

## SOCIALIST APPEAL

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## Smash the Cotillo Injunction!

There is no lack of signs of the capitalist offensive against labor. The Hague ban on the C.I.O. and all radical labor organizations, is not accidental or incidental, but an ominous harbinger of tomorrow. After Hague, Harvey and Hoffmann, we have the action of the New Orleans authorities, who have created a virtual reign of terror against the C.I.O. in that southern metropolis.

Now comes the monstrous injunction obtained by the Busch Jewelry Company from Judge S. A. Cotillo of New York, prohibiting the C.I.O.'s United Retail Employees, Local 830, and the United Optical Workers, Local 208, from picketing the struck stores.

Already 12 pickets have been cited for contempt of court because they allegedly violated the Cotillo injunction. Company attorneys are preparing to press another contempt action against the unions because, although they promised to suspend picketing the Busch stores until the Appellate Division could express its opinion in October on the validity of the injunction, they have nevertheless carried on mass demonstration picketing in various sections of New York!

We think the union officers, by promising to suspend picketing until a higher court hears the case in October (three months from now!), have chosen the wrong way of fighting the injunction. For the whole trick of the bosses and their judges is to cripple a strike for weeks and months on end, while a couple of squads of lawyers fight the issue out in court after court. In this way, the strike fight between the masses of workers and a handful of employers, is suspended, and the ground shifted to a purely legal fight that drags on and on and on.

There is only one way of effectively fighting the injunction threat to labor, especially one like that issued by Cotillo, which is especially detestable by virtue of its sweeping nature. That way is direct struggle against the injunction by the workers against whom it is directed.

To rely on the employers' courts is like leaning on a trap. To rely on anything but the organized mass strength of labor is to lean on thin reeds or imaginary ones.

Lawyers and court fights are all right, within limits. But lawyers are no substitute for labor's own fighting strength and militancy.

The workers have only those rights which they win in battle. The only way they can keep those rights they have won is by continuing the fight for them.

The only way of keeping the right to picket, of breaking the injunction menace, is to keep right on picketing, with a line just as big as the workers think is necessary for their victory! And victory was never won by avoiding battle.

## Helping Mexico

In reply to inquiries about the government's attitude towards Mexico, Secretary of State Cordell Hull has denied that a proposal to sponsor a loan of \$200,000,000 to help Mexico build roads and fund some of its indebtedness, and a proposal to purchase \$10,000,000 of Mexican oil for the U. S. Navy, were withdrawn by the government under pressure of Great Britain, with whom the U. S. is now negotiating a trade agreement.

The "Keep America Out of War" Congress, which put the questions about the proposals, confines itself to urging the imperialist government of the United States to . . . stop being imperialistic. It asked: "Is not this the time when the United States should make this test case of the application of the good neighbor policy a convincing demonstration of our good faith?"

We are ready to leave the K.A.O.W. people with their hopeless illusions and their heroic efforts to persuade the leopard that his spots are not really necessary. They simply refuse to understand that Roosevelt's "good neighbor" policy means nothing more nor less than the policy of persuading—and where need be, forcing—the Latin America countries to be "good neighbors" to American businessmen, industrialists and financiers. This has been the "good neighbor" policy of American imperialism ever since it began trying to cajole or coerce the Latin American peoples to put their necks under the Wall Street yoke, and Roosevelt is right in the old tradition.

There is, however, a very positive and concrete way in which help can be extended to the Mexican people in their fight to oust the blood-sucking oil barons of the United States and Great Britain.

Throughout the Northwest in particular, there is a powerful farmers' and workers' cooperative movement. In a multitude of localities, these cooperatives operate their own gas and oil stations,

which, while not as powerful as Standard Oil, Sinclair or Shell chains, are nevertheless fairly strong.

Altogether there are 1,150 operative petroleum associations in the United States, with 325,000 members and an annual business of \$69,985,000.

