

Socialist Appeal

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The Right of Asylum

The House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization opened up public hearings in the middle of this week on the bill submitted by Representative Emanuel Celler concerning the question of asylum in the United States for political and religious refugees.

The bill is conceived in the same general spirit as the statement made a few weeks ago by Secretary of State Cordell Hull in favor of facilitating the migration to the "democratic" lands of those whose existence in the Fascist countries had become insufferable.

Mr. Celler not only proposes that the President be empowered to increase the immigration quota for any foreign country in case of an "emergency situation," but also provides that a political or religious refugee who "in his last place of residence outside the United States has been subject to persecution, personal abuse or indignity, economic boycott or social ostracism because of his religious or political beliefs or practices," shall not be excluded from the U. S. as a person likely to become a public charge, provided he is "otherwise admissible."

Like the much-publicized Hull declaration, the Celler Bill is hedged around with just the kind of reservations and weasel words that are characteristic of all the flowery gestures of the "democratic" pretenders. Anxious to increase the patriotic allegiance of the masses to the government by emphasizing the contrast between fascism and democratic capitalism, our statesmen do not, however, fail at any time to puncture their policies with enough holes for most of the democratic content to leak through.

The "generous" American immigration policy of recent times has facilitated the admission of men like Albert Einstein—which is, of course, as it should be—or of bloody tyrants like the Cuban ex-dictator, Gerardo Machado, but has left virtually insurmountable bars against the entry of thousands of nameless soldiers of the labor and revolutionary movements. The new Celler resolution in reality perpetuates one of the oldest bars, when it makes reference to the "otherwise admissible." In the past, this has meant the power of the Washington authorities and their representatives abroad to exclude "undesirable aliens," that is, all those labor militants who have not relented in their views despite the most savage persecutions.

The reference to "his last place of residence outside the United States" is of a piece with the other. It means, concretely, that while a would-be immigrant in Germany has a chance to come to

the United States (if he can ever get out of Germany!), a German or Austrian exile who now happens to be in France, in utter misery, as is the case with most of them, is not eligible for admission to this country.

The bill, in other words, requires drastic revision in the direction of really letting down the bars to the horribly persecuted political and religious protestants against fascism and reaction. Among the best of the democratic traditions of the last century was the unalloyed right of asylum, which brought to the shores of the United States in particular some of the finest fighters for the labor movement. The bars which are maintained by some of our present-day half-baked or decayed "democrats" ought to be torn down without hesitation. And it is the labor movement that should be in the fore in the work of tearing them down.

Whose Morals?

The elections in Local 16 of the Waiters' Union in New York are worth more than a second thought. By a very close vote—a difference of about 150 votes out of a total of more than 3,000 would have changed the results—the Stalinist combination managed to defeat the slate put forward by the progressives. The progressives charge that the C. P. victory is to be explained by the fact that in the fusion of the late "red" union with the present A. F. of L. local, the Stalinists packed the rolls with numerous Party and Young Communist League members whose closest connection with the trade is obtained when they order a meal in a restaurant.

