

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Vol. II—No. 51 Saturday, November 26, 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.

MAX SHACHTMAN
Editor

HAROLD ROBERTS GEORGE CLARKE
Associate Editors
S. STANLEY, Business Manager

Two Times Every Week!

The revolutionary party moves forward in the United States!

With reaction and fascism on every hand, with the old parties of labor collapsing before our eyes, the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party steps on the accelerator: a drive is launched for a twice-weekly *Socialist Appeal*.

The decrepit Socialist Party issues a miserable tiny tabloid, anxiously awaiting only the final rites. The pretentious Lovestonites are visibly stagnating. The Communist Party shudders in its patriotic orgy. Only the Fourth International shows real revolutionary vitality—courage, audacity and self-confidence.

The strength of "Trotskyism" has always reposed in its program. We have held firmly to this program throughout the years. Now our faith in the great ideas of Marxism is beginning to pay its dividends. The Fourth International prepares to move ahead with a semi-weekly paper the heavy artillery of the new offensive.

The significance of the semi-weekly will be clear from the appearance of the very first issue. The squeals of our enemies will testify to the power of the paper. The influence of the Party carrying its revolutionary message to thousands of awakening workers will be speeded up by the more frequent paper.

Our weekly paper spread the propaganda of revolutionary Marxism to the advanced workers.

Our semi-weekly *Appeal* will sink its roots in the broader masses.

The watchword is FORWARD! Forward to the twice weekly *Appeal* on the road to the Daily!

What's the Difference?

Wilder McGowan, 24-year-old Negro, is lynched by a Mississippi mob on the hoary pretext of having attacked a 74-year-old white woman.

Thousands of Jews—the Negroes of Germany—are tormented and persecuted by Nazi mobs in Berlin.

The pretenses are similar, the mobs are alike, the tortures differ only in degree. What's the difference?

Germany is a (capitalist) dictatorship: Hitler admits his vicious intentions. He frankly wants to drive the Jews out of Germany and to persecute the miserable victims in their flight.

The United States is a (capitalist) "democracy": Roosevelt fills the air with twaddle about "equality," but his eyes are closed to the barbarian treatment of the Negroes which goes the Nazis one better.

Roosevelt and his friends, from Al Smith to Herbert Hoover shed bitter tears of compassion for the suffering Jews of Germany. Crocodile tears! The difference between Wilder McGowan and Solomon Levine lies only in the color of their skin and the sound of their name.

The same beast attacks them. Its name is capitalism.

Spiked Slanders

Pres. Cardenas last week dealt a body blow to the Stalinist campaign to force Trotsky's expulsion from Mexico.

In a few blunt words he brushed aside the slanders of Lombardo Toledano and all the other Stalinist stooges and indirectly at the same time made an answer to the stupid accusations of some American capitalist papers concerning Trotsky.

The Stalinists have tried to smear Trotsky by linking him, in their familiar style, with reactionaries in Mexico. The *Daily News* and other capitalist papers in this country have, on the other hand, tried to see Trotsky's hand in the policy of oil and land expropriation pursued by the Cardenas government.

Cardenas declared all these charges to be untrue. He said that Trotsky has honorably kept his pledge not to intervene in the internal affairs of the country. And Cardenas should know better than anyone else.

The Stalinists "support" Cardenas. Cardenas supports Trotsky's right to asylum. To put it mildly, this is somewhat embarrassing for the Kremlin stooges.

But we know that the Stalinists will not stop here. If their incredibly base campaign of slander does not work because Cardenas happens to be an honest democrat, we can be sure they will attempt to resort again to the only real weapon they have—the knife or the bullet of the assassin.

But that will not avail them either. We and our comrades all over the world stand vigilant guard over the safety of the foremost living exponent of authentic revolutionary Marxism. More than ever now, safeguard Trotsky's right of asylum! Safeguard Trotsky's life!

The People Want No War

Buried away in the inside pages of the *N. Y. Times* is an inconspicuous news item reporting a tremendous vote in Chicago in favor of a referendum calling on the Illinois congressional delegation to vote "no" on all legislation drafting American boys to fight on foreign soil.

