

## SOCIALIST APPEAL

Vol. II—No. 29 Saturday, July 16, 1938

Published every week by the  
SOCIALIST APPEAL PUBLISHING ASS'N  
at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.  
Telephone: National Office: ALgonquin 4-8547

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for six  
months. Foreign: \$2.50 per year. Bundle order  
3 cents per copy. Single copies 5 cents.

All checks and money orders should be made  
out to the Socialist Appeal.

Entered as second-class matter September 1,  
1937, at the post office at New York, New York,  
under the Act of March 3, 1879.

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## Hypocrisy at Evian

The first sessions of the conference on political refugees at Evian, France, has quickly demonstrated how little the participating governments are prepared to alleviate the situation to any appreciable extent. The big powers, France, Great Britain and the United States, who alone possess the resources and diplomatic weight to aid the refugees, showed themselves far less ready to assume additional obligations than such small countries as Mexico, the Dominican Republic, Colombia and Peru.

Most hypocritical of the great powers was the United States, which had taken the initiative in convening the conference. In a windy speech, full of high sounding phrases, Myron C. Taylor, head of the American delegation and permanent president of the conference, declared that the business would be restricted to German and Austrian refugees. He also declared that the American government, which "prides itself on the liberality of its existing laws and practices" regarding immigration would not increase its annual quota, which means that no refugees over and above those who are at present able to enter the United States under the existing quota will be admitted to this country.

This news was conveyed to the delegates shortly before receipt of a telegram from President Roosevelt which said: "I hope for all success to the committee and its work, which is of such importance for a large part of humanity now plunged into despair."

The proposal of the American representatives that a separate and permanent body be established by the conference to handle the small minority of cases it was prepared to accept, and to regularize international procedure, was adopted in preference to the British plan to have the League of Nations assume authority over these cases. This was considered a diplomatic triumph for the American government.

In his opening words, steelmaster Taylor stated: "Some millions of people, as this meeting convenes, are actually or potentially without a country. The number is increasing daily. The increase is taking place, moreover, at a time when there is serious unemployment in many countries, when there is a shrinkage of subsistence bases and when the population of the world is at a peak." In other words, the imperialist government at Washington pays a hypocritical lip-service to the need for extending the right of asylum to the persecuted victims of European fascism, but when it comes to practical measures, simply refuses to do anything about it.

The three major powers ran the conference with the same iron hand and secret bargaining with which they rule all other affairs in the capitalist world. Colombia, speaking for the small powers, protested vainly against the high-handedness and secrecy of the giants.

The Evian Conference presents the repulsive spectacle of the richest and strongest capitalist regimes wrangling among themselves, hesitating to take the smallest steps toward helping the outcasts of the poorer and absolutely reactionary states. The million masses of refugees hold out their hands in vain while their lives are made pawns in a diplomatic game.

## The W.A.A. and Politics

David Lasser, president of the Workers Alliance, has announced that his organization is going to throw all its forces into the political field in the Fall elections.

"Our organization is in the political field with both feet. We say this bluntly, we're going to rally the maximum amount of support for candidates who stand by the economic interests of the unemployed."

Becoming more specific, Lasser declared that the Alliance would place itself behind the candidates sponsored by the Roosevelt New Deal gang, including Barkley of Kentucky, Lewis of Maryland and Thomas of Oklahoma.

In plain English, Lasser has announced that the Workers Alliance, the organization of the unemployed workers who have suffered most cruelly from the crisis, is going to be converted into another of the numerous tails of the Democratic Party kite.

If you want another tragic illustration of how the Stalinists, with whom Lasser works cheek by jowl, have scuttled a promising labor organization, it is provided by this latest action.

Every unemployed worker who thinks for himself knows that even those miserable crumbs that have been doled out to him by the government, have been obtained only as a result of militant, aggressive action. Without organiza-

tion and struggle, the position of the unemployed, bad as it is today, would have been ten times worse.