It would be a splendid act of solidarity—and financially not disadvantageous—on the part of these American cooperatives if they decided to negotiate directly with Mexico for the purchase of all their gas and oil supplies. There is every reason to believe that the Mexican authorities—to say nothing of the Mexican people as a whole—would receive such a proposal in the proper spirit.

Such arrangement, if properly consummated, would not, of course, resolve the whole complex of problems facing the Mexican masses. But it would go a long way towards cementing the bonds of solidarity between the toilers of both countries. It would be an impressive demonstration on both sides of the Rio Grande against the gang of financial and industrial lords of the United States who are the common oppressor and exploiter of the two peoples.

What do the farmers' and workers' petroleum cooperatives have to say?

## Next Step for the Painters

All objective observers agree that but for the reaction among the rank-and-file New York painters to the bureaucratic ouster of Weinstock by the General Executive Board of their union, the Stalinist crew would have been turned out of office by a clear majority in the recent elections.

The viciously red-baiting nature of the G.E.B.'s decision turned many of the honest and militant elements in the union to vote for people in whom they had not much more faith than they have in the headquarters gang.

Even then, had the progressive opposition polled about another three hundred votes, the victory would have been on its side.

The biggest mistake that the progressives could make now would be to slacken their efforts or suspend them altogether. The Stalinist administration, now that it is assured another term in office, is making the usual hypocritical pleas for unity. In so far as building and consolidating the union, making it more aggressive and able to raise the living standards of the painters, and all other constructive measures are concerned, the true progressives will not be found in the rear ranks. But if the Weinstock plea means—as it does—silencing all criticism and lulling the vigilance of the militants in the union, it is nothing but a cheap bureaucratic ruse which will not deceive the progressives.

The main strength of the Stalinist machine in the union—as elsewhere—lies in its closely-knit organization, maintained during all the 365 days of the year. The main weakness of the progressives—if we leave aside the heterogeneity of their ranks—lay in the fact that they organized only at the last minute.

The period ahead is not only one of union-building. It is also the period of maintaining and consolidating a powerful, constructive, wide-awake progressive organization in the painters' union. It is tragically true that there is every reason to believe that the Stalinist administration is unsundered by the latest experience. There is every reason to believe that in the period ahead—especially when it is frightened by the appearance of the substantial opposition—its rule of the union will be at least as ruinous as it was in the past. The same gang in control, allied to the same old Zausner elements; the same arbitrary and bureaucratic management of the Stalinist clique; the same contempt for the wishes and interests of the rank-and-file; the same steady and devious undermining of the working standards of the painters; the same policy of class collaboration.

The only force that can act as a corrective to these evils, and finally eliminate them, is an organized movement of the progressives, with a militant platform and a vigilant eye. The great need now is not the dispersal of the movement launched to defeat the Stalinist machine at the painters' polls, but its consolidation on a firmer, more permanent and sounder basis.

## Page the Communist Party

We see where the March Federal grand jury in the Southern District of New York, through its foreman, John V. D. Cornell, has urged upon President Roosevelt the deportation of aliens on relief who have lived in the United States three years without obtaining first citizenship papers.

Aliens "who seek American benefits in the form of relief should either indicate their allegiance to the United States or they should be deported."

