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**The Fear of War**

Last Sunday night thousands of radio listeners were thrown into hysterical panic by a broadcast depicting an attack on this country by men from Mars, dropping out of the sky in fearsome projectiles and spreading death and destruction through gas and other fearsome weapons. It was based on an old H. G. Wells fantasy.

There was nothing funny about the mass hysteria caused by the broadcast, except possibly the fact that most people did not hear the beginning of it because they were listening to Charlie McCarthy. It was in the process of escaping from the dulcet simpering of Nelson Eddy and Dorothy Lamour that the startled listeners ran plump into a Martian invasion.

Nor were those who raced fearfully into the streets running from what they understood to be an actual invasion from the stellar wastes. They were running because they are afraid, horribly afraid of war, and this fear is always with them. Hearing suddenly of a gas attack in Jersey, of bombs and flames, and sudden death, it seemed only that their fears had been realized. Some enemy had suddenly attacked. The result was a panic of fear and horror and hysteria.

Only a few weeks ago programs of dance music were being interrupted by flashes from a Europe on the brink of war. Only a few weeks ago the radio had made more real than ever before the meaning of marching millions mobilized for senseless slaughter, of droning planes, and the fear of death from the air. These memories were fresh in the minds of the radio listeners last Sunday night. Only the smart aleck with an eye for incongruity can find something humorous in the reaction that followed.

The panic showed to what extent the minds of people have already been prepared for the imminence of war. Behind that hysteria were the headlines staring out of every day's papers about threats of war—headlines pitched into screams in order to help rush through gigantic rearmament programs and vast plans for yoking the working masses to the capitalist war machine.

To that same end, the war-makers are already pouncing upon the incident of the broadcast to pave the way for government censorship of radio programs.

To be sure, the radio broadcasting chains already maintain a rigid censorship of their own, dictated by the needs and requirements of their advertisers. In this they are no different from the newspapers. None of them, for example, would dream of giving time to Consumers' Union because sometimes the information given by that organization pricks the inflated balloons of advertising lies.

And let anybody try to give voice to a revolutionary program over the air! Browder & Co. found their way into the big chains only when they were prepared to warn the masses against revolution and to drum up trade for Roosevelt war and "democracy"!

But radio censorship does not only mean a negative selection of programs. When this country goes to war, the radio will be converted into the most gigantic and effective one-way propaganda agency ever seen or heard in history. It will be every bit as totalitarian as the radio of Hitler, Mussolini, or of Stalin. Let there be no mistake about that!

Meanwhile, the scare broadcast will probably be used to tighten the already quite tight government supervision over the air waves and move the plans of the war-makers one step further.

**Let the Refugees In!**

When it is a question of whipping up the war spirit, covering his armament program, or fooling the people by putting on a left coloration, Franklin Roosevelt has a lot to say about the glories of democracy and the hideous crimes of the dictatorships.

But when it comes down to brass tacks, to getting some action, the President's democracy always seems to develop a bad case of palsy.

The demagogic hypocrisy with which Roosevelt is exploiting the refugee issue hits close to a new low in his political scale. To date his score is 1000 per cent in fine phrases, and just exactly zero in deeds.

By its quota system the United States shuts its

gates to all but a small fraction of the politically oppressed within the totalitarian states. By the restrictions and financial requirements it places even on the quota-immigrants, the United States limits that small fraction in such a way that the most persecuted of all—the proletarian and lower middle-class—are virtually excluded.

Pious words do not make anyone a defender of democratic rights. No one can legitimately criticize the dictatorships for their treatment of the refugees who does not back up his words with acts, who does not do all within his own power to defend the politically oppressed and to offer them haven. Whoever does less becomes in reality jointly responsible for the oppression.

*The quotas must be lifted. The restrictions must be modified in such a way that all of the persecuted may find refuge within this country. This is the only central aim which Americans who want to defend the democratic rights of asylum and refuge can set for themselves. Vague plans about settlement in Africa or South America, protests on British policy in Palestine, however legitimate, are here as elsewhere secondary to the main job which is the job at home.*

It is time for the trade unions and all of the mass organizations of the American workers to press with full force upon the President and Congress the demand that the quotas and restrictions be removed, and that this country welcome within its own borders the oppressed and persecuted of all lands.

**The Socialist Party: Act V and Curtain**

A little more than a year ago, the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party expelled the party's revolutionary left wing. At that time we predicted not merely that thereafter the S. P. would beat a hasty and uninterrupted retreat to the right (a virtually self-evident conclusion, since there would no longer be a firm left force to pull it in a contrary direction), but that the N. E. C. in the act of expulsion was taking the first decisive step in the liquidation of the party itself.