It is not surprising that the *Times*, consistent drum-major for Roosevelt's war drive, printed the item in an obscure corner and disparagingly attributed the huge favorable poll to the "vote-getting abilities of its sponsor 'Big Bill the Builder.'" The bill received 1,025,801 votes for and 572,646 against. Not even the high-powered William Hale Thompson, with all his vote-catching proclivities, could have mustered so large a turnout unless there was real popular sentiment for the referendum.

The plain fact is: the sentiment was genuine and widespread. The people of Chicago and the people of the entire nation do not want to fight any war for Morgan, Rockefeller and DuPont whether it be on the soil of Asia, Europe or even Latin America. That a demagogue like "Big Bill" Thompson should initiate such a measure is irrefutable proof that anti-war sentiment is firmly imbedded among the millions of America's masses.

That Thompson should exploit this deep-seated feeling for his own crooked political ambitions, that he should blunt its force by making the referendum "advisory," is no cause for wonder.

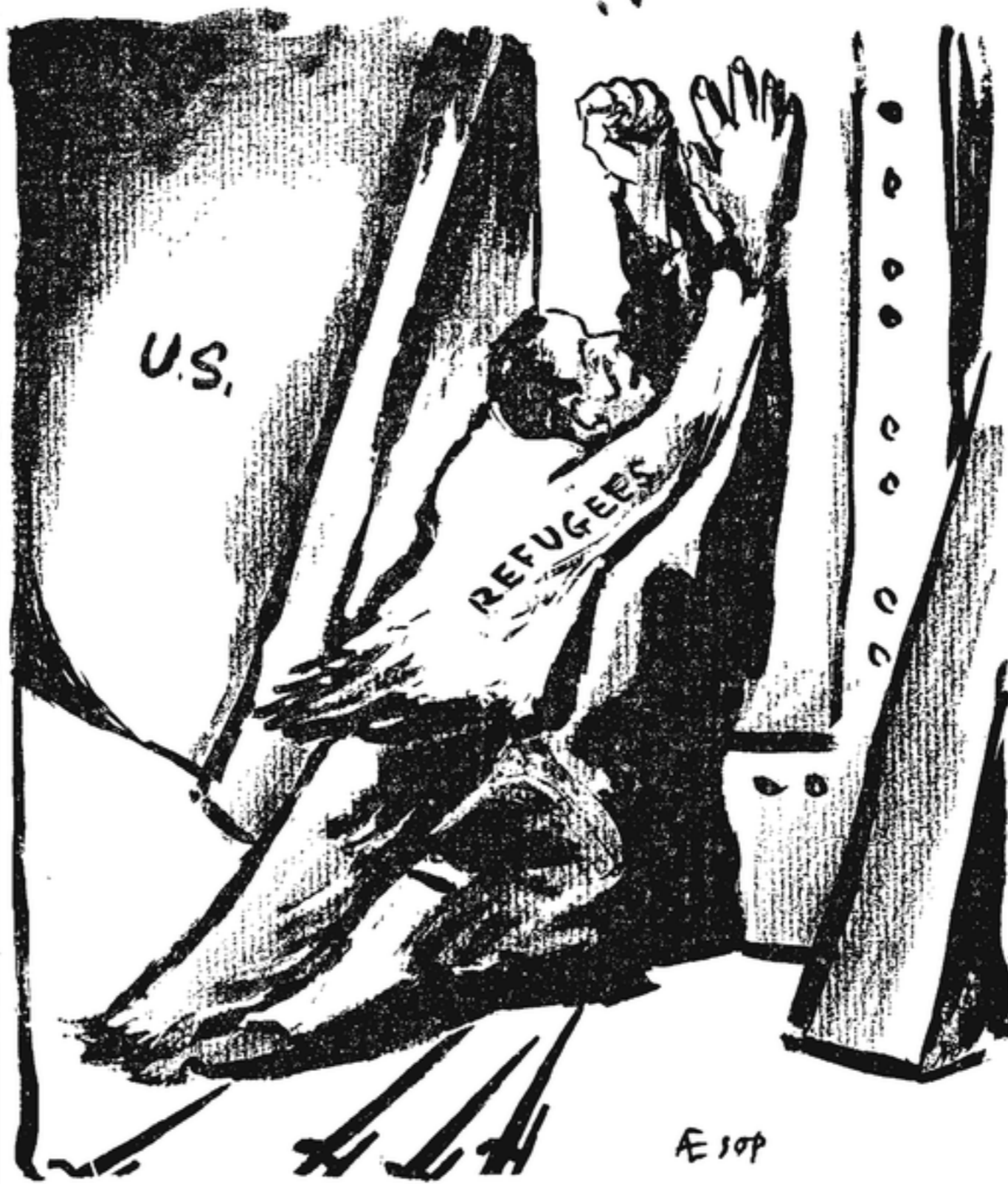
Our candle of indignation will burn at both ends at the unconscionable tricks of crooked politicians until we learn what they so clearly understand now:

