inactive locals of the Party, Karl over the country with the slogan Shier, a newly-appointed litera- "Double the Appeal circulation by These Little Business Men feel ture agent, has made Chicago April 1st."

ders. He has also started a sub-

I enclose \$..... for which please send me the

five and ten and twenty emplo- their Little Business valets. yees, with their inordinate demands and unionization and col-

Want Labor Curbed

monopolies?

So plank after plank calls for Business is oppressing them, but Income Tax Base. The Big Busi- gram.

perhaps they can curry favor by | ness Conferences were most care-

Here, it should be noted, is the record of the heroes of the lective bargaining, driving them People's Front. These are the to the wall as effectively as the "democratic bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie" of the People's Front fairy tale, so different from the "fascist-minded most reactionary sections of financecapital," the champions who are curity was as follows: The Allied ever, no matter what nation or Little Men would make out some- condemns any wage and hours going to defend the working class Powers had won the war, and group of nations a given division how.

Then, however, after these futile slaps, the real viciousness from the Social Securities futile slaps, the real viciousness from the Social Securities for the Social Se

BY JAMES BURNHAM

His honesty and civic pride? Imagine the phrase, "Collective Security." booty, wanted a method of proquestioning those qualities in a Stalinist! Earl Browder's half of the New tecting the spoils against any dominated imperialist system, is Why, we know of no politician, from the Republic debate with Charles A. rival who might try to make a thus crassly and directly coun- word about revolutionary criticdays of Richard Croker to those of Tin- Beard, subsequently reprinted in bid for them, either from among ter-revolutionary. China's 450,000,000 people cannot be Box Farley, who has greater moral probity. The Daily Worker, is entitled the defeated Central Powers, or whipped and driven into slavery by the Patriotic fervor? Gentlemen, you ought "For Collective Security". The allies. Briand wanted to solidify Japanese imperialists-provided these mil- to hear him warbling the Star-Spangled Communist Party has recently the imperialist division of the issued several pamphlets with the world as it existed at the time further into the true meaning of TO SOLIDIFY

VERSAILLES SETTLEMENT

the scoundrels who insist on cri- which attempted to muscle in. and moral terms. And, of course, similar collective action would likewise be taken IT CEMENTS against any group of honest citizens who tried to break up the rackets themselves.

In the case of the gang, it is But let us, approaching this as all questions from the point of clear enough that Collective view of the interests of the Action is hardly the answer to working class, ask: First, even the problems of good citizens. assuming that Collective Security Their interest is to smash all of might preserve peace, is it a cor- the gangs, and to get rid altorect program; and, second, gether of the rackets.

"PEACE" TO PROTECT IMPERIALIST GANGSTERS

answer to both of these questions The case of the imperialist requires a brief account of the powers is exactly the same. Even Briand knew and Auriol and origin of the idea of Collective if Collective Security could pre-The idea of Collective Security serve "peace," that would mean in the last analysis not a prois not an invention of Browder, simply protecting the dominant gram for peace but a program of New York: "I would send up nor of Litvinov nor of Stalin. It imperialist positions of the Anglo- for war. And he is using Collect- bombing planes, torpedo planes, turning fire against the common ful not to put matters in such arose in the camp of the Allied French bloc; protecting their ive Security in his attempt to and ships and drive them out of enemy. After all, are not their crude fashion; they left it for Powers during the latter part of right to exploit the major part make the war which he believes the War of 1914-18, and was of the world; safeguarding their will aid his master popular part of the basis for the construc- rule of starvation and terror in among the people of the United tion of the "Versailles system." India, the Near East, Indo-China, States. Collective Security is his the fullest extent in whipping up Its chief early advocate was Africa; guaranteeing for eternity banner for enlisting the masses Aristide Briand, the renegade their right to the exploitation in this country in the next war from socialism who became dur- and oppression of the workers in of American imperialism. ing that time an outstanding the home countries.