Within the Socialist Party there were a certain number of serious militants, honestly and actively desirous of building a genuinely revolutionary party within this country, who disagreed with our estimate. For one or another reason, they elected to remain within the Socialist Party instead of joining with the expelled left wing in the foundation of the Socialist Workers Party.

The recently concluded meeting of the Socialist Party's N. E. C., reported on elsewhere in this issue, enables them and us to draw up a year's balance; or, if not a balance of the past, at the very least a budget for the future.

*The Socialist Party is finished.* This can hardly any longer be a matter of dispute for either its friends or its foes. The problem now, in the minds of the most vigorous of its N. E. C. members, is only how most quickly and mercifully to get the job done with.

The meaning of the N. E. C. meeting was communicated politely to the world in the October 29th issue of the *Socialist Call*: "It (the N. E. C.) has authorized negotiations looking toward peace in Socialist ranks and the reunion of all Socialists in America..." The wheel is completing its circle. The right wing of the present S. P., which never differed in political fundamentals from the Old Guard, is going back to its bed-fellows of the Social Democratic Federation. The final divorce turns out to have been only a temporary desertion.

The militants still within the Socialist Party must, then, take stock. History, these days, does not leave time for illusions or for playing around. It is not necessary to debate the merits of the past; we must concentrate on the needs of the present and the future.

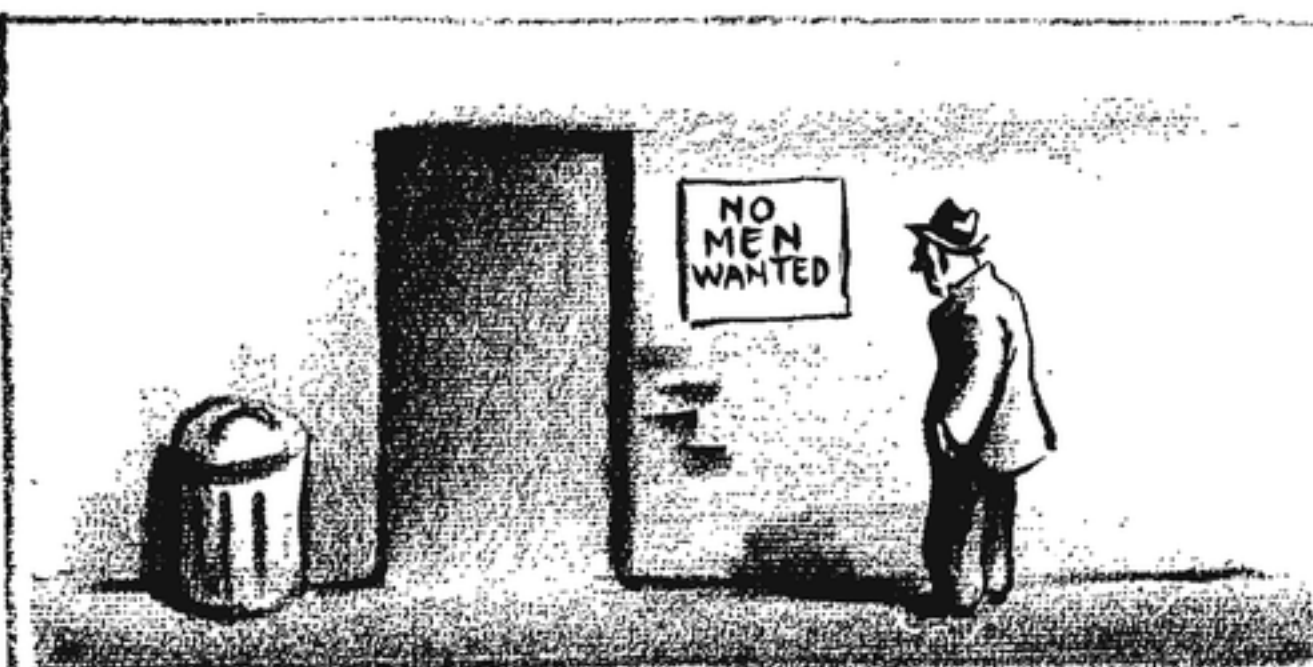
The N. E. C. is going to liquidate the S. P., and nothing will stop it. There will be no organization left, and no chance of reconstructing one out of the ruins: indeed, there is only the fragment of an organization today.

What are the militants, the revolutionary workers, who remain, to do? They cannot follow the N. E. C. without shameful capitulation. They must decide whether they really mean business about building an American party of the socialist revolution, or whether they are going to lie down and quit.