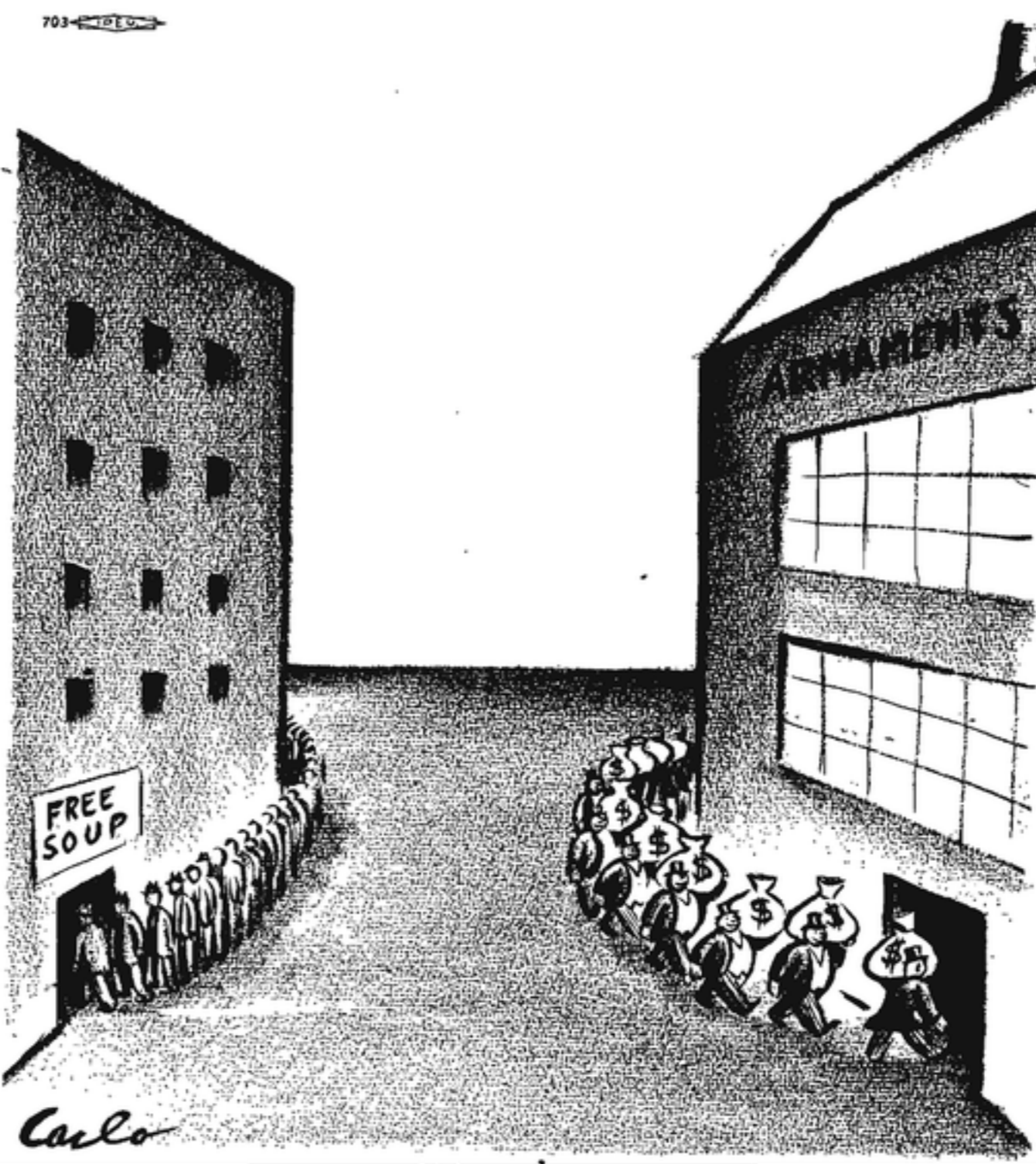
Personally, we don't think much of the idea, but we're willing to pass along the tip to the grand jury that they ought to get a lot of help for their proposition from the Communist party.

Its last convention passed a rule providing that no alien can be a member of the party. And Prissie Fardsbengle, the 20th-Century American, says: "If they ain't good enough to join the Communist party, they ain't good enough for relief." Prissie will fill out all deportation warrants in his 13th Street office.

## NOT TWO--THREE!

"BOTH PARTIES CLAIM JEFFERSON SPIRIT," reads a *New York Times* headline over a report of Republican and Democratic speeches at the Jefferson memorial meeting in Virginia on July 4. What about Browder's party? Its claim is as good as anyone else's!

