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MAX SHACHTMAN
Editor.
HAROLD ROBERTS FRANK GRAVES
Associate Editors.
BOB BROWNE
Business Manager.

Cordell Hull Says "No!"

In reply to the questions of Senator
Hiram Johnson concerning the existence
of an "alliance, agreement or understand-
ing" with England in case of war, or any
agreement, "expressed or implied" for joint
navy action with another power, Secretary
of State Cordell Hull answered in a letter
to Senator Key Pittman with an emphatic
"NO!"

The Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral
Leahy, answered similar questions put to
him at sessions of the House Naval Affairs
Committee with just as emphatic a "NO!"
But the same day the Hull letter was
made public in the press, Mr. Arthur Krock,
the New York Times' well-informed Wash-
ington correspondent, wrote in a dispatch
(Feb. 9, 1938) that he is "expertly in-
formed that, should it at any time serve
the common interests of the two great de-
mocracies [England and the U. S. A.],
their navies would automatically comple-
ment each other in the Pacific."

And efforts to call Mr. Krock for testi-
mony before the House Naval Affairs Com-
mittee were voted down under the whip
of its chairman, Rep. Carl Vinson.

Whom shall we believe? Correspondent
Krock who says "Yes" or Diplomat Hull
who says "No" to the question: "Have the
imperialist bandits secret agreements among
themselves for common war action?"

With all the respect undoubtedly due to
our Great Democratic Government and its
Great Secretary of State, we believe Mr.
Krock.

Every imperialist power is involved in
dozens of treaties, agreements, "under-
standings"—kept secret from the masses
and brought into play actively when the
masses are dragged into war to protect the
interests of the financial and industrial
lords of the land.

Diplomacy is the art of concealing the
truth about these treaties and telling lies
about them. Diplomats are the liars who
practise the art. Why should the masses
believe one when none of his predecessors
has given us any grounds for believing
him?

On August 3, 1914, Foreign Secretary
Edward Grey came before the House of
Commons in London, asking for a declara-
tion of war against Germany, and declared:
"I come first, now, to the question of
British obligations. I have assured the
House—and the Prime Minister has as-
sured the House more than once—that if
any crisis such as this arose, we should
come before the House of Commons and
be able to say to the House that it was free
to decide what the British attitude should
be, that we would have no secret engage-
ment which we should spring upon the
House, and tell the House that, because we
had entered into that engagement, there
was an obligation of honor upon this coun-
try."

Sir Edward was lying like a trooper.
When the Bolsheviks took power in Russia
three years later, they published all the
secret treaties which showed that there
were numerous "secret engagements" which
England, France, Belgium, Russia and the
other belligerents had committed them-
selves to before the outbreak of the war.

Woodrow Wilson, coiner of "open diplo-
macy openly arrived at," also deceived the
masses when he ran for President in 1916
under the campaign slogan of "He Kept
Us Out of War!" and when, early in 1917,
he asked Congress to declare war upon Ger-
many. Because, on March 7, 1916, a year
before Wilson came before Congress, he
had before him and even revised the notori-

Stalin Waves Help Fight War Faded Flag

(Continued from page 1)

plea, publicly made on February
8, for "Great Britain, the United
States and the Soviet Union to
form an alliance."

The ease with which Hitler has
taken over Austria and the com-
placency with which this move
has been received in London and
Paris show how far the parleys
have already gone toward the
creation of a bloc of the Euro-
pean powers directed against the
Soviet Union. In this perilous
situation, dizzy last-minute
twists of policy will be of no
avail to Stalin.

Stalin is like the man on the
flying trapeze. What we have to
do is to make sure that when
he falls, he does not pull the
Workers' State with him into
the abyss to which the Stalinist

ous memorandum of Sir Edward Grey and
Colonel House which read:

"Colonel House told me [Grey] that
President Wilson was ready, on hearing
from France and England that the moment
was opportune, to propose that a Confer-
ence should be summoned to put an end to
the war. Should the Allies accept this pro-
posal, and should Germany refuse it, the
United States would probably enter the war
against Germany."

Like Sir Edward, Cordell Hull is an hon-
orable man. Like Mr. Wilson, Mr. Roose-
velt is an honorable man. But the masses
were tricked into the last "war for de-
mocracy" by honorable men and the same
ones are trying to trick the masses into the
next "war for democracy."