But the organization of the unemployed was not created by the Democratic Party or the New Deal; it was created against them, and independently of them. The struggles were not led by the Roosevelts, Barkleys, and Thomases; they were conducted against the government headed by these gentlemen.

Whatever gains the unemployed and their organization have to record were accomplished by means of independent class action.

Lasser and Benjamin, secretary of the Alliance, have been gradually changing all this. They have followed a policy dictated by the Stalinist "Democratic Front" and in express violation of the stand taken formally and officially by the Workers Alliance in regular convention.

When the Workers Alliance was founded in Washington in 1936, as a merger of the three unemployed organizations then in existence, it declared for independent working-class political action, for a Labor party.

By what authority do Lasser and Co. now ignore and violate this decision? It meant collaboration with all other forces in the labor movement for the establishment of an independent party of the workers. It did not mean converting the Workers Alliance into voting cattle for Roosevelt and the Democratic Party.

Lasser is a prominent member of the Thomase Socialist Party, whose recent convention in Kenosha reiterated the party's position in favor of a Labor party. By what authority does Lasser now ignore and violate his own party's decision? We would like to hear from Thomas, Laidler, Tyler and Co. on this point!

We, for our part, do not believe that a Labor party, particularly one with a program conceived by Harry Laidler or David Lasser, would solve the problem of the working class, or the unemployed, much less bring the workers into that domination of government power which they must have in order to put an end to exploitation and misery.

But it is a dead certainty that the attempt to tie the Alliance to the kite of one of the capitalist parties, which is pledged to maintain the rotten system that has brought so much misery and pain to the unemployed in particular, is a decidedly reactionary step. It not only does not bring the workers closer to their goal—it pulls them farther away from it. It is a cynical betrayal of the Alliance membership and of the position taken by its convention.

The main job of the American working class today is to break away, most rapidly and most drastically, from their dependence upon the political parties of their enemy, the capitalists. The main job is to find the road to independent working-class political action, with a militant program of struggle directed against the capitalist government and its system.

The Stalinists, and their partner, Lasser, are obstacles on that road. The unemployed, who have so magnificently demonstrated their ability to deal with obstacles in the past, will know what to do with the obstacles in their own ranks.

## The Blackwell Case

Although under arrest and in prison in Madrid for more than a month, it is only now that word has reached the United States that Russell Blackwell, member of the Revolutionary Workers League of the U. S. prior to his departure for Spain, has been seized by the Loyalist authorities.

Blackwell, known in revolutionary circles in this country and in Mexico also under the name of Rosalio Negrete, has been in Loyalist Spain almost since the beginning of the civil war. His record in the movement in America as well as in Spain are sufficient proof that his political activity has always been motivated by loyalty to the working class. The fact that the entire Loyalist territory centered around Madrid has recently been put under control of the Stalinist commissar Fernandez, increases the apprehension that all of Blackwell's friends feel for his life.

Blackwell is the sixth known revolutionist of the United States who has been imprisoned and imperilled by the Stalinist-Republican G.P. U. in Spain. Only the most vigorous protest made it possible to force the release of the other five, Harry Milton, of the Socialist Workers Party; Sam Baron, of the Socialist Party; Huge Oehler, of the Revolutionary Workers League; and Lois and Charles Orr.

The same protest is now imperatively required to obtain the release of Blackwell, whose real "crime" is his opposition to the Stalinist garrulous of the Spanish revolution. The organization with which he was affiliated before he left for Spain has already sent protests to Secretary of State Hull and to the Spanish ambassador at Washington.

It is necessary that all labor organizations follow suit in communicating their position to Ambassador de los Rios who represents a government which, behind its democratic pretensions, carries on a violent campaign of repression against all militants, Spanish as well as foreign, who have demonstrated a genuine loyalty to the cause of the working class.

## It's a Cockeyed World

Headlines a few days ago informed us: "HUGHES SAFE IN MOSCOW." We congratulate Mr. Hughes. Apparently he is the only one who is.

