

Socialist Appeal

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MAX SHACHTMAN
 Editor

HAROLD ROBERTS FRANK GRAVES
 Associate Editors.
 BOB BROWNE
 Business Manager.

The Eleventh Hour

It would be self-deception—the gross-
 est form of stupidity—to conceal the
 seriousness of the crisis in the civil war
 in Spain. It would be a crime to be
 silent about the fact that the leaders of
 the Popular Front in Spain, in France, in
 Moscow—Stalinists and social democrats
 alike—have brought the working class
 of Spain and its cause to the brink of
 the fascist abyss.

The black gangs of reaction are
 marching straight for the sea. For the
 first time, their rifles are pointed at the
 very heart of proletarian Barcelona.
 From abroad the imperialist vultures
 are hovering over the battlefield for
 their share of the prostrated booty.

Yet, it is not too late for the Spanish
 working class to turn the mounting tide
 of defeat into a victory that would shake
 the whole world. That can be accom-
 plished only if it is realized that con-
 trary to the philosophy and practice of
 the People's Fronters who know only
 how to pile disaster upon disaster, the
 fascist reaction can be smashed not by
 purely military means, but above all by
 political means.

The collaboration with the bourgeois
 at home and reliance upon the "democ-
 ratic" bandit governments abroad,
 have only paralyzed the working class
 and robbed it of its striking power. The
 abandonment of the class struggle policy
 made it impossible to win the Moors by
 granting Morocco the independence
 which the bourgeois masters of the Peo-
 ple's Front deny it; made it impossible
 to arouse the peasants, not only in Loyal-
 ist but also in Franco territory to the
 side of the workers by proclaiming the
 right of the peasants to seize and hold
 the land; made it increasingly difficult
 to sustain the feelings of the laboring
 masses because no social change was
 offered them or allowed them, and what
 they had themselves undertaken to
 change was forcibly torn from them and
 restored to its old status.

In the crucial 11th hour, only the re-
 turn to the militant class struggle, to
 proletarian self-reliance, to genuine
 working class internationalism, can assure
 the victory. Here is a problem not
 only for the Spanish workers, but for
 labor everywhere, and primarily in
 France. Arms? Yes, a thousand times.
 But not from Blum, Chamberlain and
 Co., who have deceived the Spanish
 masses time and again and who cannot
 be expected to change their spots now.
 Direct aid to Spain's proletariat, but
 only by means of militant working class
 pressure and militant working class
 control.

But again, the prerequisite for this
 imperatively needed turn is a remorse-
 less break from Popular Frontist
 treachery and the restoration of the
 simple, time-tested principles of the
 class struggle.

Japanese Drive Stopped On Central China Front

(Continued from page 1)

fighting under the most unfavor-
 able possible political conditions.
 The liberation of the masses for
 many-sided participation in the
 fight against the invaders is still
 prevented by the Kuomintang
 dictatorship. So long as this re-
 mains the case victories like
 those now being achieved in
 southern Shantung will remain
 only episodes instead of becom-
 ing real turning points in the
 battle for national liberation and
 of the expulsion of the imperia-
 list invaders.

Congress Seals Dictatorship

Extremely few details have
 been made available here so far
 of the results of the Kuomintang
 congress held in Hankow last
 week. But enough was cabled by
 correspondents of the capitalist
 press to indicate that the primary

concern of the Congress was to
 strengthen and insure the power
 of the Chinese bourgeoisie
 through the Kuomintang dicta-
 torship.

Chiang Kai-shek, already the
 undisputed boss of the govern-
 ment, was formally invested with
 dictatorial powers and the title
 of "Tsun Tsai"—a modest varia-
 tion of the title "Tsun Li," or
 Leader, previously held only
 by Sun Yat-sen, founder of the
 Chinese Republic.

The Congress also went through
 a variety of sham motions with
 a view to "democratizing" the
 regime while leaving Chiang's
 power intact. A "People's
 Council" was created. It is to
 be composed of 150 bureaucrat-
 ically-chosen Kuomintang dele-
 gates whose functions are to be
 purely advisory. Chiang Kai-shek
 retains full power of veto.

The Communist Party, which
 has now subordinated itself com-
 pletely to the Kuomintang, was
 apparently a sort of poor rela-
 tion at the Congress. None of
 the resolutions adopted by the
 Kuomintang overlords even de-
 signed to mention the Stalinist
 allies. Their existence as "loyal"
 auxiliaries (Chiang Kai-shek
 praised their "loyalty" in an in-
 terview with John Gunther) was
 taken for granted.