If Hull says, "No, there are no secret
agreements," we say, "No, we don't believe
you and your kind." The Russian workers
finally got to the secret files in 1917 and
proved that those who refused to believe
the diplomatic liars were justified in their
skepticism. The American workers will
some day do likewise with the secret files
in the White House.

Footnote To Carleton Beals

Mr. Carleton Beals will be remembered
as the gentleman who withdrew from the
Dewey Inquiry Commission during its
hearing of Leon Trotsky in Mexico City.
His attacks on Trotsky and the Commis-
sion promptly made him the darling of the
Stalinists.

Now comes a footnote to the case of Mr.
Beals written by the German Nazis. In the
December, 1937, issue of a virulently re-
d-baiting magazine published by them in
Berlin, *Contra-Komintern*, which describes
itself as the "Fighting Organ of the Anti-
Bolshevik World Movement" and calls
Trotsky "the bloodhound of War-Communi-
sm", one of the instigators of the world
revolution" (Page 421), the Nazi editor
writes:

"One of the members of the Inquiry Com-
mission, the author Carleton Beals, finally
recognized the unworthy role for which he
had allowed himself to be misused and the
dubious personality for whom he was sup-
posed to stake his good name. Unequivo-
cally and categorically he declared his with-
drawal from the committee." (Page 423).
Comment superfluous!

Falsifiers of Marx

Last Saturday, on the anniversary of
Lincoln's birthday, the *Daily Worker* con-
dugled in a veritable orgy of patriotic bally-
hoo as the exponent of Twentieth-Century
Americanism. As could only be expected
from this Stalinist sheet, history as it con-
cerns Lincoln and his social role was falsi-
fied.

In wads of quotations (including the in-
evitable quotations from Marx) and in edi-
torial comment, Lincoln's fight against
Negro slavery was extolled, but the full
Lincoln was nowhere to be discerned.

It was left to the ultra-reactionary New
York *Sun* to recall that Lincoln the Aboli-
tionist was also an ardent defender of the
system of private property. This paper
quoted Lincoln as saying (March 21, 1864):
"Property is the fruit of Labor; property
is desirable; it is a positive good in the
world. That some should be rich shows
that others may become rich, and hence is
just encouragement to industry and enter-
prise."

In Lincoln's day the capitalist system of
private property was historically progres-
sive. Lincoln's struggle to universalize
capitalist democracy against the reaction-
ary slave-owning Bourbons of the South
was likewise and unquestionably progres-
sive. Marx remained true to himself in
backing Lincoln and the progressive forces
of capitalism against the slavers.

Today the system of capitalist private
property and its sham democracy is in de-
cline. It condemns multitudes to unemploy-
ment and starvation and exposes humanity
as a whole to the horrors of periodic wars.
It has lost all its progressive features and
is an obstacle to social progress.

The Stalinists, in defending capitalism
and capitalist democracy, and in seeking
to justify this by reference to Marx's sup-
port of Lincoln against the slavers three-
quarters of a century ago, reveal thereby
their own reactionary role in the working
class movement and the fact that nowadays
they refer to Marx, co-founder with Engels
of the revolutionary socialist movement,
only in order to prostitute his teachings.

In connection with the Appeal
subscription drive and the anti-
war campaign of the Socialist
Workers Party, this space in com-
ing issues will be devoted to pub-
lishing results obtained by party
locals in pushing the drive. The
comparative standing of the locals
throughout the country in gain-
ing new subscribers to the Appeal
will be given from week to week.
Prizes for the "go-getters" will
be announced later.

We feel that one of the most
bureaucracy is doomed.

