SOCIALIST APPEAL

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LEON SEDOFF

We lower our banner over the open grave of Leon Sedoff, stainless soldier in the war for the liberation of the disinherited.

To his grief-stricken parents Leon Trotsky and Natalia Ivanovna Sedoff, whose daughters Nina and Zinaida were hounded to death several years ago by the same unspeakable monsters' in the Kremlin who have buried the fourth of their children, Sergei Sedoff, in a prison or a grave-we send a deeply-felt message of condolence, and of continued solidarity from comrades-in-arms who are more determined than ever to remain with them at the front lines of the struggle for which Leon Sedoff gave his life.

Leon Sedoff was of the younger generation of Russian Bolsheviks who resisted the corrosive effects of Stalinist corruption and disintegration. At the first sign of bureaucratic decay of the Workers' State and the Third International, he joined hands with the older generation of Incorruptibles in the historic fight for revolutionary internationalism. For fifteen of his thirty-two years, he stood steadfastly in the ranks of the Bolshevik-Leninists, taking a leading part in the unremitting campaign they conducted, active in one country after another, finally becoming one of the founders and leaders of the Fourth International.

Selflessness, infinite devotion to the cause, single-minded attention to the struggle, unshakable firmness in principle, boundless courage—these were the characteristics of Leon Sedoff, faultless model of a proletarian revolutionist.

The new generation of revolutionists who pick up his banner will march forward inspired by his unforgettable ex-

The victory of the working class will avenge his untimely death!

Stalin's Letter

The much-publicized letter of Joseph Stalin to the Young Communist League member, Ivan P. Ivanov, has given rise to a good deal of speculation about a new leftward swing of the Stalinist machine. Superficial observers, especially those who have not read the letter, even see in it an abandonment of the hitherto canonized doctrine of "socialism in one country". Among the capitalist press, the New York Post, for example, which the gullible Daily Worker had hitherto praised as a liberal associate in the Popular Front crusade for "Peace and Democracy," interprets the letter in a sense revealed by the sensational headline of its front-page editorial: "Stalin Takes Off the Mask"-that is Stalin always was and still is in favor of international revolution, and current communist utterances in favor of peace and democracy have been calculated only as a cover for incendiary internationalism.

The truth of the matter is that, however significant the debated letter, it represents no alteration whatsoever in the fundamental nationalist policy of Stalin. As the letter itself indicates, Stalin argued a dozen years ago in favor of the following two propositions: (1) a classless socialist society could be established within the confines of one country alone and by the efforts of the people of that country alone, regardless of the course or fate of the working class movement, or the revolution, in the rest of the world; but that (2) the "final victory" of this socialism, that is, guaranteeing it against foreign military intervention, required the victory of the workers "in at least several countries.

In both these propositions, reiterated in the latest encyclical, is contained a radical break with the theory of revolutionary Marxism, of proletarian internationalism. If anything, Stalin now goes a step further by discarding his 1926 formula of "the victory of the workers in at least several countries"-which at least implied the proletarian revolution in the capitalist countries-and replacing it with the intentionally vague, meaningless formula according to which the "final victory" requires the "serious assistance of the working class in capitalist countries" (Daily Worker, Feb. 17, 1938). It is no longer the overthrow of

capitalism abroad which the defense of the Soviet Union calls for from the workers, but their "serious" aid, or as he puts it elsewhere in the letter, "the political assistance of the working class in the bourgeois countries."

It is the old anti-Marxian dogma of Stalin, for it not only repeats the nationalistic formula of a socialist utopia in one country alone, but even emphasizes the conception that the working class abroad is reduced to playing the role, not of revolutionary internationalist adversaries of capitalism, but merely of frontier guards patrolling the borders of the Soviet Union.

No revolutionary "turn" is possible on such a rotten foundation, and Stalin has made none.

Yet, the Stalin letter does represent a revision of the official stand taken in the past—not in 1926, but in 1935. Urozhenko, the local official who removed Ivanov from his post for referring to Stalin's 1926 formula, argued: "Comrade Stalin said this in 1926, but we are now in 1938; at that time we did not have final victory, but now we have it and there is now no need for us to worry at all about intervention and restoration."