If they mean business, they have only one course: to join with the revolutionary militants of the Socialist Workers Party in the great common task. They will find the doors of the Socialist Workers Party open to every determined worker who is resolved to fight for the new party. They will discover in our ranks a rich and full democracy whereby differences of opinion can be settled in the closest union with disciplined, vigorous action. They will meet no recrimination, no disputes over what has gone by; and they will see that in our party personal capacities and talents are given the fullest opportunities for responsible functioning.

This is the choice before the militants within the Socialist Party. It is time to come to a conclusion.

**Forgotten Man Will Soon Be Remembered!**



**Socialist Party Near Collapse Recent NEC Meet Reveals**

A picture of utter demoralization and catastrophic decline in membership and influence, with plans to enter into negotiations for fusion with the right wing Social Democratic Federation after the November elections, was presented to the members of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party when they gathered for their meeting in Baltimore, Md., on Friday, October 14, according to an accurate and authentic report received by the *Socialist Appeal*.

The plans for fusion with the Social Democratic Federation, staunch supporter of Roosevelt and the New Deal, and committed to a flagrantly social-patriotic position with regard to imperialism war, were adopted but the Committee members tacitly agreed that the negotiations should be kept quiet until after the November elections, lest the public position of the Socialist Party be harmed.

Paul Porter, leader of the right wing from Wisconsin, who took a leading part in the wholesale expulsions of revolutionary socialists from the party a year ago, was the most outspoken advocate of immediate fusion with the Oneal-Waldman-Abe Cahan group. At the meeting, he emphasized the fact that the N.E.C. itself was in a state of despair and despondency over the organizational blind alley into which it had led the Socialist Party.

**Mr. Valenti Again**

It is interesting to note that prior to the meeting, the party National Office had received the fantastic proposal of the Italian Federation of the Party, dominated by the not unknown G. Valenti, which asked for the creation of an Italian anti-fascist front of a unique kind. The Federation is to be converted into an autonomous Italian section, affiliated with the Social Democratic Federation on the basis of its international—i. e., pro-war—position, and with the Socialist Party on the basis of its domestic position!

Characteristic of the state of affairs in the S.P. today is the fact that a number of N.E.C. members were in favor of this phenomenal proposal. However, no action was taken essentially on the ground that the question was linked and subordinated to the broader question of fusion between the S.P. as a whole and the Federation.

In passing, it is worth noting that at this meeting, the N.E.C. took up for the first time the question of the expulsion of Valenti. The latter was the gentleman who has not only worked cheek by jowl with the Stalinists in the Italian field, but who acquired dubious fame a year ago in the exposure made by the *Socialist Appeal* of the fact that he had discussed with trade union bureaucrats of the New York needle-trades the financing of the S.P. to the tune of thousands of dollars

in return for a mass expulsion drive against the "Trotskyists." Although charges have been pending against Valenti for over a year, he has continued his activity with jaunty impunity.

At the Baltimore meeting, while it was generally taken for granted that Valenti is a Stalinist, no decision was adopted on the ground that this matter too should wait upon the "straightening out" of the unity question.

The calamitous organizational status of the party was reported in an atmosphere of dejection, hopelessness and disorientation such as has not been seen at a meeting of the socialist N.E.C. in many years. Spirits sank to a depressing low while the reports splashed buckets of uninspiring black on the party picture.

**Membership Sinks**

A dues-paying membership of 2,700 was reported—an all-time low in the history of the party! Not in thirty-five years of its existence has the S.P. ever had such a low membership figure to record. The lowest post-war membership figure was reached between 1921 and 1924, but even then it never sank below 5,000. Only a very few years ago, the party boasted between 15,000 and 20,000 members. Only a few months ago, the party convention was told that there were some 4,000 members left behind after the effects were felt of the Hoan-Thomas-Zam policy of mass expulsions. But not the full effects, apparently, for now the membership is below 3,000, with the end not yet in sight.

And when it is remembered that not every dues-payer in the S.P. is more than a platonic friend of the party who has not left it only by virtue of the power of inertia, it would be a generous estimate to say that the Thomas outfit today has no more than 1,500 effective members—a veritable debacle.

**The "Call" Goes Down**

On top of that, the official organ, *Socialist Call*, which has been missing issue after issue recently, is in such a desperate financial plight as a reflection of the complete disintegration of the party, that a motion was made to convert it into a fortnightly, that is, to appear once every two weeks instead of as in the past once every week. If this motion was not adopted, it was in all likelihood due to the fact that the bankrupt S.P. politicians have had a hard enough time getting their "weekly" to appear once every three weeks.

