

SOCIALIST APPEAL Vol. III—No. 4 Saturday, January 28, 1939 Published every week by the SOCIALIST APPEAL PUBLISHING ASS'N.

Spain's Friends Wherever workers congregate, the anguished cry irresistibly arises: why don't the democratic powers and the Soviet Union provide the Spanish Loyalists with arms?

The spokesmen of the Second and Third Internationals are attempting to clear their skirts of responsibility for the unarmed condition of the Loyalists.

Spokesmen of the British Labour Party while about their government's refusal to help Spain.

President Roosevelt solemnly announces that government lawyers are investigating to determine whether he has the legal power to lift the arms embargo against Spain.

When it served Stalin's purpose of smothering the revolutionary elements in Spain as proof that he deserved a military alliance with France and England, he sent some airplanes and guns to Spain.

This is the record of the "friends" of Loyalist Spain whose "realism" has so often been contrasted with the "unrealistic" program of the revolutionists for irreconcilable class struggle.

Recruiting Sergeants

Six months ago the Stalinists were virtuously denying that they would ever support Roosevelt in an armament building program.

Varied Content In Feb. "New International"

- While the January number of "The New International," with its timely informative and polemical articles, is stirring unusual interest...

address (Daily Worker, Jan. 20) he pictures the "warmaking" nations which are trying to gobble up innocent little America and denounces as fascists those who "deny those dangers which are forcing our country, for the first time with such unanimous popular support that even includes the Communists, to unprecedented armaments for defense."

The Stalinists and their Social Democrat allies persuaded the Czechoslovak workers to vote for military budgets to fight fascism; the guns they voted for are now at Hitler's service.

Doesn't Browder know all this? Of course. But like any hireling who troubles himself not at all about the future consequences of his deeds, he does the bidding of his master.

The Irish Bombings

The newspapers have recently featured a series of bombings in England and Ireland, on the Ulster border. Presumably, the explosives were set off by the Irish Republican Army which, though silent for several years, again came to public life last Sunday morning with a fiery proclamation posted everywhere in the streets of Dublin and Belfast.

"While Scotland Yard busied itself with ferreting out the responsible persons, the boss press has yiped in horror at the "outrages." For our part, while we deplore the methods of the I.R.A. as ineffective, and consequently as wrong, we do not share the anguish of those who were never horrified by British oppression of the Irish masses.

The I.R.A. has held its forces together admirably, training and drilling its recruits illegally, "up in the hills." Unfortunately, it is unguided by a revolutionary, Marxian program; hence its resort to the dangerous and feeble methods of terror.

"England's crisis is Ireland's opportunity" has for long been the slogan of the Irish revolutionists. It is one to which we give full support.

Sabotage, explosions, will not, however, serve the purpose. That will only be served by a serious, carefully thought out campaign of mass resistance and offense.

We repeat, only the masses, guided by a revolutionary party and policy, will be able to convert England's crisis into Ireland's revolutionary opportunity.

"Improving" Guam

Chief of the "defense" measures to come before Congress this week and last, is the proposed "improvement" of Guam into a major naval base. Already "as much as a part of the navy as the fleet," the little island of 22,000 inhabitants lies on the direct route between Japan and her mandated islands.

Guam, a rocky island of slight economic importance, is 5,100 miles from San Francisco and 3,400 miles from Honolulu. It does not lie in the path between the U.S. mainland and Japan.

Therein is the key to Roosevelt's intent. Defensively of no importance—assuming the fantastic prospect that Japan would sail 5,000 miles to attack the U.S. coast—it is a vital offensive position in a war with Japan, Guam could not block a mythical raid of Japanese ships and planes on San Francisco.

Discovered by Magellan in 1521, Guam was originally called Island of Thieves. And hypocrites and jingoists too, it should be added!

The management of "The New International" also states that this announcement serves as official announcement to all Socialist Workers Party, Y.P.S.L., and all other "New International" agents that any agent in arrears with payments on the magazine will not receive the February issue, and requests that settlement of accounts be made immediately.

The New International 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.

American City A Rank and File History of Minneapolis and the Teamsters Strike of 1934.

By C. B. WALKER Our Price 75c—Originally \$2.50 LABOR BOOKSHOP 28 East 12th St., N.Y.C. (Send for catalogue)

Let Us Arm Ourselves, Too!