The masses do not want war—no kind of war regardless of imperialist pretex.

The masses want to participate in an anti-war movement. They want a referendum on war. They do not trust the politicians.

Let us harness this sentiment to a revolutionary anti-war campaign. One million Chicago votes will be expanded to thirty or forty millions throughout the nation. The masses will only begin by votes...

LET ME IN!



Daladier Regime Is Leading France Swiftly To Fascism

By TERENCE PHELAN
(Special to Socialist Appeal)

PARIS, Nov. 9.—French reaction pushes steadily on toward Fascism through the Bonapartism of Daladier.

French capitalism is determined to compete with fascist Germany's "efficiency," i. e. its ability to drive its workers a practically unlimited number of hours a week. It can do so, it claims, only by having an equally free hand in extending production - hours. And that means it must once and for all smash the last remaining workers' gains won in the great 1936 strikes and half lost already by the treachery of People's Frontism.

The question of fascism in France is no longer "whether" but "how soon?" For how long a time still will Daladier's Bonapartism be sufficient?

Daladier Declares War

Last month at the Marseille Congress of his Radical Socialist Party, Daladier, with hypocrisy rivaling that of Roosevelt, "defended" the social legislation in words and actually declared implacable war on the gains won by the workers in June, 1936.

This was Stalinism's reward for its years of support to French imperialism, for its frenzied propagation of the slogan, "Daladier to Power!"

Daladier made savagely ironic use of the demagoguery of the Stalinists of the past few years, with which they held the workers' support by pretending to be concerned for their demands, while actually enslaving them to the French war machine which the Stalinists regarded as a firm ally

actionaries whose only aim was the repression of the working class movement.

Negrin and Co., preparing for an eventual deal with the Fascists, desired in this trial to show that it was engaged in effectively hounding the working class movement. The Loyalist government used the G.P.U. to ferret out the revolutionists, to murder them in dark alleys—as they did Nin—to disrupt and demoralize the working class. At the trial of the P.O.U.M. leaders they no longer needed the clumsy forgeries of the Kremlin gangsters and consequently let them drop.

(Continued from page 1) these charges fell to pieces in court.

Experts examined the famous "N" document supposedly establishing the Fascist connection and unanimously declared it to be a crude forgery.

The charge of desertion collapsed when it was shown that the 29th Division, the P.O.U.M. unit involved, was actually praised by the Stalinist General Pozas for its part in the fighting around Hueaca in June, 1937, at the time when it was supposed to have "deserted."

Finally, Jose Rovira, the P.O.U.M. commander whom the Stalinists charged had gone over to Fascist territory, created a sensation by appearing personally in court to refute the charge.

One Charge Left

The G.P.U. frame-up fell to pieces. The P.O.U.M. leaders were convicted only of the honorable "crime" of having solidarized themselves with the Barcelona workers in the May struggles against the Stalinist-bourgeois re-

of the Stalinist bureaucracy in Russia.

Stalinists Kicked Downstairs
Daladier repaid them with the Munich pact and at the congress he sarcastically asked the Stalinists why, if they preferred war to the "diktat" of Munich, they could not get the workers under their influence to work more than 45 hours a week for the national defense!

French capitalism no longer needs the People's Front and with loud guffaws simply has kicked it downstairs. The Stalinists themselves have been among the first to feel the impact of the new situation. Two important Stalinist mass meetings have been flatly prohibited and broken up by police.

Fascism's path to power has differed in each country. In Italy it was gangsterism, in Germany the parliamentary road, in Spain, revolt by the army. Bonapartism is a French invention and it may very well hand power over to Fascism more smoothly than Bruening cleared the way for Hitler in Germany.