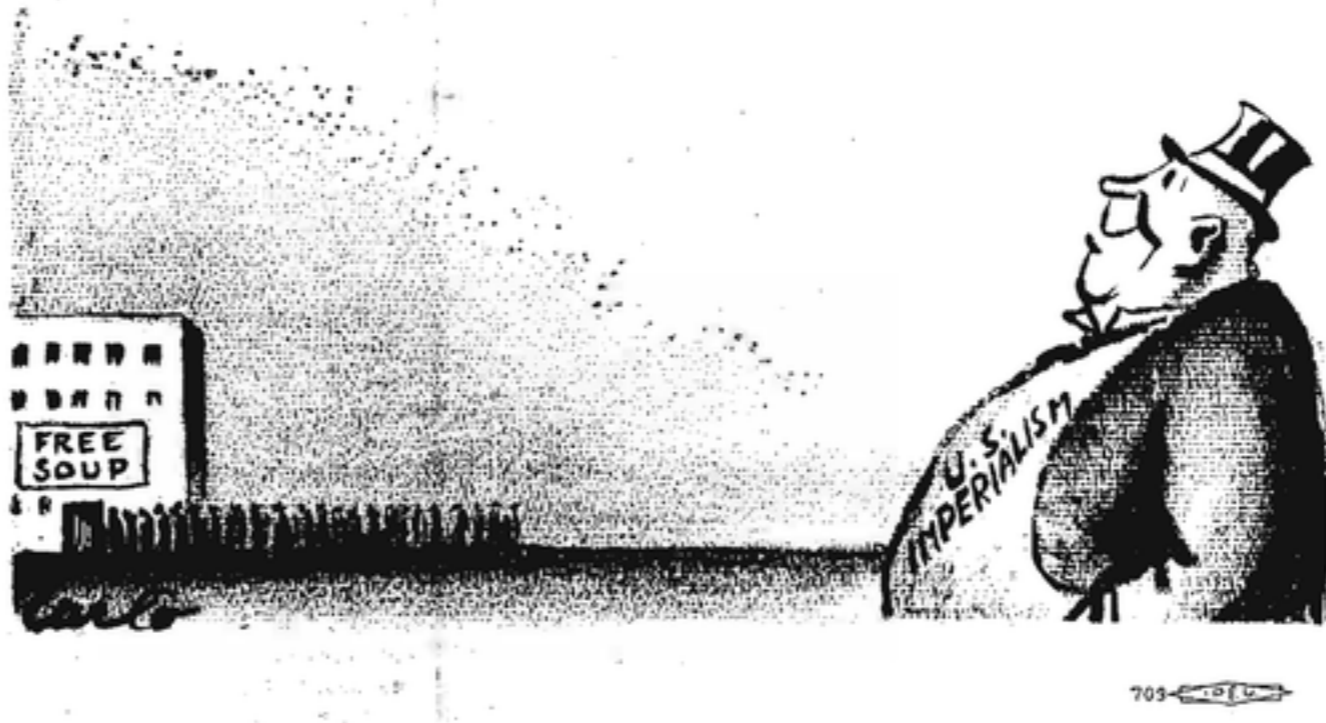
The workers of the world will,
indeed, be the only bulwark for
the Workers' State in the dark
days to come. But they will
fulfill this role adequately only by
fighting unremittingly against
their own capitalist classes and
for the victory of Socialism.
That struggle will be waged with-
out and against Stalin, the hang-
man of the Russian October.

effective ways of combatting the
war propaganda that has already
made itself heard in this country,
is to build the Appeal circula-
tion, particularly in the trade
unions, so that workers every-
where can know that Revolution-
ary Marxism and its only Amer-
ican inheritor — the Socialist
Workers Party — present and
work for the only principles and
program of action that will pre-
vent another "war to save democ-
racy."

Therefore it is your duty, if
you are not a subscriber, to sub-
scribe to the Appeal at once and
contribute to its maintenance if
you can. If you are a subscriber,
it is your duty to get one or a
dozen or hundreds of new sub-
scribers and in that way become
an active participant in the
struggle against war.

Send in money quickly for sub-
scriptions and contributions —
and don't delay. The war won't
wait for us!

Relief A La Roosevelt



The Dream of Isolation

By James Burnham

The idea of "collective security"
has never been popular with the
majority of the people of this
country. This has been proved
on a number of occasions, most
conspicuously during the period
following the last war. In spite
of the fact that the war itself
showed that neutrality for the
United States in a major Euro-
pean conflict was impossible, as
soon as the War was over Amer-
icans wanted to steer clear of
Europe.

This sentiment was reflected
in the Senate. Wilson came back
from Versailles with his head
full of the new Treaty, Briand's
plans for collective security, and
the grandiose scheme for the
League of Nations. The Senate
blocked adherence to the League,
and in doing so undoubtedly re-
presented majority opinion.

Even now, with the entire Ad-
ministration, especially Roosevelt
and Hull, driving for collective
security, and with the outstand-
ing bourgeois press holding the
same perspective, the anti-col-
lective security Ludlow Amend-
ment came close to a majority
in the House of Representatives.