## New Workers' Party Springs From SFIO Split

EDITORIAL NOTE.—The following analysis of the newly-created Workers and Peasants Socialist Party of France, led by Marecau Pivert, and the circumstances which have led to its formation, is reprinted from La Lutte Ouvriere, organ of the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Belgium, section of the Fourth International.

In our opinion it is far more important to dwell on the transformation of the "Gauche Revolutionnaire" (the French Left Wing) into an independent party than on the long and dull debates of the congress of the French social democracy itself or the clique maneuvers within it. The latter only demonstrate once more the putrescence of reformism and its faithful attachment to an exploiting and murderous imperialism as well as its inability to propose to the proletariat a correct program of action against the bosses and their political regime. Our readers are already well acquainted with all these things.

First of all, let us examine what has already passed into history—the origin of the conflict which opposed the Federal Bureau of the Seine to the party leadership, the further development of this conflict, the discussion of the Federation and finally, the split.

A Critical Letter  
Early in April, the Federal Bureau of the Seine addressed a letter to all the federations of the S.F.I.O. (French Section of the Second International) criticizing the policy of national unity, which greatly displeased the gentlemen "at the top."

The National Conflicts Commission (a sort of grievance committee) upon request of the Permanent Administrative Committee (the executive organ of the party), took disciplinary action against Pivert and several of his friends, all members of the Bureau and of the "Gauche Revolutionnaire." It suspended them from all offices for from one to three years. Among the evidence used to convict Pivert was a letter he had written to Weltz, the leader of the Autonomous Socialist Youth (formed after the dissolution of the regular youth section of the Seine district some months before, or perhaps it was two years ago—dissolutions and expulsions in the French social democracy have been so numerous that confusion as to actual dates is quite excusable).

This letter was of especial interest to the prosecution. In it, Marecau Pivert made a sharp attack on the ruling bureaucracy of his party. The bureaucrats showed such a decided interest in this letter that they even failed to deny their guilt or complicity in the rifling of private correspondence. This fact speaks volumes for the police methods actually in use in the organizations of the Second International. (Naturally, this does not prevent a certain Jean Maze from writing, in an article for the eclectic and non-radical paper "La Fleche" devoted to the closing of Parliament, that "our social democracies have a long background of intellectual honesty" . . .)

New Party's Future  
We still do not know what the program of the Workers and Peasants Socialist Party will be. However, it is not hard to foresee. It is enough to examine the positions of the "Gauche Revolutionnaire" on the different problems that are agitating the labor

The Federal Council expressed its solidarity with the "guilty ones" and retained them in their respective offices. The P.A.C. replied with the dissolution of the dissident Federation and reorganized the Seine Federation under a "pure" administration.

The bureaucracy, basing itself on purely statutory grounds, provoked the split with a political aim in mind: it could no longer tolerate a faction of opponents of national unity, of the destruction of the living standards of the working people, of support for the methods of the imperialists. The crisis of the S.F.I.O. was simply a manifestation of the class struggle inside the framework of the party; the progressive wing clashed with the representatives of the bourgeoisie and the spokesmen of the labor aristocracy.

A Legalistic Battle  
But the leadership of the "Gauche Revolutionnaire" wanted to remain on juridical ground; it defended the uncontested right of federations to correspond with one another, and its sole preoccupation was to prepare for the Royal Congress and an appeal to the party. In this manner, the Left said, they threw responsibility for the split on the shoulders of Paul Faure and his clique—as if such responsibility had not already been sufficiently established with the creation of a new federation, the work of the Right Wing tendency grouped around the "Le Socialiste" clubs!

The P.A.C. was entirely satisfied with this attitude of the opposition, which showed such respect for its system of cloaked organizational maneuvers. In the meantime, it did not spare the letter from attacks, against which there was little if any resistance (the Luna Park meeting of the reformist federation from which the militants of the "Gauche Revolutionnaire" were expressly barred) nor from attempts at spreading dissension by refusing admission into its ranks of expelled members of the youth.