Comrades Imprisoned

But French Bonapartism already yields little to Fascism in the mounting brutality of its repressions. It has already sentenced to one year in prison our comrade S. Charpy, editor of *Revolucion*, the Fourth Internationalist Youth paper, for "provoking the military to disobedience." It is bringing Duvernet and Jourdain to trial for articles appearing in the trade union paper *Revue Syndicaliste*; as well as the anarchist comrades Schek (already imprisoned in the Santé) and Leclerc; and others. During the great building-trades strike at Lyon, which has just gone down to bitter defeat, the government imprisoned 80 workers for picketing, 20 of whom it has already sentenced to from three months to a year. For mere picketing, these crushing sentences! Among the last arrests was Labrousse himself, Federal Secretary of the Building Trades Union. And this government pretends to be impartial.

To Resist Is "Treason"

Daladier frankly threatens the munitions workers that any struggle to retain the 40-hour week will render them liable not only to being fired, but to undergoing criminal prosecution. Workers' rights are being redefined as treason. Meanwhile the radical Mistler, that one-time stalwart of the People's Front, calls for the formation of "semi-voluntary" labor-camps and the muzzling of "demagogues" (i. e. protesting workers). Now come home to roost the compulsory-arbitration and strike-illegality laws which the workers let the People's Front put over on them in late '36 and early '37.

These "legalities" provide Daladier and the bosses with perfect pretexts for their increasingly smashing counter-attack. Lockouts, small and isolated strikes deliberately provoked by the bosses the more surely and finally to smash them, become the order of the day. With increasing intensity and thoroughness the daily police roundups drag into jail anti-fascist refugees whose "papers" are not in order. Only last week, under pretext of sanitary regulations, a hospital-train of wounded international anti-fascist fighters was turned back at the French-Spanish border by the government of this "great democracy."

Creeping Technique

Noticeable is the creeping technique of Daladier Bonapartism. With each new repression it has skillfully taken the workers' temperature, watched hawk-eyed for a real mass counter-attack. And then smashed on another repression. And again watched.

And how do the workers answer? What is their spirit? How are they fighting against this creeping fascistization?

An off-hand answer is difficult. The Communist Party is undergoing a fierce internal crisis. Not only rank-and-file but district and regional leaders are tearing up their party cards in disgust and rage. Munich was the last straw. Throughout the working-class spreads a black brooding anger; but also a discouragement, puzzlement, depression. But if they can find the way, they will fight with a fierce courage.

Our Tasks

The Fourth International in France is faced with an immense opportunity and an immense task. The workers are ready. Symptomatic was the war-crisis action of the Lille District Central Local of the General Confederation of Labor, representing 250,000 militant workers: not under telegraphed warning from the C.G.T. Paris Headquarters, nor under threats of mass arrests by the "socialist" mayor of Lille, would they take down their smashing anti-war posters. Such incidents are significant. The P.O.I., French section of the Fourth International is utilizing every opportunity for powerful united-front action.

A constantly rising cost-of-living, new taxes, fiercer and fiercer boss-attacks on the few remaining 1936 gains, are forcing the workers to turn to the only way—the Bolshevik-Leninist Marxism of the Fourth International. But time presses desperately; fascism creeps on; will the French workers find the only way in time?—break with the reformist and Stalinist parties of betrayal, return to revolutionary mass action?

They must, and the Fourth International must show them how!

BOOK REVIEW

"Story of CIO"

By Max Shachtman

THE STORY OF THE CIO. By Benjamin Stolberg. 282 pages. Viking Press, New York, \$2.00.

Whoever missed the series of articles on the C.I.O. written by the author for the Scripps-Howard newspapers last spring, now has the opportunity to read them between book covers. But even more; for the material has not only been revised and strengthened and brought up to date, but a good deal has been added to amplify and round out the story of what Stolberg correctly calls "our most important social movement since the Civil War," making it a work which can be enthusiastically recommended not only to the student of the labor movement, but to everyone who is actively engaged in it.