After the Congress it was in-
 timated that they might—they
 might—be given five seats on
 the 150 of the People's
 Council. Meanwhile the Com-
 munist soldiers continue to make
 the heaviest sacrifices while the
 Stalinist leadership resolutely
 prevents those sacrifices from
 becoming politically meaningful
 by covering over the sham "de-
 mocracy" which the Kuomintang
 now claims to be introducing.

The episodic military turn made
 as a result of the victories at the
 Grand Canal will be transform-
 ed into a real slashing counter-
 offensive only if the broadest
 movement is launched to stimu-
 late the masses.

Blessed Are The Peace-Makers

One of the main—if not the main—
 tasks of a party calling itself Socialist,
 is to mobilize the working class in struggle
 against war now so that it may be
 better able to fight war once it has be-
 gun.

Accordingly, such a party is unworthy
 of the name if it capitulates in advance
 to the war-mongers and patriots, if it
 seeks to make "peace" with the latter
 instead of warning the workers against
 them and separating itself from them.

Under pressure of the left wing, the
 last convention of the Thomasite Social-
 ist Party adopted the most radical and
 thoroughgoing—even if not entirely sat-
 isfactory—position on the war question
 in its history. That was on paper, which
 is, as is known, very patient. Let us
 see what this position looks like in prac-
 tice.

At last week's convention of the Work-
 ers' Alliance in New York, the S. P.
 group introduced an anti-war resolution
 identical in terms with that adopted by
 the Executive Board of the United Au-
 tomobile Workers Union, and submitted
 it in opposition to the Stalinist docu-
 ment. It was hardly a revolutionary
 statement, for it wound up with the sen-
 tence: "Armament, if any is necessary,
 should only be on the basis of protection
 against invasion." An intelligent imper-
 ialist would ask for nothing better.
 To a revolutionary socialist, it is a be-
 trayal of principle, for it implies the
 legitimacy of defending the capitalist
 fatherland.

Nevertheless, the resolution was
 pointed, in other sections, at the Stalin-
 ist war-mongers, even if only by indirection.
 And you would think that the S.P.,
 which has precious little left to lose,
 would hold on at least to this resolution,
 feeble though it is.

But no! The Stalinists put on a bit
 of heat in the resolutions committee.
 The eminent socialist statesman, David
 Lasser, also put on a bit of heat. Where-
 upon, the representative of the S. P. on
 the resolutions committee, Brendan Sex-
 ton, shriveled up, and the committee
 presented the convention with a "com-
 promise" resolution which the S.P. frac-
 tion adopted along with the Stalinist
 delegation.

The "compromise"? Better that no
 resolution had been adopted. The S.P.
 joins with the Stalinists in a humble
 appeal to the American capitalist gov-
 ernment to boycott rival capitalist gov-
 ernments, like Japan—a policy which
 the S. P. has condemned on previous
 occasions. It pleads with the capitalist
 government to "cooperate with all groups
 who wish international peace"—another
 Stalinist policy which the S. P. has pre-
 viously condemned. It hails the Stalin-
 ist "League for Peace and Democracy"
 —which the S.P. convention last year,
 and its press since, have attacked as a
 C.P. pro-war movement.

In a word, the Socialist Party's "strug-
 gle against war" and against Stalinist
 patriotism collapsed like a sucked egg.
 Nothing was left of it except the signal
 success obtained in making peace—than
 which there is nothing more blessed—
 with the war-mongers.

The thinking person cannot escape the
 reflection:

If this party drops its anti-war posi-
 tion, which is nothing to write home
 about in the first place, during peace
 times and merely because of a bit of
 pressure exerted by a handful of scow-
 ling bureaucrats—what will it do in time
 of real stress, when the pressure is ser-
 ious and substantial?

If the Thomasites capitulate to a mere
 Lasser-cum-Bejamin for the sake of
 a "compromise" with the peace-time pa-
 triots, what will they do under the lash
 of a capitalist war-machine actually in
 operation?

FRENCH WORKERS DEMONSTRATE THEIR MIGHT



French labor is again on the march against the starvation rations on which it has been placed by declining capitalism. More than 100,000 workers are occupying plants in the heavy industry. The new French premier, Edouard Daladier, has promised as one of the first acts of his government the suppression of the rebellious proletariat—as "humanely as possible." This picture shows workers demonstrating in the courtyard of the Renault auto works—now again occupied—in Paris two years ago. Many more scenes such as this will be witnessed as the reactionary Daladier government attempts to saddle the French proletariat with additional costs of the capitalist crisis.