spokesman for French imperial- The worker's have absolutely no interest in the preservation The theory of Collective Se- of any imperialist division whatglutted with colonies and other the shortest possible time. The

program of Collective Security, tured" for the struggle. which is the program for the preservation of an Anglo-French However, in any case the as-

people. "Clearly," argues Browd- this solidification. All of the na- They are driven to military adloving 90 per cent can arrive at perialist division. In addition, it death. No conceivable system of own program. Such revolutionists the Fourth International. a concerted program of action, at was of course understood that treaties or Leagues or "peaceful bear a close resemblance to rain- Coyoacan, D. F. least to a degree in some rela- collective action would above all economic sanctions" can stop coats which "leak" only when it January 27, 1938. tion to that of the concerted ac- be exercised against a bid for them. A man faced with certain tion of the Triple Alliance of the power by the working class of death in one direction will fight

nomic resources of the war-mak- against the existing imperialist Security know all this. And that is why they have never pretendto bring them quickly to a halt It was as if two coalitions of ed to themselves that Collective if the United States, France, gangs had been fighting for con- Security is in reality a "peace Britain and the Soviet Union trol of a racket. The winning program." It is a program to should jointly declare an em- gang, having consolidated its preserve peace (i.e., the status bargo upon all economic transac- victory, decreed that henceforth quo) as long as possible and contions with the aggressors...." "peace and order" were to reign venient to the dominant powers; How can anyone object to such over Brooklyn. All the gangsters and in doing so to prepare for Shier! Now, let's get going al! a calm and virtuous proposal? No together would take collective war they know to be inevitable wonder Browder is indignant at action against any rival gang on the most favorable physical

MILITARY ALLIANCES

Collective Security is a way of cementing military alliances in one of the imperialist coalitions. It has the great advantage of making the members of the opposing coalition appear to be the found in these fishing preserves. "breakers of the peace," thereby permitting the mobilization of popular sentiment against them.

This last feature explains why Browder has now so ardently today, that Collective Security is stepped in.

(This is the second in a series of four articles on the New Republic debate over "Collective Security" between Earl Browder and Charles A. Beard. The remaining articles will deal with Beard's "isolationist" reply to Browder and with the Marxist alternative to Collective Security.)

representing the Anarcho-Syndi- weather they remain "leak-proof" calist groupings in various with complete success.

THE FIFTH WHEEL

countries, convened in Paris from the 8th to the 17th of December. As is well known, the only large section of this International is the Spanish C.N.T. All the Portuguese, French, Latin-American) are completely insignifi-

cant in size. Of course, even a small organization can be quite significant if it has an independent revolutionary position which anticipates the future development of the class struggle. But, as can be seen from the brief account printed in the "Information Bulletin of the A.I.T." (No. 67 of the German edition, "Boletin de Informacion"), the special congress in Paris ended with the full victory of the politics of Garcia Oliver, i.e., the politics of capitulation to the bourgeoisie.

Manage Bourgeois State

of building stateless Commun- minent part. ism, the leaders of the C.N.T. to the Congress that if they had ently shameful one! betrayed the socialist revolution in the interests of saving the bourgeoisie, that was merely due to "insufficient solidarity of the international proletariat."

leaders of the trade unions appear as strike-breakers, it is be- Anarchist theoreticians and semicause the masses "have not ma- theoreticians, what do you have

ism at the Paris congress. In this respect, as in many others, the sumption that the program of gentlemen Anarchists fully imitate the bourgeois liberals. Why Collective Security might pre- let the rabble hear of differences serve peace is directly contrary among the higher circles? This to fact. Italy, Germany, Japan can only shake the authority of do not begin military operations, the Anarcho-bourgeois ministers. do not try to upset the existing to the "left" criticism from the It is very likely that in answer division of the world because French anarchists the latter were reasonable and practical to many plan for accomplishing just are madmen or "war-lovers." during the last imperialist war. We have already heard from

The so-called International [rains, i. e., in "exceptional" cir-Workers' Association (A.I.T.), cumstances, but during dry

Boycott Proposed

The decisions of the Paris congress are entirely on the same level as the politics of Garcia other organizations (Swedish, Oliver and his kind. The leaders of the A.I.T. have resolved to appeal to the Second, Third, and Amsterdam Internationals with a proposal to create a "united international anti-fascist front." Not one word about the struggle against capitalism! The methods of battle are announced: "boycott of fascist goods" and.... pressure upon democratic governments": the most reliable methods with which to liberate the proletariat!