THE BOOK-BURNERS FAIL

When the articles first appeared, they were answered by a barrage of denunciation by every Stalinist who had even the remotest connection with the trade union movement. The official party machine was set in motion, and "letters to the editor" and resolutions and speeches attacking "Mr. Stolberg" as a Red-baiter and professional enemy of the C.I.O. were turned out with the same "spontaneousness" that characterizes the resolutions calling for "Death to the Trotskyist-Bukharinist wreckers" which are adopted with such easy unanimity in the Soviet factories. This virulent campaign was supplemented by a perfectly ignoble pressure which the same forces sought to exert upon the publisher of the present book in order to prevent its appearance.

Fortunately, the totalitarian drive to suppress the book did not deter either the author or the publisher. Fortunately—for this is no dry academic document destined for dusty oblivion on a college bookshelf, but an exciting, vivid, well-told narrative of the struggle to build and to preserve the most important and most promising labor movement in America today. Fortunately, also, for the reputation of the author and the indubitably progressive significance of his work, because to read only a few pages is enough to dispose of the vicious canard disseminated by reactionaries—Stalinist and bourgeois, in tacit accord—that the book is an attack on the C.I.O. and industrial unionism. It is anything but that.

A DEFENSE OF THE C.I.O.

If the C.I.O. ever did need defense and justification as the first great and successful mass industrial union movement, it has it, brilliantly presented, in this book. The author starts with the historical background of the American labor movement and gives us again the all-too-well-known picture of the pitiable importance of the traditional A. F. of L. policy when confronted with the problem of organizing the millions working in the key, basic, mass-production industries.

Unlike so many superficial students of the labor movement, Stolberg shows that this impotence—more accurately, unwillingness—to organize the unorganized, the infuriating atomizing of labor's strength into obsolete craft unionism, stems from the social composition of the A. F. of L., its domination by the labor aristocracy and the petty bourgeois ideology that characterizes it.

It needed the greatest economic crisis in America and its consequences to release the powerful forces of the most proletarian sections of the working class in this country and to achieve, in the form of the C.I.O., what the isolated radical movement in the United States had urged for decades, namely the industrial union organization of the basic industries. Its very composition has endowed the C.I.O. with the robust militancy and revolutionary tactics (sit-in strikes) that distinguish it from the old A. F. of L., even though the leaders of both movements scarcely differ in their social outlook.

The same factor—and this is true regardless of the immediate prospects of unity between the two groups—makes the C.I.O. potentially the most revolutionary force ever assembled in the United States.

The bourgeoisie knows but too well the danger the C.I.O. represents for it. One of Stolberg's most thoughtful, sober and instructive chapters, "The New Vigilantism," gives us an ominous picture of how far advanced are the preparations of capitalist reaction in the fight to annihilate the C.I.O. and, for that matter, the whole labor movement. He is right, we believe, in showing that American Fascism has already passed beyond the mere embryo stage; he is keenly right, too, in his analysis of the class dynamics making for the Fascist movement (what a gratifying contrast to the windy superficialities about "democracy" offered us by Stalinism and its associated liberals!); and he substantiates his views with the story of how the Little Steel strike was broken and his account of the sinister "Mohawk Valley Formula" for strike-and-union-smashing.

THE VIRUS THAT THREATENS LABOR

But an even acuter threat to the C.I.O.—and here again the author is dead right—lies within the organization. It is the insidious destructiveness of Stalinist reaction. Stolberg does more than merely give an unassailably documented record, in one union after the other, of the ruinous effects of Stalinism at work in the C.I.O. He gives the political explanation of it. It is precisely because they are not "Reds" that the Stalinists sap the vitality of the movement. They operate as instruments of the reactionary Soviet bureaucracy which, because of its desire for union with the American bourgeoisie, wants a docile labor movement in this country, patriotic and class collaborationist unions.

That is why, as Stolberg demonstrates, the most deliberate and systematic Red-baiters and anti-progressive elements in the C.I.O. today are the protagonists or dupes of the Stalinist line. And it might be added, that is at bottom why the C. P. has had so little difficulty with its allies and patrons of the Lewis-Hillman bureaucracy, for the political program of the latter differs in few practical aspects from that of Mr. Browder. The author's failure to emphasize this point, resulting from his failure to make a social and political group analysis of the C.I.O. bureaucracy, leaves a bad gap in the book which deserves comment on another occasion.