Whereupon Stalin observes in his reply to Ivanov: "Comrade Urozhenko's assertion can be explained only by his failure to understand the surrounding reality and his ignorance of the elementary propositions of Leninism, or by the empty boastfulness of a conceited young bureaucrat." Bravo! It could not be put more exactly. Only, in this respect, Urozhenko is simply one of the obscure rankand-file followers of the collectivity of august personages, headed by Stalin himself, which, for the past three years, has been teaching him to make the arguments he directed at young Ivanov. For it was no less solemn and responsible a body than Stalin's hand-picked Seventh Congress of the Communist International in 1935 which not only declared that socialism was possible in a single country and that a classless socialist society had already triumphed in the Soviet Union, but decreed that this triumph was already "final and irrevocable." From that moment till the hour of Stalin's letter, the "final and irrevocable victory of socialism" in the Soviet Union was a cardinal article of faith in the Stalinist Church, and woe betide the heretic who questioned it (as Ivanov has testified). Urozhenko, like all other Good Believers, was simply repeating what the Seventh Congress in 1935 told him to repeat. Now, it appears, the formula dictated to the Congress in 1935 by Stalin "can be explained"-in Stalin's own language of 1938--- "only by his (Urozhenko's) failure to understand the surrounding reality and his ignorance of the elementary proposition of Leninism, or by the empty boastfulness of a conceited young bureaucrat."

Thus, while the Stalin letter does not represent a turn towards revolutionary internationalism—which the Communist International is quite incapable of accomplishing-it does represent a significant abandonment of the "ignorance" and "empty boastfulness" of the Seventh Congress formula.

Why? Why does Stalin, for the first time in years—in three years at the very least-suddenly remind his followers of the existence of such a force as "the working class in the bourgeois countries" and of the Soviet Union's need of the "serious support" of this working class? Why is there not on single syllable devoted to as much as a mention of the famous "peace-loving" countries, of the equally famous "democracies," of the "People's.Fronts"— which have been referred to in thousands of official Stalinist documents as the great bulkwark of the Soviet Union, as the effective foe of anti-Soviet interventionist fascism?

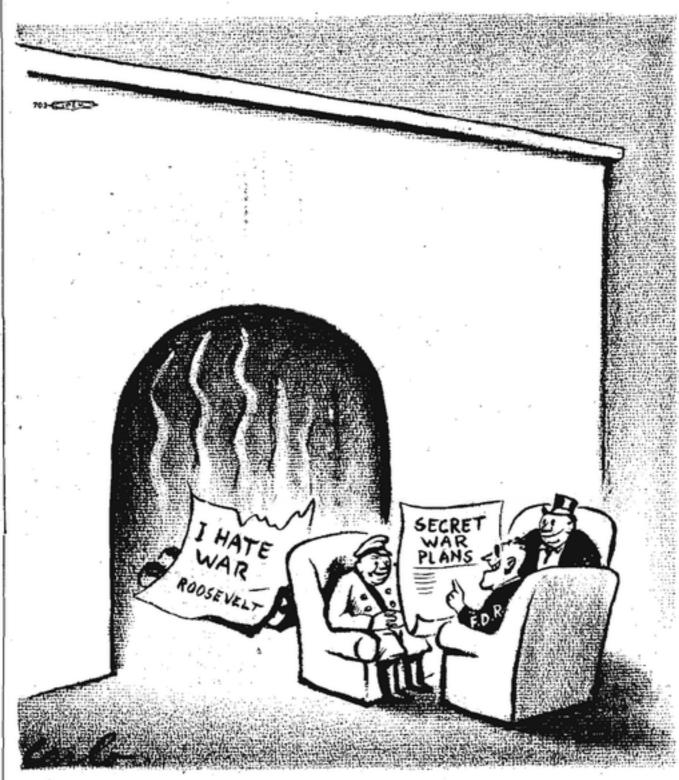
There is but one answer, and in it is contained the secret of the Stalin letter: The whole People's Front policy of the Communist International has collapsed like the house of cards it always was! Stalin's course has led not to strengthening the defense of the Soviet Union, but to consolidating world capitalism, to isolating the Soviet Union to a greater extent than has been the case for years, and to enhancing enormously the perils which face the Soviet Union today.

The pipe-dream of a "democratic" capitalist-Soviet bloc against the "warloving" fascist powers, is giving way before the eyes of the world to the rude reality of the movement for a Four-Power Pact of the imperialists from which the Soviet Union will be excluded and by which it will be imminently menaced.

In this international situation, the genuine defenders of the revolutionary conquests represented by the Soviet Union will once more be shown to be not the spurious and flighty "Friends" of the Stalin bureaucracy, but the militant working class of the world, acting independently as a class, and those revolutionary Marxists who have employed socialist science foresightedly and in line with the program of the Fourth International.