Precious time was lost by this opportunist waiting policy which resulted only in the weakening of the Left Wing. The militants were politically disarmed; they were left stranded with the perspective of a possible reformation of the S.F.I.O. It was therefore not surprising to find tendencies of hesitation and resistance arising against the new turn in the factions throughout the provinces.

Our French comrades are engaging the Workers and Peasants Socialist Party in joint action at the point of production and by means of frank and friendly criticism, are attempting to clarify the questions agitating the rank-and-file on the basis of common revolutionary experiences. They are thus aiding in the creation of a real "party of the class struggle and the revolution," a Bolshevik party.

## Mr. Cahan versus Mr. Hillman

An Editorial

The fight over the nomination of the man to fill the unexpired Senatorial term, following the death of Royal Copeland, has revealed an interesting situation in the American Labor Party of New York.

As soon as the nomination race began, a trial balloon was sent up in the press by the leaders of the A.L.P.—without any direct official responsibility being taken for it—in the form of a proposal that the Democratic Party accept as its Senatorial candidate the name of Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and vice-president of the C.I.O.

On the heels of this announcement came a statement by Abe Cahan, editor of the Jewish Daily Forward and close associate of the Dubinsky-Waldman wing of the A.L.P., in which the aged social-democrat flatly opposed the nomination of Hillman, among other reasons, on the grounds that he was cooperating too closely with "the communists."

About the same time, Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and prominent leader in the A.L.P., also issued a statement in opposition to Hillman's nomination and in favor of the at present most prominent "official" candidate for the post, Governor Lehman of New York. In this statement, Dubinsky was shortly joined by Luigi Antonini, a vice-president of the International and chairman of the American Labor Party. Whereupon, Alex Rose, secretary of the A.L.P., announced that the Executive Committee of the party had not put forth any nominations as yet and was not responsible for the "rumor" about Hillman.

Some have pretended to see in the dispute between the two sets of A.L.P. leaders a struggle between a progressive and a conservative wing. Among them are those who look upon the Dubinsky-Cahan position as "more progressive" because it is opposing the Hillman-Stalinist combination, which is notoriously against breaking from the Democratic Party. Others, on the contrary, see the Hillman position as "more progressive" because it proposes a "labor man" for the nomination instead of Lehman.

Neither position has anything to do with the reality. What we actually have is a fight between two bureaucratic cliques, who have no differences in principle whatsoever, and whose very last idea is to allow the membership of the A.L.P. to have a decisive voice in the whole question.

Dubinsky and Co., who have no use for them right now, simply want to keep the A.L.P. tied to the apron-strings of one gang of capitalist

movement at the present time.

The speakers and writers of the "Gauche Revolutionnaire" have often referred to the Charter of 1905 of the Socialist Party. But from 1905 to 1938 events occurred on which it is impermissible for an organization regarding itself as revolutionary to evade taking a position.

We do not believe that the S.F. I.O. had to wait for the 1938 split to cease being "a party of the class struggle and the revolution." As far back as 1914, it became steeped in the treachery of national unity together with the rest of the Second International. This treachery has been confirmed over and over again subsequently: in the struggle of the social patriotic fakers against the October Revolution of 1917, against the liberation movements of the proletarians in Germany, Italy, Hungary, Morocco, Indo-China, India, China, etc.; furthermore, by the active aid given to reconsolidation of the capitalist regime, by participation in the governments of the exploiters, by the illusions spread in the working class under the slogans of collective security, League of Nations, disarmament and the "struggle" for democracy.

On more than one occasion the "Gauche Revolutionnaire" has denounced the failure of the People's Front. That did not prevent the dissolved federation from insisting on remaining in this organization which deceives and weakens the working class.

The pacifist formulas and the phrasemongering about general disarmament and peace "guarantees" which fill the pages of its official organ cause us to have grave doubts as to whether it will give the Marxist solution to the foremost problem of our time, that of the coming war.