Evidently with the aim of exerting "pressure" the leader of the Second International, Blum, became premier in "democratic" France and did everything to crush the revolutionary movement of the French proletariat. During the past year a few Together with Stalin, and with Anarchist publications, especially the cooperation of Garcia Oliver, the French, have mildly criticiz- Blum helped Negrin-Prieto stifle ed the Spanish C.N.T.'s methods the socialist revolution of the of action. There are quite enough Spanish proletariat. In all these bases for this criticism: instead acts Jouhaux took a most pro-

With such actions the united became ministers in a bourgeois front of the three Internationals state! This circumstance did not, for the struggle against the rehowever, hinder the Paris con- volutionary proletariat has algress of the A.I.T. from "ap- ready been conducted for a long proving the line of the C.N.T." time. In this front the leaders In turn the leaders of Spanish of the C.N.T. have occupied not Anarcho-Syndicalism explained a conspicuous place but a suffici-

A New Betrayal

The Paris Congress signifies the imposition of the betrayal of The congress invented nothing the Spanish anarchists . upon new: all reformist betrayers Anarchism throughout the world. have always laid the blame for This finds its expression partictheir "national" militarism, it is, A.I.T. will be appointed by the of course, not because they are Spanish C.N.T. In other words, lackeys of capital, but because the general secretary will from the masses are not "matured yet now on be an official of the for real internationalism." If the Spanish bourgeois government.

Gentlemen Anarchist and semito say about all this? Following the example of the Spanish Anarcho-syndicalists, do vou agree to playing the role of fifth The account does not say a wheel on the cart of bourgeois

Many Anarchists do not, of course, feel completely at ease. But to overcome this uneasiness they change the subject of conversation. Why, indeed, occupy oneself with Spain or the Paris congress of the A.I.T when one can talk about ... Kronstadt or about Makhno? The most burning themes'

Fourth International

In its decomposition and decay er, "in this relation of forces, tions (united in the League) venture by iron necessity. Their some Anarchist theoreticians the Anarchist International evionly alternative is economic and that at the time of such "excep- dently does not wish to lag bewere to take joint steps against social death for their own na- tional" circumstances as war and hind the Second and Third Interand of extinguishing the wars any nation which might attempt tional capitalism, and they are revolution, it is necessary to re- nationals. All the sooner will the oing on, provided the peace- to break through the existing im- fighting desperately against that nounce the principles of one's honest worker-Anarchists find

Belied By Acts

(Continued from page 1)

remacy in the capital ship cate-

by A. J. Dimond, representative averse, would signify the disrupof Alaska, demanding "protec- tion of the present line-ups, not tion" of the \$46,000,000 salmon only at the expense of Italy but fishing industry in Alaskan seas. also of the Soviet Union. That The bill would have the United this is far from excluded is seen States government assert sover- from the extremely reserved atignty over hundreds of miles of titude of the British towards the ocean now regarded as interna- German shake-up and the feeltional and would order the con- ing in London that it should fiscation of all Japanese ships cause them little concern.

"Incidents" Will Follow

"I am gravely apprehensive," Dimond said, "that unless suitable legislation is passed, there taken up the slogan of Collective will be armed conflict in the Security. He knows, as well as Bering Sea." He said the fishermen would take up arms them-Chautemps and Daladier know selves unless the government

these waters.'

Here is a fertile field for future incidents" which will be used to

Lower East Side Labor Forum "THE CRISIS AND THE UNEMPLOYED' Speaker: NEIL HARRISON (Chairman-W.A.A.-Loc. 15) FRIDAY NITE FEB. 11 at East Side Labor Center

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Hitler Stalls In Army-Nazi-Feud

(Continued from page 1)

an understanding between Germany and England, for which 5. Hearings were begun in the latter has been working and Washington on a bill introduced to which the former is not at all

Martin Attacks **CP War Mongers**

(Continued from page 1)

Martin is absolutely correct. For the Stalinists, Communism is just a label covering a political line and activities which are entirely harmful to the workers and their organizations. The revolutionary socialists certainly are opposed to all red-baiting from whatever quarter it comes. One way to deliver a blow at the real red-baiters is to expose the Stalinist patriots for what they are - vicious enemies of the working class masquerading in the guise of friends.

By taking a step in that direction, by revealing the rule or ruin policy of the Stalinists in the unions, by exposing their treacherous social-patriotism and all the vicious practises flowing from it, Homer Martin has rendered a valuable service to the labor movement.