But the new position of the Soviet Union in the changing world political set-up, and its relation to the new "emphasis" in Stalinist policy, deserves and will receive separate treatment in our next issue.

Fireside Chat



Marxism and Collective Security

Browder and Charles A. Beard, it for the war. by the alternatives of 'collective security' and 'isolation'."

The current hearings on the naval appropriation measure before the House of Representatives these two policies.

is thereby proved.

TWO POSITIONS FUNDAMENTALLY RELATED liey.'

This should serve to indicate that the two positions of collect- ONLY TRUTHFUL ANSWER ive security" and of "isolation, in spite of the seeming contradicgap between them may appear, of war squarely and bluntly upon they are in fundamental respects a truthful analysis of the nature alike.

The two positions are alike, in the first place, in that neither analyzes the actual cause of modern war. Both argue merely on as capitalism endures, wars will the surface, as if war were due come, that war under capitalism to the wickedness of individual is not an "accident" or an "exmen, the effect of this or that ceptional event" but an integral law, or the success of some clever part of the very mechanism of stood, is the only anti-war probit of diplomacy.

proposing a solution for "the nomic crises. You cannot have IS SOCIALIST REVOLUTION tence of capitalism.

to be performed by an imperialist state.

ARE PART OF PREPARATION FOR WAR

of the preparation for war.

They act as part of the preparation for war in a number of STRUGGLE AGAINST WAR decisive ways. For example, since IS FIGHT FOR SOCIALISM both of them, and their advocates, presuppose support of the imperialist government of the Unit- follows that the struggle against ed States, they aid in building war, the genuine struggle, is up attitudes of loyalty toward simply an aspect of the struggle that government; and thus, when against capitalism and for so-

In their editorial notice pre-it will, the same attitudes of matter, however unpleasant a ceding the debate between Earl loyalty will keep support behind truth it may seem. If capitalism

into a chase after impossible tiveness is concerned. dreams.

Naval Affairs Committee are justification to the war when it they are "working for peace"; that amount. The new unions ment divided into two hostile, similarly being conducted in the comes. This happens partly be- but at the same time they do not were enabled to accomplish their warring sections is a luxury that light of this same alternative: cause, as the last war showed, wish to take the risk of working work and build up the proper or can only be afforded in times "collective security" or "isola- the leading spokesmen, known against capitalism. To these ganizational staffs only because of quiet and peace. In the pretion." Every speaker who has appeared before the Committee open support of the more are ing reconstitution who has appeared before the Committee open support of the more are ing reconstitution. supports, with whatever personal as it starts. The masses reason: really want - peace or capital- nizing the masses of America, integrated within the machinery modifications, one or another of If these men, who lead the fight ism? You cannot have both. If lay the strength of the C.I.O. of the capitalist state in the event Beard and Browder, also, if it is not, we cannot oppose it fight for peace is a fraud, and a weakness. The economic crisis throughout the course of their effectively without their help. fraud which alds no one but the has hit first the heavy industries debate, assume that the choice is But these policies themselves war-makers. limited to these two policies, provide moral justification apart Neither of them makes any men- from the men who advocate them. tion of any third possibility. Each The war will be propagandized of them takes for granted that as a lawless breaking of collectif he can refute the position of ive security, or a violation of his opponent, then his own view neutrality and isolation; and thus the very fight for peace will seem to the masses to demand a war to enforce the "peace po-

ANALYSIS OF CAPITALISM

Marxism, therefore, does not tion between them, do in point answer collective security by an of fact share important features appeal for isolation. Marxism, in common. However great the bases its answer to the problem of war and of capitalism. Any other basis must lead to lies, illusions, or demagogy.

Marxism points out that so long

capitalism. War is just as much They are alike, secondly, in a part of capitalism as are eco- ANSWER TO WAR problem of war" within the fra- capitalism without having peminating capitalism itself.

As a consequence, both of therefore committed to war "as the revolutionary socialists these these policies, both collective an instrument of national policy" must always be subordinated to security and isolation, are in the by the very fact that it is a ca- the general perspective of the last analysis not programs pitalist government. To ask it to class struggle. against war at all, but are part renounce war is like asking a living man to renounce oxygen.