The author lays no claim to a spurious and hypocritical "impartiality" in the internal fight during which Stalinism is threatening to scuttle the C.I.O. He has a viewpoint; he proclaims it and justifies it amply; and he knows that it is unambiguous enough to prohibit either Stalinist or bourgeois reaction from taking comfort in it.

FORMULA FOR PROGRESS

"First, it must permit radical and revolutionary criticism... [It] must not exclude any worker for his political beliefs, no matter what they are. But it must rid itself of Stalinist officials, staff members and organizers... If the worker is made to understand that Stalinism is neither Red nor communist nor labor, and that the effort to get rid of it is not Red-baiting but on the contrary an effort to get rid of Red-baiters and union-wreckers, he will elect no Stalinists to office."

The formula deserves hearty endorsement because it is to the best interests of the C.I.O., for today and for the future. It provides for the protection of every member's democratic rights in prohibiting expulsion of any worker for his political views.

Any number of critical observations could be made of Stolberg's book. Most important, perhaps, is the inadequate treatment of the C.I.O.'s political policy and activities. Less important are some of the author's misjudgments of individuals—Mrs. Herick, Homer Martin, John L. Lewis, for example. Similarly, our analysis of the Lovestone group, of the fight in the auto workers' union, of the defeat in Little Steel, would differ, as our readers know, from Stolberg's. And we would not get along very harmoniously with him in a discussion on his odd views on "Thermidor."

But these defects, which detract from a page here and there, do not invalidate the soundness of the book as a whole. At all events, they are not the targets at which most of the shooting has been aimed in the public prints. What has been under attack, above all from the Stalinists who have more than enough cause for their hysterical fear, is quite invulnerable. Every worker who reads the book will not only easily convince himself of this fact; he will also find its contents a necessary and valuable tool in his work in the American labor movement today.

DALADIER LASHES FRENCH WORKERS

(Continued from page 1)

tration camp faces the workers was eloquently forecast in the Daladier decrees which provided for drastic fines and imprisonment for workers who refuse to accept the extra hours of work demanded.

The anger of the workers over these decrees, which are designed to bring about a return of "liberal" economy—i. e., to give the bosses free rein and make the workers pay the whole whack, was so strong that the General Confederation of Labor was compelled to take a strong stand, at least verbally against them.

At the C.G.T. conference last week Jouxhaux, the French Bill Green, succeeded only with great effort in sidetracking demands for a demonstrative general strike of protest. This was canalized into a resolution of a general protest and a proposal for protest demonstrations on Nov. 26.

Meanwhile opposition to the decree laws piled up on all sides. Having been left out in the cold by their ally Daladier, the Socialist and Communist parties both expressed opposition, and the

powerful war veterans associations, feeling their pensions threatened, likewise joined in. Daladier, shifting his base to the center and right of parliament, began openly toying with the idea of disbanding parliament altogether and ruling by decree until 1940—in other words establishing a police-military dictatorship to force the workers to comply.

The counterpart of this in the field of foreign policy has been a continuing attempt to align France with Germany in a new understanding.

This is the net result of the two years of People's Frontism in France. The forces of the workers have been dispersed and demoralized. The Communist Party has lost heavily in influence because it was so openly the only pro-imperialist war party in France during the recent crisis. At the C.G.T. conference last week the rank and file delegates by secret ballot voted all the Stalinist members off the Executive Committee of the Confederation.

Whether the workers will now resume the offensive, knit their ranks together and produce fresh, unsold leadership ready to take a bold course of struggle against the threat of open dictatorship is now the major question for France.

'TREASON' COUNTS COLLAPSE DURING TRIAL OF P.O.U.M.

(Continued from page 1)

Experts examined the famous "N" document supposedly establishing the Fascist connection and unanimously declared it to be a crude forgery.

The charge of desertion collapsed when it was shown that the 29th Division, the P.O.U.M. unit involved, was actually praised by the Stalinist General Pozas for its part in the fighting around Hueaca in June, 1937, at the time when it was supposed to have "deserted."

Finally, Jose Rovira, the P.O.U.M. commander whom the Stalinists charged had gone over to Fascist territory, created a sensation by appearing personally in court to refute the charge.

Subscribe to
Socialist Appeal