MAJORITY FAVOR NEUTRALITY POLICY

The majority of the people has
been traditionally in favor of
"isolation," or, as it is often called,
"neutrality." There are his-
torical reasons for this feeling,
so different from opinion in Eu-
rope, even among the masses.
For one thing, there is the im-
portant geographical fact that
the United States is far away
from any other great power,
whereas the European nations
are situated right next to each
other. Again, there is the carry-
over from the hopes of the Amer-
ican Revolution, which was to
build a new civilization freed
from the conflicts of the Old
World. And, in addition, there
were the unparalleled resources
and opportunities for expansion
on the North American Conti-
nent.

There was always, of course,
hypocrisy and unreality in the
idea of "isolation." Isolation from
Europe was found to be perfect-
ly consistent with the ruthless
extermination of the native in-
habitants of North America. The
Monroe Doctrine, dating from the
early years of United States his-
tory, was hardly an "isolationist"
conception. In actuality, from the
point of view of United States
capitalism, isolation and neutral-
ity means only that up to a cer-
tain point in its history the United
States had a sufficient sphere
for exploitation and advance in
the Americas, and did not need
to develop a "world outlook."

BASE FOR ISOLATION NO LONGER EXISTS

As the United States entered
the imperialist stage of its de-
velopment, the economic basis
for the policy of isolation was
destroyed. The idea of isolation
lingered on in a vacuum. This

was already clear in the Spanish
War. It was fully shown by the
War of 1914-18. The ramifications
of American capitalism had be-
come world-wide, and it was
drawn irresistibly into the vortex
of world affairs.

With the last War, the United
States became a creditor nation,
and has since become the first
and most powerful of the imper-
ialist powers. Its whole inter-
national economy now depends upon
its stake in the world market.
Without its foreign trade and
foreign capital investments, it
would be bankrupt within six
months. Far from decreasing in
importance, the foreign trade and
investments must necessarily play
an ever more crucial role.

BEARD SEES WHERE POLICIES ARE LEADING

In the New Republic debate
over collective security between
Earl Browder and Charles A.
Beard, there is no doubt at all
that Dr. Beard has much the best
of the argument. He understands
what Browder's argument means,
that it means advocacy and pre-
paration for war; and with his
mature and rather tired irony he
exposes Browder's meaning. He
knows what Roosevelt is up to:
"The Roosevelt Administration,
bewildered and baffled by the
economic impasse at home, is
employing sentimental coverages
for excursions abroad."

He knows how "peace-loving"
France and Great Britain are:
"Having all the European terri-
tory required by their traditional
ambitions and loaded with the
spoils of empire, Great Britain
and France do want peace—at
their price.... The great demo-
cratic powers want peace and the
possession of all they have...."
He knows that Italy and Germany
and Japan are driven by conflicts
too great to be stopped by any
peaceful "quarantines": "I find
in history no justification what-
ever for assuming as truth that
Italy, Germany and Japan would
surrender unconditionally to a
grand quarantine."

UNDERSTANDS VALUE OF DEMOCRACY

He knows also just what "de-
mocracy" is worth to imperi-
alism, and just how democracy is
served by imperialist war: "Does
anyone conversant with British
history really believe that the
operations of the British govern-
ment since 1914, let us say, have
been controlled by some concep-
tion of democracy, as distinguished
from British interests in the
Mediterranean, Africa and else-
where? Or the operations of the
French government? What did
these governments do for democ-
racy in Germany between 1919
and 1933?.... And if it comes
to another war for democracy
against the three offenders, have
we any ground for expecting be-
neficent results in the way of a
universal democratic advance?
All I ask anyone to consider on

this point is the record....
Lastly, Beard knows the real
direction of Roosevelt's program,
which Browder so ardently de-
fends: "That Roosevelt would
take them in (to the next world
war) swiftly if it comes is highly
probable...."

FAILS TO MAKE POSITIVE PROPOSALS

Beard knows all these things
about the Roosevelt-Browder
program, about collective security.
But what does he propose in its
place? In the debate he makes
no explicit proposals. His views,
developed elsewhere in his writ-
ings, are left implicit. They are
the views of isolationism; he
wants the United States to stay
home and mind its own business.

But, in truth, this alternative
is no alternative at all; and
Beard's program is no program.
The truth is that the business of
U. S. imperialism is everybody's
business. The truth is that foreign
trade and capital markets are
necessary to U. S. capitalism if
it is not to collapse. There are
not enough markets to go around
among the powers. The competi-
tion for them is a life and death
question for each power. There-
fore, in the end, they—including
the United States, fight each
other for them.

DOES HE THINK U. S. WILL ABDICATE?