Socialist Party - Old Guard Fusion Nears Ratification

The shattered remnants of the Norman Thomas-Socialist Party are being secretly maneuvered into fusion with the "Old Guard" Social Democratic Federation in the course of negotiations that have been going on between the leaders of the two groups.

Decisive measures to consummate the reunion will be taken, it is indicated, at the meeting of the National Executive Committee of the S.P. scheduled to open in Chicago on Feb. 3.

Membership in Dark Despite repeated attempts by rank and file left-wingers in the S. P. to have the party officials render a report of the negotiations begun without asking the membership's approval or getting it in any form, no report has been forthcoming.

In fact, so exceptionally cautious has the Thomas-Altman-Laidler clique been in its discussions with the corrupt "Old Guard" group that not even one single member of the Zam-Tyler faction of pink centrists has been permitted to take part in the work of the negotiating committee. Everything is carefully concealed.

Whatever ideological differences existed at the time of the split have since almost completely disappeared. Those who now constitute the membership of the Socialist Party have by their actions, as well as by specific resolutions passed at their conventions in 1937 and 1938, discarded the Detroit declaration and have adopted as their basic policy the attainment of socialism by democratic means.

They no longer speak of democracy as "bogus" and have emphatically repudiated the notorious "Road to Power" resolution. They are now entirely at one with us in their opposition to Stalinism.

The coming fusion will eliminate all the remaining pretensions of the present Socialist Party to a revolutionary or left wing position—which was, in fact, given up more than a year ago at the time of the bureaucratic mass expulsion of the militant socialists who subsequently formed the Socialist Workers Party.

Like the S. P., the Social Democratic Federation, kept alive by the rotten Jewish "Daily Forward" machine, is an "educational" sect led by doddering old has-beens who long ago abandoned socialism in the hopes of living comfortably from the crumbs thrown them by the trade union bureaucracy and the capitalist parties they support in and out of elections.

The Federation and its paper are vicious red-baiting institutions. Their editor, a typical "democratic socialist," has called repeatedly for government suppression and outlawing of all Stalinist, communist, revolution-

ary socialist and all other organizations which stand for or support "dictatorship of any kind."

The "New Leader," Federation organ, is the stamping ground for avowed "patriots" who call for a super-armament program in the United States and for a "democratic" war against fascism, and in general for an extension of that support to Roosevelt and the New Deal fraud which the Federation has backed from the beginning.

It will be interesting to watch the attempts of the Thomas leadership to ram down the throats of the remaining membership the proposal to unite with an unappetizing gang of social-patriots as it is to be found in the Second International—which is saying a good deal.

Thomas, however, is not standing on any such ceremonies as getting the preliminary approval of his membership before committing his organization irrevocably. He feels the need of a broader field for his talents and hopes—in vain, as he will learn—that unity with the S.D.F. will provide it.

The S. P. showing in the last elections was a first-class calamity, especially in the last of its two traditional strongholds, New York, where it was dropped from the ballot for lack of enough votes.

A pathetic party press has continued in a comatose state, barely breathing despite repeated injections of adrenalin and digitalis. A last desperate effort has just been made to keep the party's former weekly and now fortnightly organ alive by moving it to the graveyard of American socialism, Milwaukee. In that city, furthermore, the once socialist "Milwaukee Leader" has just announced its demise in favor of its successor, the "Milwaukee Post" which, on its appearance, declared that "it will not be a party organ" or own "allegiance to any one organization or group of organizations."

The following sent in their individual contributions: Eddie Grey, N.Y.C., \$15; Abraham S. Coney Island, \$3; David A. N.Y.C., \$2; Samuel F. Smartville, Calif., \$1; Matt S., Waukegan, Ill., \$3; Bob R., Yonkers, 50c; B. H., Wellsley, Mass., \$2; Gates, Kansas, 50c; M. E. B., Cottekill, N.Y., \$5; A. Friend, N.Y.C., \$1.20; Jersey City Group, \$5.

FROM OUR BRANCHES Ken of Houston, Texas, writes: "Our next unit meeting is going to be devoted entirely to discussing ways and means of selling the Appeal." Discussions of this character should be on the agenda of all branches. Distribution of the twice a week Appeal raises new problems.