From these considerations, it the government goes to war, as cialism. This is the truth of the

necessarily brings about war, struggle against imperialist war war, so far as any possible effec-

Even more fatal is the fact tically obscured by both the ig- establish low dues and initiation cratic, home grown variety of a that both of these policies, each norant and the conscious liars. fees. One dollar monthly dues People's Front government feverin its own way, impotent to fight So many persons wish to satisfy prevail in all of the C. I. O. ishly preparing for war and imagainst war, serves to give moral their consciences by feeling that unions. The initiation fee is twice perialist conquest. A labor moveopen support of the war as soon ing yourselves. Which do you In the very necessity of orga- ed labor movement can be better for peace, support the war, then you are unwilling to give up ca- To a certain degree, that very of war. it must be a good war; and, even pitalism, then your pretended strength, has now become a FEAR OF WORKERS

CHECKS WAR MAKERS

of the workers, which by fered a tremendous drop in instrengthening the working class come. The T.W.O.C. and S.W. what the workers may do is the nizer from its payroll. only real hindrance to the warmakers. They laugh at, and exploit to their own ends, the protive security.

mework of capitalism. Collective Fiodic crises, and you cannot have This does not mean that it is security and isolation equally capitalism without periodically impossible for revolutionary sopresuppose the continuing exis- having wars. The causes which cialists to unite with others not bring about wars, the inescapable yet accepting their perspective Thirdly, they are alike in that need for every advanced capital- to further certain specific objecteach offers as its solution a pro- ist nation to attempt to expand ives. Both concrete actions, such gram for adoption by the govern- its markets, gain cheaper sources as boycotts and demonstrations, ment of the United States: that of raw materials, find new outlets and even primarily agitational is, each proposes as its answer beyond the internal market for measures directed against speto the war crisis a set of actions capital investment, can none of cific moves of the war-makers them be eliminated without eli- ("Withdraw all U. S. Armed Forces from the Far East," "A-Every capitalist government, gainst the Naval Appropriaabove all every imperialist go- tions," "All War Funds to the vernment-including outstanding- Unemployed") can legitimately ly the U.S. government - is serve a limited purpose. But for

> To Browder and to Beard, then, as to Roosevelt, the Marxists in the end give one short reply: The answer to war, the only answer, is the socialist revolution.

> > (This is the final article in the series of four by James Burnham on the New Republic debate over collective security between Charles A. Beard and Earl Browder:)

GREEN-LEWIS WAR

Verbal Battle Seen As Jockeying For Position In United Body

By JOHN ADAMSON

At the recent convention of the holding back the national build-United Mine Workers of Ameri- ing program which would ensure ca, every reference to affiliation the return of prosperity. The Adwith the A.F. of L. was strick- ministration is maneuvering the en from the constitution of the A.F. of L. Building Trades Deminers' organization. The Ex- partment into the defensive poecutive Council of the A.F. of L. sition where the Building unions countered by expelling the Mine will be held responsible for the Workers from the Federation. stagnation of building work in The C.I.O. then announced that America. The Administration will it would persuade several A. F. thus be in a position to put an of L. Internationals to affiliate ultimatum to the Building Trades with the C.I.O. body. The Ex- unions to "voluntarily" accept ecutive Council answered with reductions. In addition, all inthe threat that it would launch dustry is poised, waiting breathan organizing campaign among lessly for the signal from any the coal mining, metallurgical one of America's major concerns and flat glass workers. Does this to embark on a general campaign furious exchange signify the end of wage cuts and union busting. of the unity negotiations and the Both the A.F. of L. and C. declaration of a new war to the I.O. are entering the new pe-

of L. will probably never to memberships and preserve the translated into action. A new present conditions in their own fratricidal war between the two industries. Far from spending organizations is extremely un- huge treasuries on jurisdictionlikely. Here and there, in this al raids, both unions fear a conor that particular locality, the certed drive on the part of the present conflict may be mitigat- open shop employers to cut to the local conditions, but the unions in the past two years. launching of a new nation-wide battle between the two unions is practically excluded. Too many factors of major importance militate against such a step and, as a matter of fact, are pushing with inexorable force both organizations onto the road of unifi-