To assume that the U. S. cap-
italists, controlling the U. S.
government, will not fight under
such circumstances, is to assume
that they will voluntarily abdi-
cate, will stand by while the social
system which supports them goes
bankrupt. Does Dr. Beard, with
all his historical knowledge and
his irony, make such an assump-
tion?

The idea that isolation is possible
for imperialist United States
is thus an empty illusion, utterly
unrelated to historical and eco-
nomic reality. If it and those
who advocate it are less treach-
erous than collective security,
the illusion of isolation is also
a most powerful danger. For it
is an illusion which leads the
masses away from the genuine
fight against war, dissipates their
energies in empty air, and leaves
them helpless when the war
breaks out in spite of—in part
because of—the illusion.

(This is the third in a series
of four articles by James
Burnham on the New Repub-
lic debate over collective
security between Earl Browder
and Charles A. Beard. The last
article, summarizing the Marx-
ist answer to collective se-
curity, will appear in the next
issue.)

Williamsburg Branch
(Socialist Workers Party)
will hold a
BIZARRE SOCIAL
at its
New Headquarters
Saturday Night
FEBRUARY 26
The Famous Red Dancers
will be on the program
Country Refreshments
Take Broadway-Brooklyn line
to Gates Avenue

ANTI-LYNCH BILL

A Speech I Did Not Deliver In
The United States Senate

By ALBERT GOLDMAN

Gentlemen: Some of you feel
that you have already done your
duty, that is, you have done what
appears to you to be politically
advisable. Thirty-seven of you
who are in favor of the anti-
lynching bill voted to close de-
bate and proceed to a vote. You
think that you have thereby
cleared your skirts and can go
back to your Negro constituents
with the claim that you are a
friend of the Negro people. What
else could anyone expect from
you? Did you not vote in favor
of closing debate and thus bring
the bill to a vote, something
which the two dozen Southern
senators refuse to permit by
their filibuster? And now there
is no use continuing the attempt
to pass the bill because the fili-
buster will prevent this august
body from considering other im-
portant measures!

Undoubtedly you will succeed
in convincing some of the Negro
people that you were sincere in
your efforts to pass the Wagner-
Van Nuys anti-lynching bill. But
I assure you many white and
Negro workers will see through
the hypocrisy which is glaringly
evident in the bill itself and in
the attitude of the large bloc of
senators supporting the bill for
political reasons.

Hypocrisy of Northern Democrats

I am afraid that I must agree
with the reactionary, white-
chauvinistic Senators from the
South that the bill was introduc-
ed with the sole purpose of en-
abling the Northern Democrats to
make sure of the Negro vote. It
is common knowledge that many
of the Senators from the North-
ern States, where many Negro
voters reside, are actually against
the bill but dare not come out
openly in opposition to it. The
purpose of the bill is essentially
to fool the Negro voters. As a
matter of fact, all of you are
constantly occupied with the task
of fooling not only the Negro
people but all the people. If you
and your like did not succeed in
deceiving the wide masses do you
think they would tolerate the
capitalist system for one mo-
ment? Do you think the white
and Negro workers would per-
mit themselves to be exploited,
would suffer hunger and misery,
would consent to be cannon fod-
der in capitalist wars if they
were not deceived by the capital-
ist politicians, press, school and
church?

By the way, let me call your
attention to the greatest hypoc-
rite of all of you, the man who
sits in the White House, Presi-
dent Roosevelt. This great friend
of the people, the Negro people
included, I presume, is as silent
as a sphynx. Not a word has he
uttered in favor of the bill, not
a sentence has he written urging
his supporters to vote for the
bill. This shrewd politician hopes
to make the Negroes think that
he favors the bill and at the same
time avoid antagonizing the
Southern Democrats by actually
coming out in its favor. He will
certainly be happy if the bill
never passes so that he will not
be forced to sign or veto it.

Weakness of Bill

Let us consider the provisions
of the bill and see whether it
will bring about the desired ef-
fect of stopping the inhuman
lynchings of innocent Negroes?
In the first place, it should be
known that the bill does not at-
tempt to punish any leader or
member of a lynching mob. If it
is possible under present condi-
tions to stop lynching, it can be
done only by a vigorous prosecu-
tion for murder of the leaders
and members of a lynching mob
and not by the method proposed
in this bill.