## The New Deal On Parade



## Jersey City

## Lesson and Warning

(Continued from page 1)

little weight against the fists and clubs of Hague's hoodlums. Force is the argument of the advance guard of American fascism. Woe to the workers of America if they do not learn in time to talk the same language!

## A Fight of National Significance

The fight against Hagueism has an extraordinary national significance insofar as it poses in all seriousness the problem of combating the beginnings of American fascism. It imposes on revolutionary militants, in the first place, the general task of widespread agitation for the formation of the workers' defense guards as the only way to combat fascism. Along with this must go a thorough-going exposure of all illusions that people's front combinations, liberalistic wailings, and court struggles can seriously interfere with the advance of American fascism. It is necessary to explain to the workers, on the basis of European experience, that if they do not fight fascism by their own organized defense guards, fascism will crush the labor movement.

In Jersey City, and in New Jersey generally, the main task of those who understand the problem and want to meet it realistically is to carry on an intensive agitation along this line, and to introduce resolutions to this effect in all labor organizations, both A.F. of L. and C.I.O., to which they have access. Revolutionary workers who are the only possible leaders of a fight to the finish against fascism will naturally take part, in the most energetic and courageous manner, in actual demonstrations against Hague.

## Fight Cannot Be Delegated

But it would be adventurist folly for them to substitute the numerically weak forces of the vanguard for the genuine mass struggle of the workers' organizations. It is worse than folly for the workers' organizations to "delegate" their fight for labor rights, which is their fight for existence, to lawyers, grand-standing congressmen, "civil liberties experts" and the rest of the publicity-seeking, windbag fraternity. This is labor's own fight. Only the workers, organized and steered for physical combat, can stand up against fascist reaction and defeat it in New Jersey and on a national scale.

Bourgeois democracy, already obsolete in most of Europe, is also approaching its twilight in America with the decline and decay of American capitalism. The fate of America, like that of the rest of the world, will be decided in the oncoming struggle between fascism and the workers' revolution. The Jersey City events signalize the opening skirmishes of this grandiose struggle.

## THE CONFERENCE AT EVIAN

—An Editorial—

A conference being convoked this week at Evian, France, to consider the refugee problem, is focusing world attention upon this running sore, recently rendered more acute by Hitler's conquest of Austria.

Driven from their homes and their homelands by the black plague of reaction, thousands upon thousands of refugees seek vainly for a safe anchorage from which they can rebuild their lives and breathe again.

Despite the needs of these sufferers from reaction, it is hardly to be expected that the countries represented at Evian will do much to aid them. The hopes of the majority of Jewish, anti-fascist and other exiles, centered upon Evian, are destined to disappointment.

Not only do the participating governments impose severe restrictions upon immigration into their domains, but they are closing their doors ever tighter. Nor do they wish to offend friendly powers, or possible allies in the next war, by welcoming or making life easier for their political opponents.

Capitalism in its death agony can no more solve the refugee problem than any of the other social problems clamoring for solution. The existence of these refugee hordes is in itself a

## Hoodlums Assail Astoria Meeting

**NEW YORK.**—A gang of young hoodlums, supported and egged on by a couple of Legionnaires, succeeded in breaking up a street meeting of the Astoria Branch of the Socialist Workers Party on Thursday of last week.

Our comrades held their position at the corner of Steinway and Jamaica (31st) Avenues and continued to speak for 45 minutes in the face of a chorus of yelling and showers of over-ripe fruit, but were finally compelled to abandon the meeting.

The Astoria Branch, undaunted, planned another meeting at the same spot for this Thursday night (July 7) at 8 p. m. All party members not urgently engaged elsewhere were urged to attend and help sustain the fight for the right of the S.W.P. to be heard in Astoria.

## Death Claims Otto Bauer In French Exile

(Continued from page 1)

he admitted that down to the last minute, he sought to arrive at a compromise with Dollfus, when the latter had already taken the necessary measures to crush the proletariat and its party. As a result, the workers and their defense corps were taken by surprise and, despite their magnificent heroism, succumbed to the clerical fascists.