Finally, it is still questionable which international organization the W.P.S.P. will join. Will it request affiliation to the Second International, that "stinking corpse," or to the amorphous and opportunist "London Bureau"?

The W.P.S.P. wants to be a "class struggle party." But, if we are to take its name as indication, is not its intention to base itself on two classes, the proletariat and the peasantry? The latter can never have an independent policy, as every Marxist knows. Yet, in order to attract and pull along with it the agricultural workers and the poor peasants, a revolutionary party must jealously guard its working class character. That's what Lenin demonstrated in practice. Will the party progress from the confusionism of Pivert to the revolutionary clarity of Lenin?

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## A Letter from England

Armaments Alone Boom As Brief Spell of "Prosperity" Passes; C. P. Courts Liberals; Union Bosses Back War Plans

By A. B. ELSBURY

LONDON, England.—The brief period of "prosperity" has passed in Great Britain almost before it was noticed by the workers of this democratic country. The latest government figures, issued early in June, show a jump in the number of registered unemployed of 382,000 for May over the figures of last year—and this during a month when employment is normally on the upgrade.

Neither of the Popular Front papers here, the Stalinist Daily Worker and the liberal News Chronicle, deemed the news of sufficient importance to comment upon in their leading articles of the day.

Armaments Boom  
Apart from the armament industry, which is having a boom, other industries show significant figures of decline. British imports have dropped 11.2 per cent, exports 13.4 per cent. Building plans a drop of 20 per cent. Harland and Wolff, a leading shipping firm, showed no profits at all for last year. Railways' gross receipts declined half a million sterling. Rayon has fallen 22.7 per cent. Bad as this picture is, it would have been definitely worse, but for the Japanese attack on China with its resultant lessening of Japanese competition against British goods on the world market. Britain's horror at Japanese aggression is sweetened somewhat by this toothsome tit-bit.

Combined with the huge increase in the unemployed figures which now total over 1½ millions is the steadily increasing cost of living, affecting every article of common necessity. These concealed wage cuts are being supplemented with open wage cuts. In April 330,000 wage earners suffered reductions. Capitalism, whether democratic or fascist, appears almost equally costly for the workers.

Tender Toward Fascism  
In the field of world politics Great Britain, or rather its ruling class, continues to show a touching tenderness towards the Fascist countries and a somewhat sterner exterior to its democratic allies. Premier Chamberlain has long been known for his bitter class-consciousness and his friendship for Mussolini comes as no shock to revolutionary workers who have followed his career. His position as premier accounts largely for the weakness of the avowed fascist movement in the country. The great conservative dailies have ceased to boost the blackshirt movement within the country since his appointment.

For largely the same reasons, too, their antagonism to the official trade union movement has abated considerably. The granting of a title to the general secretary of the Trade Union Congress, Sir Walter Citrine, carried with it a significance which every day becomes more apparent. Trade union heads are consulted openly with a view to aiding the armaments program, and they offer their services with alacrity for bulldozing the workers in preparation for the next war in defense of capitalism.

Chauvinist Bureaucrats  
Unfortunately for them, the Amalgamated Engineering Union, the largest union involved in the making of armaments, refused to behave like perfect gentlemen and to "play the game" of their bosses, and Citrine's proposal for a joint board of government representatives, employers and union officials appears, temporarily, to have been squashed.

This chauvinism of the trade union leaders finds a reflection in the official Labor Party ("His Majesty's Opposition" as it is called in Parliament), which pursues a precisely similar plan of class collaboration. It votes regularly and automatically in support of all the armament measures but advances democratic instead of imperialist reasons for so doing. Its press organ, the Daily Herald, is run for it by a capitalist firm, Odhams, Ltd., which owns half the capital, and is an extremely valuable property. It relies upon the League of Nations and collective security to preserve peace and expelled the Communists during the "left" period of the Communist Party.