John Brucker of Allentown, Pa.: "Enclosed find money order on our Appeal quota. We will make our final payment before the 27th so get the big banner

ready for our branch. We are only a few members and most of them are unemployed."

Louis S. of Quakertown, Pa., sends a check to complete the quota and says: "This does not end our efforts and if funds are raised the amount will be forwarded."

M. Hess of Youngstown, Ohio: "Enclosed is another payment, I'm still quite certain that we shall have our quota fulfilled by February 1st."

Mark Knight of Los Angeles: "Am enclosing a money order to apply to our Appeal quota. We are still plugging away. We may be a few days late in fulfilling it but we'll get there."

In a recent issue of "Workers Age" it was announced that I am to be among the speakers in a series of lectures to be given at the Independent Labor Institute. To keep the record straight, I'd like to state that actually I had told the Institute several weeks before that I could not give a talk there, for various reasons. Apparently, there was some sort of misunderstanding.

Sincerely, DWIGHT MACDONALD

QUESTION BOX

(Conducted by the National Educational Department) QUESTION: What does the term "democratic centralism" mean?—D. E., San Diego, Cal.

ANSWER: The Declaration of Principles of the S.W.P. puts it as follows: "The organizational structure of the revolutionary party, enabling the party to carry through its historic task, rests upon the principle of democratic centralism. This means the fullest inner-party democracy combined with centralized direction and rigid discipline in action. Inner-party democracy guarantees full and free discussion of all party problems, and freedom of criticism both of policies and of the leadership. The leadership, up to and including the highest bodies, is freely and democratically elected by the membership, and subject to its control and removal. The administration of the party is centralized, with lower units subordinate to the higher units. In public and in action, all members are required to carry out the discipline of the party."

Notice that the term "democratic centralism" combines two ideas: democracy in internal party life, and centralized discipline in the external and public activities of party members and units. These two things are supplementary to each other, like the two sides of a coin. We believe that the most effective means of insuring disciplined action of party members is the fact that the members themselves have first determined what policies the party should put forward and who its leaders should be.

Once this has been decided by the majority of the party, after a discussion in which all participate with complete freedom of expression, any who disagree are expected to abide by the decision which they have themselves participated in making. Even then, the question can be re-opened when the next discussion period previous to a party convention comes around.

In Other Parties It is worthwhile comparing this to the state of affairs that exists inside the Communist Party. A party that is organized on democratic-centralized lines is the only one that can really overthrow the centralized, tightly-knit capitalist state, and at the same time, faithfully reflect the wishes and interests of the advanced workers upon whom the party is based.

Best Labor Paper Our Goal

By B. J. WIDICK The best labor paper in America. It is this prospect for the twice-a-week Appeal that makes the present campaign so vital to every trade unionist in and near the Party.

Nothing succeeds like success. Our Party can and will make, I am confident, an impressive record in the labor movement, especially through the expansion of our press. It signifies a giant step forward in building a mass base in the working class. It means that the "Trotskyites" are not only "here to stay" but are on the march. In this period of confusion, indecision, and "muddling through" by the C.I.O. and A.F. of L. top leaderships, our steady advance on the road of revolutionary socialism will serve to draw all advanced union militants in our direction.

The twice-a-week Appeal with spot news on strikes, on general labor developments, on the national and international issues that face the workers today, can become the best-read labor paper in America. It must become indispensable to every union militant. And when we hear the unionists say, "I don't agree with all the policies, but the Socialist Appeal certainly has the inside information and facts on everything, that's why I read it," then we know we will have broken through the ice and will be well on the road to a genuine mass proletarian party.

Build the Party in the unions through the twice-a-week Appeal!

\$2,800 IS DRIVE TOTAL WITH ONE MORE WEEK LEFT

(Continued from Page 1) Pledge Fund card No. 27

Another reader, W.C. of New York writes: "Enclosed find check for \$2. I hope to see the Socialist Appeal a daily paper soon, with pride that will never disappoint us. May I call your attention to the need of a publication, in Yiddish and open forums in the same language?" Comrade C. will be glad to learn that a Jewish group is already in the process of organization. He will hear more about it.

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Letters to the Editor

To the Socialist Appeal: I send you herewith a copy of a letter that I sent to the "Workers Age," organ of the Independent Labor League (Lovettanites).

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