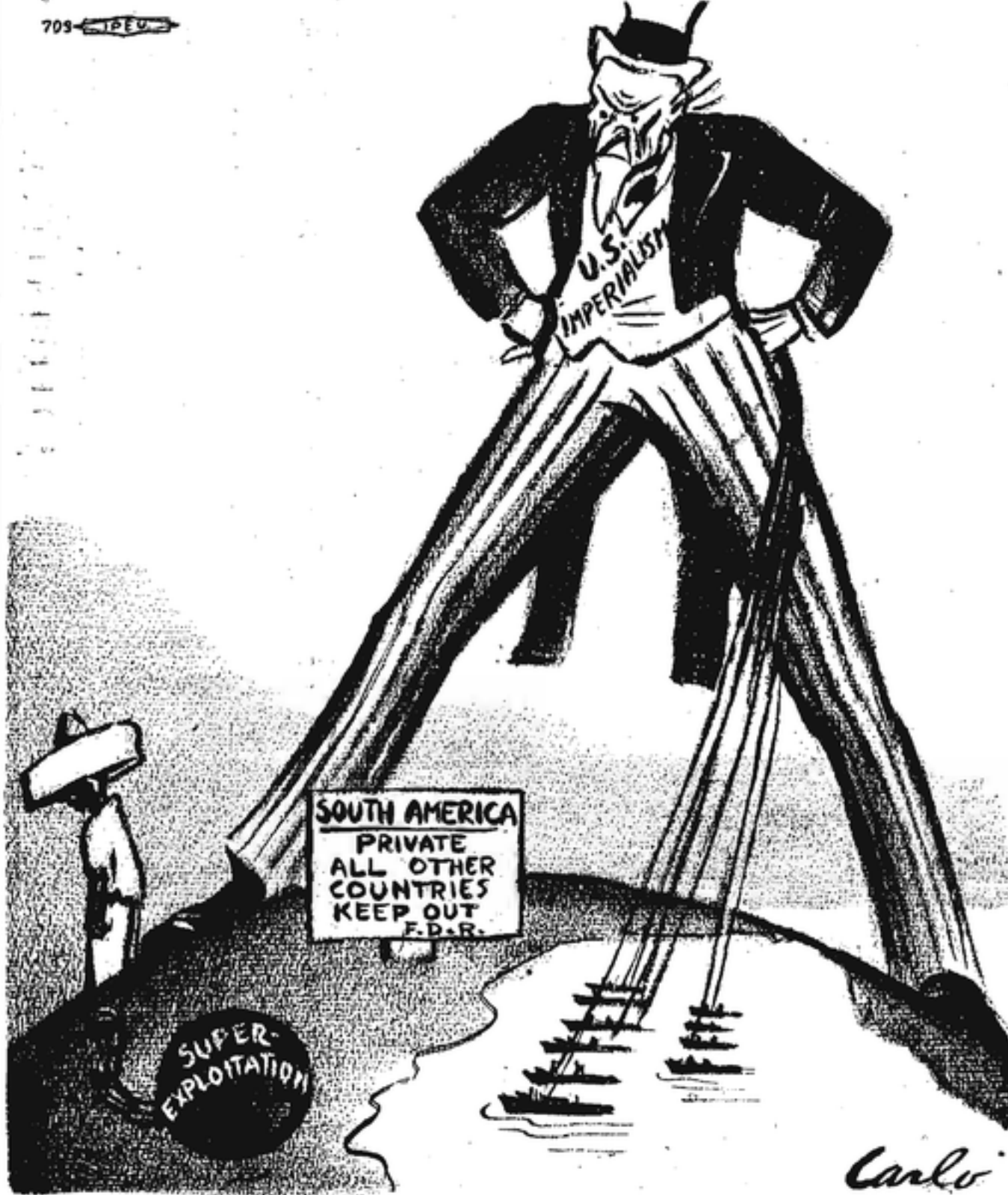
Of decisive significance, however, is the composition of the Stalinist slate. It was made up by a combination between the Communist Party and several gentlemen who served as paid officials in the administration of Messrs. Paul N. Coughler and Aladar Retek, who now have their offices in a penitentiary as convicted racketeers. These same gangsters and the remnants of their associates were, in the past, vociferously condemned by the very Stalinists who, last week, imperturbably carried through a common election slate with them!

There are those who believe and charge that the Stalinists are immoral in their practices. Strictly speaking, this is not true. They are neither immoral nor amoral. In the remote past, some of the Stalinist leaders learned that the high moral pretensions of the ruling class are a gargantuan fraud, fair words which barely cover up the depravity, cynicism, hypocrisy and chicanery which constitute the reality of bourgeois moral standards.

In part, the communist movement was born in rebellion against these moral standards which had permeated the decadent movements of the Second International—the corrupt old social democracies. That rebellion has been suppressed by the rogues who usurped the leadership of the Communist International and who can live only by virtue of their adoption of the very standards of morality which they originally abhorred.

The barefaced alliance with gangster-racketeer elements is not exceptional to, but part and parcel of Stalinism. Those who, on a grand scale, are capable of palming off the governments of the most ruthless exploiters in history as illustrious democrats, are entirely consistent in presenting underworld characters as worthy co-leaders of a trade union.

The Good Neighbor Policy



Stalin's Trial As A Terrorist Demanded Of League By Trotsky

(The following letter was sent on March 21 by comrade Trotsky to the Judicial Section, Secretariat of the League of Nations):

On October 22, 1936, through my Norwegian attorney, the late Michael Puntervold, I had the honor of appealing to you in a letter receipt of which you were kind enough to acknowledge in your reply No. 3A-15105-15085. I am not informed as to the present status of the question of creating a tribunal against terrorists under the League of Nations. I do not know whether it already exists, or whether it is expected to start working in the near future. In any case, I consider it my duty not only to repeat the considerations which I had the honor of bringing to the attention of your section nearly a year and a half ago, but also to supplement them with a new, fully concrete proposal.