To Left of the C.P.  
Reactionary as the leadership of the huge Labor Party is, it has well over a million members, and is well to the left of the British Communist Party which has now fallen on the neck of the discredited and visibly decaying Liberal Party (the traditional party of British capitalism as opposed to the Conservative Party, which at first represented mainly the feudal and landed interests) in the sacred name of the Popular Front. The Communist Party swing towards Liberalism occasionally over-balances: A Daily Worker leading article on Feb. 24 declared that the Parliamentary

Labor Party should have softened their vote of censure of the governments for its treatment of Eden, so as to secure the support of Conservative M. P.'s!

The same story of the political and moral turpitude of the American Stalinists, recounted in the Socialist Appeal, can be repeated of their British brothers; details alone differ, the line is the same. "Fascism is the enemy—Peace the ideal" is the professed program of these cl-devant revolutionaries. The world is now divided for them as between good capitalists and bad ones; between war-loving ones and peace-loving ones, the British, believe it or not, being included among the last. The theory of the class struggle and the fight for socialism has been consigned to the old lumber room in favor of the Popular Front.

Liberal Come-Back  
Only the Liberal Party, which sees in the Popular Front a means of making a come-back on the lines of its French confreres, has accepted the Stalinist proposals. The Labor Party machine—for reactionary and temporary reasons—has cold-shouldered them repeatedly. A recent election, at Aylesbury, deserves examination, although its lessons, as usual, are being willfully distorted by the Stalinists.

At the previous election in this largely agricultural and therefore backward area, the Conservative had been elected as against his runner-up, a Liberal, who had polled well and a Laborite who had polled badly. On the plea of "unity against Chamberlain" Liberals and Stalinists indulged in a tearing campaign against the official Labor candidate, a worker with Trotskyist leanings, in this new election. The Daily Worker dubbed the Labor candidate "a friend of Chamberlain," "an agent of Franco" and so forth in the best Stalinist manner. Disregarding the Liberal-Stalinist front he fought the election on a comparatively militant Socialist program and had the satisfaction of more than doubling the labor vote at the expense of the Liberal who came last in the poll. The moral of the election is that the workers will respond to a militant labor policy despite all the red herrings of Popular Frontism.

Workers Are Hoodwinked  
Nevertheless it would be incorrect to say that the Popular Front proposals are not gaining ground in the Labor and Co-operative movements. At the recent Co-operative Congress the vote in favor of the "Peace Alliance," the latest alias of the Popular Front, was over two million, though it was defeated by a two-to-one majority. Large sections of the workers, hoodwinked and deluded, actually support the Peace Alliance under the impression that it will ginger up the reactionary heads of the labor movement. The parallel of the troops who shot down the workers in Barcelona in 1936, under the officer-given impression that the workers were anti-republican, seems exceedingly apt.

The current Stalinist trick of switching revolutionary enthusiasm into pro-capitalist channels is, of course, by no means peculiar to Great Britain and the movement exposing it is as yet pitifully weak and divided in relation to the task before it. Three monthly printed journals are issued supporting the Fourth International, Fight, The Militant and the Workers International News, each of them creditable productions and doing good work. At the time of writing, negotiations are proceeding between the Fight and Militant organizations which, if successful, will result in a merger and the likelihood of a fortnightly if not weekly journal.

A. B. ELSBURY.

## Iowa Farmers Oppose Rail Cut

Labor and farm organizations in Iowa have gone on record against the proposed 15 per cent railroad wage cut and have declared themselves ready to initiate joint action. The resolution was signed by Wm. H. Jeffries, Order of Railway Conductors, temporary chairman; Al Couch, president, Iowa-Nebraska State Industrial Union Council; A. J. Johnson, State President, Iowa Farmers Union; James W. Souter, secretary, Trades and Labor Assembly; and Wm. Beebe, president, Des Moines Industrial Union Council. At the same time, railroad unions in the Chicago area are considering the resolution calling for "unqualified support to a general strike ballot," which was adopted at the last delegates' meeting of the standard organizations of the Chicago and Northwestern Railway.