The personal courage Bauer displayed during the 1934 civil war could not efface the 'perfidious' political course he had followed all his life, and which ended not only in a personal tragedy for Bauer but in the tragic bankruptcy of Austro-Marxism.

## BOOKS FOR WORKERS

## A Historic Document

**NOT GUILTY.** Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Charges Made Against Leon Trotsky in the Moscow Trials. xv+422 pp. New York. Harper & Brothers, \$2.50 (At the Labor Book Shop, 28 East 12th St., N. Y. C., paper covers, \$1.00).

The trial of Zinoviev-Kamenev in August, 1936, and the trial of Radek-Platakov in January, 1937, have passed into history as milestones along the road of degeneration of the first workers' state under the Bonapartist regime of Stalin.

The extirpation of the leaders of Russian Bolshevism marked a high point in the counter-revolutionary development of the Soviet bureaucracy. All the efforts of Stalin's totalitarian press to conceal its true meaning will, as heretofore, prove unavailing.

## A Historic Verdict

The report, embodying the results of many months of painstaking, meticulous inquiry, finds that both trials were conscious and calculated frame-ups, that they served "not juridical but political ends," and that Leon Trotsky and the recently deceased Leon Sedov, his son, are innocent of the monstrous charges on which the Stalin regime sought to convict them. By implication, naturally, the Commission finds that the Old Bolsheviks who stood trial in the Moscow courtroom, far from being the hideous criminals that they were forced to represent themselves as being, were tragic victims of Stalin's frame-up system.

These conclusions were published months ago in summarized form. Now they are available in full in this volume, together with a digest and analysis of all the evidence upon which the Commission based its findings. It is not possible, in the space of a brief review, to give anything like an adequate description of this book, which is a companion volume to "The Case of Leon Trotsky," wherein was contained the transcript of testimony and evidence taken in Mexico by a preliminary commission of inquiry headed by John Dewey.

## Overwhelming Evidence

But this much can be said: No one reading this volume with a conscientious desire to learn the truth about the Moscow trials will reach any other conclusion than that the Dewey Commission could have arrived at no other verdict than it did. The evidence supporting the verdict is so overwhelming as to preclude the least doubt as to its correctness. For this reason, "Not Guilty" will be of immeasurable value to the labor movement everywhere, and especially the labor movement in America, where militants are currently battling the Stalinist union-busters and their frame-up methods.

It stands as a permanent and irrefutable condemnation of the bloody Bonapartist regime in the Soviet Union, an eternal bar sinister on the disreputable house of Stalin, a sharp weapon which the revolutionary militants can use against labor's most vicious enemy—the Communist Party.

Need it be said?—every militant must read — and possess — this volume. F. G.

## Lyons versus Sinclair

**TERROR IN RUSSIA? Two Views — Upton Sinclair and Eugene Lyons.** 68 pp. New York. Rand School Press, 25 cents.

Revolutionists will not be surprised to discover in Upton Sinclair an ardent endorser of Stalin's bloody purges. The "idealistic" socialist muck-raker of the first decade of the present century, who waxed indignant over the savage persecution and exploitation of America's workers, and was moved thereby to write such novels as "The Jungle" and "King Coal," found no difficulty in climbing on the patriotic bandwagon in the World War and urging those same workers to the imperialist shambles for the profit of their exploiters.

He finds the Moscow trials and executions no more revolting than the world war slaughter. They are even desirable as a means of "preserving" the workers' state in Russia—just as the world war was desirable "to make the world safe for democracy" against the threat of German militarism!

## Belief Versus Evidence

Sinclair turns not a hair at Lyons' smashing exposure of Stalin's frame-ups and the horrible counter-revolutionary regime upon which they throw such a baleful light. Evidence? Sinclair is simply not interested in it. Enough for him is his belief "that the Bolsheviks would have let the G.P.U. agents tear them to pieces shred by shred before they would have confessed to actions which they had not committed."