By Leon Trotsky

THE PRIESTS OF HALF-TRUTH

(Continued from page 1)

The period when world imperialism subjected the Soviet land to a blockade is now lost in the past. The blockade of the U.S.S.R. today is organized by the Soviet bureaucracy itself. Of the revolution as it understands it, it has preserved only the cult of police violence. It thinks that with the aid of police dogs the course of history can be altered. It fights for its existence with a conservative fury such as has not been displayed by any ruling class in history. Along this road, it has arrived in a short time at the commission of crimes such as not even fascism has yet perpetrated. Of this dialectic of the Thermidor, the democratic oracles have understood nothing, understand nothing now and—let there be no illusions—will not understand anything. Otherwise they would be obliged to shut down immediately the Nation and the New Republic and thus upset the equilibrium of the solar system!

OPPOSITES IDENTIFIED

Since the Thermidorean reaction came out of the revolution, the Nation and the New Republic have sought tirelessly to prove that revolution and reaction are one and the same thing. They have systematically approved or at least kept silent about the work of falsification, of lies, of corruption, which the Stalinist bureaucracy has accomplished throughout the world. They have covered up the repression against the Oppositionists which has been going on now for fifteen years. Yet there has been no lack of warnings. The literature of the Left Opposition is fairly rich, in all languages.

For fifteen years it has showed, step by step, how the methods of the bureaucracy came into increasingly sharp conflict with the requirements of a new society; how the bureaucracy was obliged to screen its own greedy interests, not only by making its own the mechanics of lying of all the ruling classes, but also by investing these mechanics—in view of the acuteness of the situation in a country scarcely emerged from a revolution—with an unprecedentedly poisonous character. With irrefragable facts and documents we showed how a whole school of falsification came out of the Thermidorean reaction—the school of Stalin—which envenomed every domain of social ideology; we explained how and why it was precisely Stalin ("the cook of peppery dishes," according to Lenin's definition as far back as March, 1921) who became head of the avid and conservative caste of usurpers of the revolution; we predicted the Moscow trials ten years before they took place and we explained to the most backward that the judicial frame-ups are only convulsions of the Thermidorean agony.

Finally, in 1937, the International Commission of New York, composed of persons of high moral authority and accustomed to critical judgment, subjected the accusations of Stalin and Vyshinsky to a patient and meticulous analysis. In all the accusations, they found nothing but lies, falsifications, frame-ups. They stated this openly to the entire world. The verdict of the Commission was intended essentially for the "man in the street," the farmer, the small tradesman, the backward worker, in a word, the majority of those whose conditions of existence deprive them of the necessary training and broad horizons.

From the editors of the Nation and the New Republic, these breveted teachers of the people, one might, it would seem, have demanded a critical sense of their own. They might, for example, have recalled from what they learned under their old school-teachers, that the Thermidorean reaction in France proclaimed the Jacobins to be "Royalists" and "agents of Pitt," in order to justify in the eyes of the masses the sanguinary repression against them. From these professional moralists, one might, it would seem, have expected some sense of morality. Does not the moral degeneration of the Soviet bureaucracy stink to high heaven? Alas, the moralists have been found to be devoid even of a simple sense of smell.

PANORAMA OF NARROWNESS

The Moscow trials not only took this circle of people un-
 aware but have destroyed the tranquility of their souls for a
 long time to come. A collection of all the articles of the Nation
 and the New Republic, dealing with the three big trials—what
 a panorama of narrowness, vanity, hypocrisy and above all of
 confusion. No, they did not expect them! How could this have
 happened? Yet, while they lack in perspicacity and a sense
 of smell, they possess to the highest degree the feeling for self-
 preservation of the priestly caste. Therefore, their whole be-
 havior was determined by concern with the obliteration of their
 traces, that is, with seeing to it that the faithful remain un-
 aware of the fact that inside the oracle, all this time, were
 concealed not very farsighted priests. Theoretically, these
 Pharisees indignantly reject the principle: "The end justifies
 the means," failing to understand that a great historical goal
 automatically discards those means that are unworthy of it.
 But in order to bolster up traditional petty prejudices and
 especially their own authority in the eyes of the simpletons, they
 are always ready to resort to artful dodges, and frame-ups of
 picayune scope.