The Wagner bill threatens to
penalize the official in charge of
any prisoner who is lynched or
the governmental subdivision
where the lynching occurs. Be-
fore any official can be success-
fully prosecuted it will have to
be proved that he willfully ne-
glected to use all diligent efforts
to prevent the lynching. I hope
that no one is foolish enough to
believe that a prosecutor, assum-
ing even that he is interested in
obtaining a conviction, will have
an easy task before a jury in the
South. The burden of proof, of
course, will be on the prosecu-
tion and that practically gua-

rantees an acquittal. In the case
of a governmental subdivision,
which under the proposed law
will be liable to the party injur-
ed or to his relatives in the sum
of from two thousand to ten
thousand dollars, the burden of
proving that the official used di-
ligence is on the government.
Even there it will not be so dif-
ficult to prove that the officer
did his best to prevent the lyn-
ching and was overwhelmed by su-
perior force.

In some states there is a law
which makes a governmental
subdivision absolutely liable for
all damage done to property in
the course of a riot. Wagner
could certainly have treated the
Negroes at least in the same way,
that is, the bill could have pro-
vided absolute liability on the
part of any governmental subdivi-
sion where a lynching occurs.
But property is more sacred than
Negroes.

Motive of Southern Senators

Why are the Southern Senators
so bitterly opposed to a bill, the
effectiveness of which can be
questioned even for the purpose
it is intended to serve? Should
the bill pass, white masters will
continue to have their properties;
they will continue to exploit both
Negro and white workers; the
share-cropper will continue to
live on the brink of starvation;
and the Negroes will still be spat
upon, reviled and terrorized. The
Northern States have shown that
lynching can be limited to re-
volutionary workers, as in the
case of Frank Little, or that it
can be done with all the legal
forms, as in the case of Sacco
and Vanzetti, without in the least
disturbing the well-being of the
capitalist class.

The arrogance of the ruling
whites in the South knows no
bounds. They will not permit any
encroachment upon their right
to do as they please with their
"niggers." And then there is a
possibility that the Negroes, even
though they may be mistaken,
will think that there is some
power to protect them against the
brutality of the white bosses and
this thought might cause them
to lift up their heads. The Sena-
torial representatives of the
white ruling class of the South
are anxious to prevent the
slightest concession to the people
who created all the wealth of the
South.

How Lynching Will End

It is necessary that the Negro
workers clearly understand the
nature of this anti-lynching bill
and the motives of those who
have introduced it and support
it, as well as those who are op-
posed to it. The Democrats who
allegedly support it, do so be-
cause they see a chance to as-
sure themselves of a huge num-
ber of Negro votes. The Senators
who oppose it are unwilling to
yield an inch of their right to
keep the Negro in utter degrada-
tion.

The Negro workers must un-
derstand that even if the bill is
passed (and it has very little
chance of passing) it is doubtful
whether it will have any effect
upon lynchings. I shall vote for
the bill because, as weak as it is,
it might conceivably have some
slight effect in saving the life
of a Negro. The Socialist Work-
ers' Party states clearly that a
far more effective method than
this bill to stop lynchings in the
South is for the Negro and white
workers to organize and shake
their united fist in the face of
the white masters. Only a united
struggle of white and colored
workers will improve the horrible
conditions of the working class
of the South. Do not rely upon
the charitable feelings of the
masters; do not depend upon the
good will of the Northern Demo-
crats. Rely only upon your united
strength.

Against Capitalism

And it is not enough to strug-
gle against lynching alone. There
is very little choice between be-
ing lynched and starving to
death. Lynching is only one of
the results of the conditions under
which both Negroes and white
workers are compelled to live. So
long as the white capitalists are
permitted to rule this country,
so long will there be unemploy-
ment, war, terror, starvation,
lynching.

Not an anti-lynching bill will
do away with lynching, but a
bill introduced by a workers' go-
vernment abolishing the right of
the white ruling class to own
the wealth of this country and
exploit the workers of all races
and creeds. For the Negroes to
gain complete economic, political
and social equality, and for the
white and Negro workers to live
as brothers free from the ex-
ploitation of capitalists, it is ne-
cessary to create a workers' gov-
ernment.

Village Forum

The Village Branch of the
S. W. P. will hold an open
educational meeting this Fri-
day, February 18, at 8:30 P.
M., at the home of Dr. Paul
Luttinger, 5 Washington
Square, North. Frank L.
Demby, member of the Nation-
al Committee of the Y.P.S.L.,
will speak on "France in Fer-
ment." There will be questions
and discussion. Admission free.
All welcome.

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