"The trouble with the Socialist Party," according to the summary made by N.E.C. member Hamilton, "is that it no longer has confidence in itself or its leadership. It has no morale."

This annihilating but none the less accurate confession was only emphasized by the complete help-

lessness of the S.P. "leadership" in face of the situation.

The self-avowed "left wing" of Zam and Co., which after each convention where it "consolidates its victory" leads the party deeper into the morass, was particularly striking in its pitiable impotence, and failure to put forward even the phantom of a program for resolving the catastrophic situation to which they had brought the party in alliance with the right wing.

**Porter's Program**

The only "program" was that brought forward by Porter and his right wing associates. The remedy offered by them is simply the liquidation of the party. But although no other program was presented as an alternative, the N.E.C. took no action on the one proffered by Porter. His 6-point plan had as its first point: unity with the patriotic Social Democratic Federation. His second point was "cooperation" with the Farmer-Labor party movement, including the L.N.-P.L., work in the La-Follette Progressive Party, and "in some instances" in the Democratic party.

"Let us not be hypocritical," said Porter, pointing out that especially in the South, members of the "rrrradical" Socialist Party have been working inside the lily-white, Negro-baiting labor-hating Democratic Party.

Porter's third, fourth and fifth points called for "labor unity" for unemployed activity and attention to the farm crisis, while his sixth, and very significant point, called frankly for a "change in party policy in regard to our international outlook"—that is, for dropping all anti-war phraseology and adopting the Stalinist pro-war policy which Porter has championed without let or hindrance for some time.

The confusion, irresoluteness and do-nothingism of the N.E.C. on the two most crucial questions of the day—the world war crisis and the trade union situation in the United States—was positively tragic.

**No Proposals on War**

In face of the keen urgency of the crisis, no proposals or motions were made on the war danger. Felix spoke vaguely about the Czech situation and the need of a firm stand on war, with "perhaps some revision of our present position"—revision not stated!—but the whole matter was wearily referred to the traditional graveyard—a sub-committee. Similar "action" was taken on the question of the Mexican situation, which must now wait for solution until the party "specialist"—Charles Senior—reports.

On the labor front, the decline of the S.P.'s influence was recorded all along the line. The most heated discussion occurred over the scandalous conduct of Roy Reuther and Ben Fischer, head of the S.P. in Michigan, in the Auto Workers Union crisis, but

**NMU Seamen Bullied Into Signing Rotten Contract**

(Continued from Page 1)  
 voyage or thirty days, which ever may be the greater.  
 "Unlicensed personnel may be transferred to another vessel within the company, provided the transfer is mutually agreeable to the employer, the employee, and the union. This clause shall not be construed to prevent the transfer of unlicensed personnel for promotion or seniority, seniority to be construed as continuous service with the company in a person's particular rating."  
**West Coast Comments**  
 Typical of what union seamen think of such a clause is a comment from West Coast Firemen (Sept. 6, 1938), which deals specifically with it:  
 "Not only can a company transfer a crew from one ship to another, it can also do this: If an oiling job is open on one of its ships, it can promote a fireman from another of the company's ships over the heads of the men on the ship.  
 "Then again, men can take vacations and leaves of absence. Remember the old song—Oh Chieftie Dear! Oh Chieftie Dear!  
 I swear to you I'll give no lip, I'll shine your brass, and kiss your —  
 If I can make another trip! Just read that clause again. A man can pile off on a leave of absence, and after the ship is back from a round voyage, can pile back on her again.  
 "Check all these factors over and you can see why there is no hiring hall clause. It's a regular company union agreement."  
**Slander Sheet Against Lundberg**  
 While members of the National Maritime Union were voting on this agreement, the Pilot, official organ of the union, was used as

a campaign sheet for the rotten agreement. One of the main arguments was a threat to the membership that "if you don't take the agreement, Lundberg and the A.F.L. will get your jobs."  
 Joseph Curran and his C. P. advisors are mortally afraid of the newly-chartered Seafarers' International Union which is now opening an organizing drive to win conditions for east coast seamen. Their whole strategy is designed to keep east coast seamen within the organizational structure of the N.M.U. and through it to shackle all seamen to the government's Maritime Commission.

**Plan to Shackle Seamen**

Signing of the new agreement is only part of the plan which is being carried out by Curran & Co. They hope the agreement will serve to keep a certain number of jobs for the N.M.U. Enough shipping will be done through the union hall to encourage seamen to register there. N.M.U. patrolmen will have passes to all ships and any "beefs" will be settled for the operators with the excuse that "we can't do anything yet because if we do the shipowners will revoke our passes and do business with Lundberg and the A.F.L."