It was the Soviet government which initiated the creation of a tribunal against terrorists under the League of Nations. The People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs for the U.S.S.R., Mr. M. Litvinov, displayed at the League of Nations sessions an especially keen and, as might then have appeared, inexplicable interest in this question. However, to informed people the matter was clear even then. Preparing over a number of years the trial against "Trotskyist terrorists," the G.P.U. was fully convinced that the monstrous "confessions" of the accused would persuade the whole world, including the future tribunal of the League of Nations, as to the correctness of the accusations and offer the possibility of obtaining the legal deliverance of myself and my son, Leon Sedov, into the hands of the G.P.U. This was the immediate and direct aim of Moscow's initiative on the question of an international tribunal.

Right to be Heard

In my letter of October 22, 1936, I expressed the thought that a tribunal dedicated to the defense of governments in various countries from terrorists cannot, on the other hand, refuse defense to private individuals if they, because of purely political motives, are falsely accused of terrorism by an ill-intentioned government. I therefore considered, and still consider, that I have the right to plead for an examination of my case by the future tribunal under the League of Nations, in spite of the fact that the Soviet government has seemingly definitely renounc-

ed the thought of seeking help in Geneva against my alleged "conspiracies."

The impartial International Commission headed by the well known American philosopher and educator, John Dewey, after almost nine months of work came to a final conclusion in regard to the Moscow trials, declaring them deliberate frame-ups. Armed with numerous and irrefutable proofs which are at the disposal of the above-mentioned Commission, I am ready at any time to appear before the tribunal of the League of Nations in order once more and definitively to convert my accusers into accused.

G. P. U. Terrorism

But I make bold to think that by this time it is already impossible to stop merely at the first step. During the last half year, the world has been witness to a series of actual terrorist acts committed in various countries according to a general plan and with undoubted singleness of purpose. I have in mind not the legal and extra-legal murders in the U.S.S.R., where the question, thus or otherwise, concerns the legalized actions of the state apparatus, but acts of downright banditry on the international arena.

The murder of Ignace Reiss, former agent of the G.P.U., on September 4, 1937, near Lausanne, Switzerland, can in no sense be viewed as a legalized act. The Swiss and French authorities have complete, exhaustive data unmasking the real organizer of this murder: the G.P.U., the secret police in the U.S.S.R.

During the judicial investigation of the murder of Ignace Reiss it was disclosed in passing that this same gang, in conducting systematic espionage upon my son, Leon Sedov, attempted to kill him at Mulhausen in January, 1937. What relationship the G.P.U. had to the sudden death of my son on the 16th of February of this year is still subject to general investigation.

Attempts in Mexico

Among the documents of the chief murderer of Ignace Reiss, a so-called Rossi who succeeded in fleeing in time, proofs were found of his attempts to enter Mexico for purposes not difficult to determine on the basis of the aforementioned circumstances. The actual name of this professional murderer in the service of the G.P.U. is Roland Abbatte. Witnesses of unimpeachable authority can relate before the

tribunal the preparation by G.P.U. agents of terroristic acts against me during my sojourn in Europe and in Mexico. I can further cite the kidnapping in Spain of my former collaborator, Erwin Wolf, a Czechoslovakian citizen who has disappeared without a trace. The terrorist acts in Spain against the Catalanian revolutionist, Andres Nin; the Austrian emigre, Kurt Landau; the son of a Russian emigre, Mark Rein, and a number of other individuals have received world-wide publicity. Even that part of the legal and extra-legal investigation which has been accessible to public opinion to date is completely sufficient to warrant the interference of an international tribunal against a centralized Mafia of terrorists working on the territory of several states, other than their own.

Stalin at the Head

With the help of documents, testimony of witnesses and irrefutable political considerations I take it upon myself to prove what public opinion has been in no doubt of for some time; that is, that the head of this criminal band is Joseph Stalin, General Secretary of the All-Union Communist Party of the U.S.S.R. Inasmuch as the People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R., Mr. Litvinov, has very eloquently insisted upon the necessity for governments to mutually obligate themselves to extradite terrorists, he, we can hope, will not refuse to employ his influence to place the above-mentioned Joseph Stalin, as head of the international terrorist band, at the disposal of the tribunal under the League of Nations.

For my part, I am ready to place all my energy, information, documents and personal connections at the disposal of the tribunal in order that the truth may be fully disclosed.

Coyoacan, D.F. March 21, 1938.

Proclaims U.S. Primacy In Western Hemisphere

(Continued from page 1)

purchases from Mexico, has declared his readiness to accept Mexican silver on private markets—of course, at much lower prices. But Morgenthau neglected to explain what conditions were attached to this humanitarian attitude.