Drive Stopped

ganizational drive of the C.I.O. of newspaper statements, and The mass influx of new members preserve the industrial union has stopped for both the C.1.O. structure in the mass production and A.F. of L. unions. The strength and progressive character of the C.I.O. over the a staunch supporter of unity betolder and more conservative ween the two warring camps. In unions of the Federation of Labor a normal period of history, an lay in the fact that the C.I.O. ordinary capitalist government Browder and Charles A. Beard, Both policies, moreover, by the editors of the New Republic hiding the true nature of war, war without getting rid of capproduction workers in steel, autowrite: "No more important sub- of the U.S. government, and of italism. To divorce the struggle mobiles, rubber, textile-the nerve preference, if anything, to the ject is before the American imperialism in general, spread against war from the struggle centers of American economy. more conservative A.F. of L. people today than the question of disastrous illusions among the against capitalism is in reality These workers constitute the organization. The Roosevelt Adforeign policy usually described people, and divert any genuine to give up the struggle against hardest driven and the most ex- ministration, however, is no orploited section of American labor. dinary capitalist government, To attract them to unionism, it operating in a normal period of This simple truth is systema- was necessary for the C.I.O. to history. It is rather, a bureau-

> -machinery, steel, automobiles etc. The C. I. O. unions have thus felt the full brunt of the present lay-offs in industry. The The day-by-day class struggle various Internationals have sufis implicitly directed against ca- O.C. have reduced their staffs pitalism, is thus a far more real- to less than a quarter of the istic means of checking the war original size. The United Autopreparations than all of the pa- mobile Workers of America, largcifism, isolation and collective est and most powerful of the new security ever imagined. Fear of unions, has removed every orga-

paganda of isolation and collec- a more favored position, from a bloc of Hillman, Dubinsky and financial point of view, has also Homer Martin within his own In the end, however, the over- not escaped the catastrophic ef- organization that they may shout throw of capitalism itself is the feets of the economic crisis. The as much as they will-he, Lewis, only conceivable means for stop- metal trades and several other will not sell until he gets his ping war. Socialism, and it alone, Internationals , already report price. As a matter of fact, his will end war because socialism more than a third of their mem- price is rather high-the undisand it alone will root out the bers out of work and their in puted leadership of the American causes of war. The program of comes reduced proportionately. trade union movement. the socialist revolution, when the The building trades unions-the Many more press statements question is finally and fully under- heart of the A.F. of L. organi- may be flashed across the headcosts in the building trades are get together.

riod with reduced incomes and No, the battle of words bet- with their own hands full, trying ween the C.I.O. and the A.F. to hold together their union ed or aggravated according to ribbons the gains won by the

Ranks Want Unitiy

The membership, who feel the effects of the crisis much more directly than the union officialdoms, have grown tired of the jurisdictional squabble. They want unity. And they are becoming less and less interested in the final disposition of the posts, so long as the two organizations First, the economic crisis has get together, put an end to the brought to a halt the great or- jurisdictional war and the battle industries.

The Roosevelt administration is history, Roosevelt realizes a unit-

No New Feud

These important factors almost exclude the possibility today of a new feud flaring up anew between the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. They point, rather, to the inevitability within the next period of a unification of the two bodies. How the posts and honors will be divided is, of course, almost impossible to predict. That the basic principle of industrial unionism for the mass production industries will be preserved-that is assured.

The recent bold exchange between the Mine Workers and the Executive Council is merely The A.F. of L. although in Lewis's way of replying to the

singled out by the Roosevelt ad- words spoken. But that is only ministration, as the scapegoat, in the jockeying for position, the the drive to reduce wages. A attempt to win hegemony within campaign is in progress to prove the united organization. In the to the nation that the high labor end the boys will be forced to

MARXIST SCHOOL

NEWARK, N. J.

The Progressive Workers School of Newark, New Jersey, opened its 1938 session at the Workers Educational Center, 252 Market Street, on February 18. The following courses are being given:

- 4. A.B.C. OF MARXISM -- Fridays 8:15 to 9:45 P. M. Instructor, Jack Weber. 10 classes.
- 2. AMERICAN HISTORY Fridays 10:00 to 11:30 P. M. Instructor, Jack Weber, 10 classes.
- 3. TRADE UNIONISM Tuesdays 8:30 to 9:45 P. M. Instructors: 8 Union Organizers, 8 classes,
- Instructor, Leslie Fiedler. 8 classes. The rates are extremely low (\$1.00 per course, \$1.50 for

PUBLIC SPEAKING — Tuesdays 10:00 to 11:15 P. M.

two courses, \$2.50 for four courses) and tuition payments may be made in weekly instalments of 25 cents per course. For additional information, write Gerry Brock, Director, 252 Market Street, Newak.

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