By a constant slander campaign through the pages of the Pilot against the A.F.L., which is identified with the discredited International Seamen's Union, C. P. strategists hope to make a final and satisfactory agreement with the Maritime Commission. Relying upon N.L.R.B. elections already held—together with actual proof that the N.M.U. is a "responsible" organization and has no intention of fighting for better conditions—Mr. Curran hopes that Maritime Commission heads may be wheedled into recognizing the N.M.U. as the organization representing all seamen.

**TWENTY-ONE YEARS**

(Continued from Page 1)

destruction, the Stalinist clique now prepares the final debacle. Having shattered the hopes of millions of toilers, wrecked the labor movement in country after country, facilitated—nay, assisted!—the builders of fascist concentration camps, Stalin has exposed the Soviet Union to the perilously imminent prospect of armed intervention.

How does Stalin propose to fight the war? In the same manner he "fought" fascism abroad. By tearing down the keystone in the arch of Soviet economy! Thus he hopes to appease Hitler and save his own head. But the days of Stalin are numbered: he must fall beneath the heel of oncoming reaction or in the sweep of the resurgent revolutionary masses.

We fervently hope on this 21st anniversary of the Russian Revolution, that the Soviet masses will tear from Stalin's hands the precious treasures of 1917 before he turns them over to Hitler and internal reaction.

But to rely merely on hope would be to abandon ourselves to mysticism and futility. Our duty is clearly set forth. We must renew courage and resolution of the Russian workers and peasants by waging an unremitting struggle against our own centers of imperialism that would destroy the Soviet State.

On the 21st anniversary of the Russian Revolution, the Fourth Internationalists rededicate themselves to the most imperative task of our times: the defense of the Soviet Union.

*Defend the Soviet Union against Stalin, Hitler and Roosevelt!*  
*Defend the Soviet Union by fighting the imperialist war-makers in our own country!*

*Defend the Soviet Union by revolutionary action against capitalism!*

*Defend the Soviet Union by building the most potent force for the liberation of humanity: the Fourth International!*

although criticisms were levelled at them and at one stage in the debate a motion was made to censure them, no action was taken to alter the party's line of trailing behind the Stalinist union-wrecking course. Reuther and Fischer were not even chided for having aided and abetted the Stalinists during the crisis.

Finally, the timid motion by McDowell that all actions of the Socialist Auto League be subject to consultation with the National Action Committee, the N.E.C. and the Labor Secretary of the party (i. e., McDowell), was defeated because Reuther and Fischer denounced it as bureaucratic. Tyler made the audacious proposal that each should consult with the other, but the upshot of the discussion was that Reuther and Fischer emerged unscathed and with free hands to continue their petty bureaucratic policy of act-as-short-stops for the Stalinists.

**Collapse in Unemployed Work**

Just as feeble and ineffectual was the stand taken by the committee in regard to the crisis in the unemployed movement, for it took no stand at all. In the discussion, it was disconsolately acknowledged that the Stalinists had destroyed the work of the S.P. in the Workers Alliance—though no balance-sheet was drawn up of the cowardly and lickspittle attitude of the party leadership towards the president of the Alliance, David Lasser, when he was a party member and flouted the interests of the S.P. and of the unemployed in the interests of his friends of the Communist Party.

The motion of Sam Baron that the socialists withdraw immediately from the bureaucratically corrupted Alliance and launch a new organization, was defeated. It

sounded too much like taking a definite position of one kind or another. The Committee thereupon "generally agreed" that there should be no withdrawals from the Alliance, but at the same time that the new progressive movement in New York should be supported. Then the whole question was referred to the inevitable sub-committee, which by now number almost as many as the membership of the party.

The same action was taken with regard to the report of Fred Harwood, who rushed from New York to give an account of the newly-formed organization of the unemployed and project workers, and to ask for a line of policy. To still another committee—the Ohio State Committee—was referred the proposal by Lee Morgan to resign from the Executive Committee of the Alliance in order to work for the Negro Labor Committee. And so on to the end.

What the meeting did after that was of no importance either to itself, to the party or to the working class in general.

The scintillating leadership of the S.P. is merely waiting for the crushing blow which it expects at the coming elections—Thomas by the way admitted that entry into the A.L.P. in New York would have meant that the S.P. is completely out of the picture—in order to announce the plans for burying the once "all-inclusive" and "revolutionary" Socialist Party, a liquidation which will scarcely be covered up by the mantle of "unity" with the incorrigible reformists and war-patriots of the Social Democratic Federation, and which will surely uncover in full the depths of bankruptcy to which its present leadership has brought the Socialist Party.

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 Prizes for Best Costumes  
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