Full Settlement Sought

However, this tactical turn is part and parcel of the preparations for a wholesale settlement between Yankee imperialism and the Latin American "sister republics." Accentuated imperialist competition in these countries forces Washington to combine cautious maneuvering with preparedness.

Some weeks ago the press carried lively comments on a plan, supposedly originating in Latin American circles, for a Pan-American military alliance against foreign aggressors.

Whence and in what form this idea came remained unclear. The State Department "knew nothing." After these trial balloons were sent up, the foreign ministers of Brazil and Argentina met in Rio de Janeiro to discuss "co-ordination of Latin-American policies." Significantly enough, the American ambassador to Brazil took a very active part in these discussions.

Thus dollar diplomacy is still sufficiently strong, despite all difficulties, to maintain its key positions. And, as the real guarantee of the future, unprecedented naval armaments are being built. In the hearings of the Congressional Naval Committee, defense of the entire continental coast line, from Alaska to Cape Horn, was a subject of frequent discussion.

America for the Exploiters

Strength, and willingness to sacrifice our lives—this was the tenor of Roosevelt's speech. Roosevelt is determined to insure the exclusive rights of the Yankees to exploit the American continent with all the modern instruments of diplomacy, and warfare. America for the Americans? Yes: Latin America for the North American profiteers! What Roosevelt hinted in flowery diplomatic language was broadcast the same day by New York's Mayor LaGuardia in the straightforward words of a practical man.

"America is in deep crisis," he said. "The outlook is far from being cheerful.... The

situation requires daring and courage. This is no time for weaklings...."

LaGuardia Program

Scanning the horizon for wider outlets for American business, LaGuardia points to the markets of Central and South America. The task is not only to protect American investments, but to begin an energetic offensive against all trade competitors of the U.S.: "Countries of Europe and the Orient, particularly those under dictatorships, have invaded Latin-American republics and captured our markets.... It is only a step to political control."

LaGuardia presents a practical program. The twelve million unemployed of the U.S. shall be mobilized for a great enterprise of "planned patriotism." The U.S. must determinedly eliminate "the danger of improper European and Oriental encroachment" in Latin America. With the aid of cheap labor recruited from the ranks of the American industrial reserve army, a vast state-organized dumping on Latin American markets should be started "to maintain the arteries of trade which nourish our own industries."

Towards Real War

LaGuardia boasts that American capital is strong enough to offer Latin American customers the same low prices and economic advantages as do the "aggressors." In advance, he repudiates the idea that his program means economic war. There is, as always, only a question of legitimate "self-defense." State-subsidized exports, however, are nothing but dumping. Dumping is nothing but economic war. Economic war ultimately leads to real war. Of course, all this is the only self-defense for a capitalism torn by crisis.

The "planned patriotism" of Roosevelt and LaGuardia means war. The general crisis of capitalism has also clutched the United States. America is forced to go the way of all the other capitalist countries, the way of imperialist aggression. In the coming war for the redivision of the world, American finance capital will participate not merely as an "arbiter" but as a vitally interested party. Having shut the doors of the American continent to all "alien" imperialists in the name of the Monroe Doctrine, it will soon reveal its ambition to organize the rest of the world under the Star Spangled Banner.

A Personal Note THE POT WITHOUT GOLD

I hope the readers of the Appeal will pardon me for a personal statement, but Mr. Michael Gold's column in the Daily Worker of April 19, 1938, leaves me no other course. The day before it appeared I received a letter from the circulation department of the pictorial weekly, Life, saying that I was going to receive that periodical for a year as a gift from Michael Gold.

The only Michael Gold I know of is the aforementioned columnist, and my reaction to this felicitous token of affection from a political foe may well be imagined. All the more disconcerting was it to have Mr. Gold make public a letter from Anne Bedford, of Life, billing him for the \$4.50 in payment of the subscription. With what is dismayingly like a terror-stricken tone, he adds:

"(1) I never sent in any such order for a subscription; (2) I am so chummy with Max Shachtman, Trotsky's sneaking little stooge in this country, that the only thing I would help him to would be the reward of a Judas; and (3) I am painfully uninterested in Life, and would not subscribe to it for anyone.... So,

Annie, don't bill me for \$4.50 because it will not be paid you." Now if Michael Gold wants to back out of the subscription just on account of a measly four dollars and fifty cents, why, that's all right with me, although everybody knows what a real sporting man thinks of a welcher. An impetuous literary man might be forgiven an act of impulse, but he hadn't ought to get so offensive about it when the time comes for the pay-off. Personally, you see, I had no intention to do any talking about the gift, because I have myself to think of and it wouldn't be so good to have my name coupled with even a penitent Gold. And if the latter hadn't gone shooting off his mouth, no one would have been the wiser.