Countering Lyons' showing that the Soviet Union under Stalin has become a stifling intellectual desert of conformity, Sinclair cites the fact that translations of his books have been published in hundreds of thousands of copies—and are actually circulated. Thus Sinclair, presumably, derives a handsome income from Stalin's

State Publishing House. A vested interest in Stalinism would represent a host of shining reasons why Sinclair should defend the bloody regime in the Soviet Union. He does not pause to think what would happen to a book of his that would be critical of the Stalin regime. This smug endorser of the blood purges might, however, reflect on the fact that none of Andre Gide's latest writings are obtainable in Stalin's paradise.

## Lost On Sinclair

Eugene Lyons does a good job in his exposure of Soviet Bonapartism. On Upton Sinclair it is lost. But those genuinely concerned for the fate of the proletarian revolution in Russia will derive useful knowledge from reading what Lyons saw and learned during his long stay in the Soviet Union as United Press correspondent.

From Sinclair's contribution to this discussion they will learn only that the Author of "The Jungle" is simply an adherent of Stalin's "going concern" and by no means the friend of the persecuted he cracks himself up to be. He espoused the cause of revolutionists imprisoned and exiled by the Tsar. For those persecuted and murdered by Stalin he has not a word to say. There is the measure of a sentimental "socialist!" L. F. J.

## A Timely Pamphlet

**WHAT IS SOCIALISM?** By Albert Goldman. 48 pp. New York. Pioneer Publishers, 10 cents.

The pressing need for explaining the revolutionary position on current problems and advanced aspects of socialist policy has meant that up to now the reformists have pre-empted the field of cheap popular pamphlets which set forth the elementary notions of the socialist philosophy. For the worker who wants to know what socialism is, before entering upon a consideration of more abstruse questions, there has been little that one could furnish since the publication of Engels' "Socialism Utopian and Scientific," other than the usual essays on Fabian socialism by Laidler or the tracts put out by the Old Guard social-democrats when they were still in control of the Socialist Party.

The new pamphlet by Albert Goldman is the first published which answers the question "What is Socialism?" on the basis of the real problems of today and from the standpoint of revolutionary Marxism. That in itself is enough to indicate why it should be in the hands of every questioning worker.

## A Concrete Approach

The three lectures were originally delivered before a study group of trade union workers in Chicago, and it is one of the characteristics of the pamphlet that it approaches the question not from the side of abstract doctrine but from the viewpoint of the workers' experiences and problems. Goldman begins by posing the three major problems facing the workers: unemployment and insecurity; the low standard of living which exists under capitalism for the masses even in the best of times, and war. It goes on to show how socialism would solve these problems.

In simple terms he sketches the socialist answer to the basic questions: what the profit system is and why it leads to the subjection of the working class; the cause of unemployment and crises; why capitalism must engage in a murderous imperialist war; how socialism would raise the standard of living of the masses. Is socialism contrary to "human nature"? Isn't it enough to defend "democracy" and thereby gain what we want? Goldman answers with a clear explanation of the Marxist philosophy of why things happen in present-day society, emphasizing throughout that the struggle of the classes lies at the bottom of the question.

## Applying Principles

More than half the pamphlet, however, deals with the application of socialist principles to actual problems of the day—the Popular Front, united front, what kind of party is needed by the workers, the Communist and Socialist Parties, revolutionary internationalism, etc. Above all is emphasized the question of the present situation of the Soviet Union, which to so many workers stands as a question mark over the whole ideal of the socialist society; and the author fulfills his promise "to show the reasons why the situation in the Soviet Union is so contrary to the theories and ideals of socialism, and that conditions in the Soviet Union, instead of disproving socialist theories, actually confirm them."

As is true of most attempts to compress an explanation of socialism in a small number of pages, some points are over-simplified (for example, the section on the cause of crises) and others are treated in too abstract a manner. In any case, a whole series of elementary propaganda pamphlets is needed along the lines of this one. The success of "What is Socialism?" should be a good start. H. D.