150,000 French Workers Strike To Defy Daladier

(Continued from page 1)

chamber of deputies on April 12
 and voted confidence in the new
 government. With thousands of
 striking workers outside strain-
 ing to embark upon the path of
 independent class struggle the
 Socialist and Communist parties
 prefer to pursue the futile and
 treacherous policy of the "lesser
 evil"—anything but a revolution-
 ary course for the workers as
 the only way out of the crisis.

Daladier tried once before to
 form a government maneuvering
 between the left and the right,
 when, in 1933, the Socialist de-
 puties were forced by mass pres-
 sure to renounce their collabora-
 tion with the Radical Socialists.
 After his police had fired into
 the fascist demonstrations of
 February 6, 1934, this courageous
 democrat capitulated without
 further resistance to the reac-
 tion. In 1936 he reappeared as a
 partisan of the People's Front,
 only to abandon it now, when it
 faces a crisis. Is it now his am-
 bition to make good his cowardice
 before the fascists with greater
 "audacity" against the workers?
 At his side stands Albert Sar-

raut, Minister of the Interior in
 the semi-fascist Doumergue gov-
 ernment of 1934, famous for his
 slogan: "The communists are the
 enemy." The oppression of the
 colonial peoples is to be hand-
 led ably by the reactionary
 George Mandel, who distinguish-
 ed himself for his persecution of
 the organized postal employes as
 Minister of Posts and Telegraphs
 in Doumergue's cabinet. This is
 the new "people's front" of Da-
 ladier, whom the Stalinists have
 feted since 1936 as a hero of left-
 wing democracy.

Undoubtedly, there are still
 strong Popular Front illusions
 among the workers, but they are
 learning that whatever they
 conquered was a result of their
 direct intervention, and that ul-
 timately their own action is the
 only method of preserving their
 conquests. Even now their fight
 is assuming forms and propor-
 tions which exceed by far the
 desires of their leadership.

Daladier's Aims

Daladier's aspiration to insure
 social peace by a process of slow
 gliding toward the right, and to
 use the Easter vacations of parlia-
 ment "to deal more freely with
 the strike situation," was quick-
 ly damped. The slightest at-
 tempt to evacuate the 150,000
 sit-down strikers by force would
 bring France to the verge of
 civil war. The task of the Da-
 ladier government is precisely
 to accomplish the turn toward a
 right-wing coalition gradually
 and without disturbance if pos-
 sible.

The labor bureaucrats continue
 to use the strikes to enhance
 their own parliamentary impor-
 tance. But a return to a People's
 Front government would be no
 solution for the bourgeoisie.
 During the last two years the
 four People's Front governments
 have proven incapable of coping
 with the economic crisis and of
 bottling up the working class to
 a degree which would grant
 French capitalism the neces-
 sary political stability. It is even
 less probable that the Daladier
 government will succeed in this
 task by purely parliamentary
 methods. A show-down draws
 inevitably closer.

Dangerous Weaknesses

The French proletariat ap-
 proaches this test of strength
 with admirable spirit but also
 with dangerous weaknesses.
 Strikes and even armed struggles
 can yield no solution to the vital
 problems of the working masses
 unless they are backed up by
 an audacious and determined plan
 for the organization of the pro-
 letarian revolution.

Since the inception of the
 People's Front, French capital
 has conducted a systematic strike
 against the realization of any
 reforms favoring the working
 class. At the same time it has
 financed fascism and the reac-
 tionary press. The peasants,
 many of whom cast their votes
 for the workers' parties, especial-
 ly the Socialists, for the first
 time in 1936, are beginning again
 to lean toward the reaction.
 Only a broad program of econo-
 mic control and direction by
 the workers and peasants can insure
 the working class against defeat
 and isolation and prepare the
 revolutionary victory.

Back Numbers Of N.I. on Sale

There have been numerous re-
 quests for back numbers of the
 New International, monthly ma-
 gazine of revolutionary Marx-
 ism, published at 116 University
 Place, New York City. Many no
 doubt require one or more num-
 bers in order to complete their
 volumes.

While not all issues of the
 magazine, back to the date of its
 inception in 1934, are available,
 it is possible to supply most of
 them. Valuable documentary and
 historical material and articles
 of lasting value are to be found
 in them and the management
 will fill all requests for these
 numbers at 10 cents per copy
 until the supply is exhausted.
 Following is a list of issues
 which are available: August-
 December 1934; July, August,
 1935; October, 1935; December,
 1935; February, 1936; April,
 1936; June, 1936.

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