Perhaps, however, it isn't entirely his fault. May be the prison censor on 13th Street opened Life's letter before passing it into Gold's cell and he got scared that he might have to do another stretch in solitary. Yessir, that may account for Gold's column. But even so I still think he shouldn't have been so infernally dirty about it.

—Max Shachtman.

Street-walkers of the G. P. U.

AN EDITORIAL

A mimeographed circular is making the rounds of liberal and intellectual circles, signed by Messrs. Robert Coates, Stuart Davis, Marc Blitzstein, Paul Strand and the not unknown Malcolm Cowley. It asks recipients to join with the above in underwriting a statement of approval and apologies for the last Moscow frame-up trial, to be published in the name of "progressive forces everywhere."

A more nauseating piece of mendacity is hard to imagine. Its character may be judged by the following quotations from the letter. In face of the universal disbelief in the Stalin-Vyshinsky charges, Cowley and Co. have the bland impudence to write: "The link between Hitler and the Trotsky-Bukharin camp is plain for us to see." It would be more accurate, it seems to us, to say: "The link between Browder and his running dogs dressed up as 'American progressives' is plain for us to see."

For who but running dogs of the G.P.U. murder gang could have the effrontery to put down on black and white, on April 2, of this Year of Our Lord 1938, the following staggering statement: "Most newspapers have discarded the earlier charges of 'frame-up' and now admit the validity of the trials."

Most newspapers! Perhaps Citizen Cowley, who is a man of high moral integrity and a luminary of one of our leading liberal weeklies, the New Republic, will name a few of these newspapers for us? If not a few of them, will he name at least one—apart from the Daily

Worker? Perhaps the New York Times? or the Herald-Tribune? or the New York Post? or the World-Telegram? or the Daily News? or a single other fairly well-known periodical? We doubt it, for not a single one was so glib as to describe the "trial" as anything but a crude and utterly fantastic frame-up.

More than that. The Nation, and Cowley's own New Republic, both of which admitted the "validity" of the first trial and of the second, and sought to jam their despicable conclusions down the throats of their readers, have washed their hands of the third trial and publicly acknowledged that it is too much even for their eager and distended gullets to swallow. Doesn't Mr. Cowley read the New Republic?

We have always felt sympathy for those unfortunate women who, in their economic distress, are forced by capitalist society to sell themselves to all who approach them. They are victims of a frightful social pressure. But the zealously voluntary prostitution of certain "liberal intellectuals" to the Stalinist machine passeth all understanding. If it is economic need they labor under, it is still beyond understanding why they do not resort to a solution which why far indeed from ideal, is nevertheless something—the relief rolls. At least, they could then bear themselves with a modicum of dignity, with a million times more dignity than they can in their present position, which makes it impossible for them to look even an ordinary decent person straight in the eye.

S.W.P. Dinner Party

To Greet the National Committee, S. W. P.

Saturday, April 23, 7 P. M.

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Reservations must be made in advance at 116 University Place.

Number limited, will be taken in order of receipt.

Y. C. L. Supports U. S. Imperialism

NEWARK, N. J. — Stalinist support to American imperialism under the slogan of "collective security" was thoroughly exposed last week in Newark when Nathan Gould, national organizer of the Young Peoples Socialist League, engaged in a debate with Bernard Brandschaft of the Newark Young Communist League before an audience of 300.

As the debate progressed the exposure of the obvious falsity and pro-war nature of the Stalinist position deeply impressed the audience. Gould, at the beginning of his presentation, submitted a series of questions to Brandschaft demanding concrete answers to each that would place him on record for support or opposition to the American government in event of war. Brandschaft refused to answer these

questions. Instead he told the audience that the Trotskyists were given to the use of "abstract logic," citing as an example Gould's statement that "the state is the executive committee of the ruling class." Gould denied originating the statement, giving all credit to Karl Marx, well known 19th century "Trotskyist."

After the final rebuttal Gould offered Brandschaft extra time to answer the questions he had put to him. Brandschaft, who throughout the evening had been compelled to use left phrasology to conceal the unpalatable treachery of the Stalinist position, stated flatly, in answer to the final question, that he would not support the United States in a war against Japan. At this point Gould gave Brandschaft

Browder's recent article on Collective Security, asking him to read from it. Brandschaft read to the audience Browder's clear and unequivocal statement that he would support the government of the United States in a war against Japan.

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