Let Us Arm Ourselves, Too!

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Vol. III-No. 4 Saturday, January 28, 1939 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

HAROLD ROBERTS FELIX MORROW Associate Editors S. STANLEY, Business Manager

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? Give the peasants and workers a fighting chance, and not all the forces of Franco, Mussolini and Hitler could prevail against them: hopelessly outclassed in armament, the anti-fascist masses have nevertheless fought back with sheer manpower for two and a half years.

The spokesmen of the Second and Third Internationals are attempting to clear their skirts of responsibility for the unarmed condition of the Loyalists. In the French Chamber of Deputies they are going through the motions of demanding that the Spanish frontier be opened. But the Rightist spokesman, Deputy Vallat, a Franco partisan, taunts the Stalinists and Socialists: "I am of the same opinion as was Leon Blum when he was in power. He decided then against intervention. He resisted those who demanded planes and guns for Spain."

During most of the Spanish civil war, Popular Front governments, twice with Blum as premier, were at the helm in France. Those governments existed only thanks to the Stalinist-Socialist bloc, which supported them and closed its eyes to their strangling of the Loyalists.

Spokesmen of the British Labour Party whine about their government's refusal to help Spain. But it is their government by the decisive criterion that the Labour leaders vote for its military burgets . . . to fight fascism!

President Roosevelt solemnly announces that government lawyers are investigating to determine whether he has the legal power to lift the arms embargo against Spain. The arrant hypocrisy of that statement is obvious. At any time during the last two and a half years, Roosevelt could have determined that fact and, if he didn't have the legal power, could have appealed to Congress to lift the embargo. Instead he has systematically prevented the Loyalist from securing arms on this continent. Closing their eyes to all this, the Stalinists hail him as savior of the world and, a little more urbanely, the Social Democrats vote for him with both hands.

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. Now that the revolutionary elements are crushed and Stalin no longer needs to bribe the Anarchist and Socialist leadership to give his assassins a free hand, he sends no more arms to Spain. Just as he remains silent about the Hitler pogroms and keeps the doors of his regime closed against anti-fascist refugees, so he is silent about Spain: his policy of making peace with capitalism has led him toward rapprochement with Hitler, and he will do nothing which may offend Hitler.

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. This is the dead-end of the road of reformism. Every honest anti-fascist must now seriously turn to the only other real alternative: the road of the socialist revolution.

Recruiting Sergeants

Six months ago the Stalinists were virtuously denying that they would ever support Roosevelt in an armament building program. A month ago the Stalinist Fuehrer, Earl Browder, came out for armament, but if only by bad grammar refrained from making his "Yes" entirely uncon-

Now he has gone the whole hog. In a radio

scheduled to appear are:

Elections—by Dave Cowles.

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. The same tale was told to justify Stalinists and Socialists in voting for the huge military budget and for a military loan to Poland: Daladier used the guns to crush the general strike and seek an alliance with Hitler, while the Polish anti-Semitic government is using that loan to wipe out the Jews and the radical labor

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. And his master, the Ghengis-Khan of the Kremlin, gambling for Roosevelt's favor, plays with the lives of tens of millions of American workers as if they were so many poker chips. Neither he nor Browder worry about what will happen to the chips.

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

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. But the charge (which has been prominently made in the press) that the movement itself is today inspired by Nazis is a bald

"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. The Irish masses must at every opportunity seize upon England's crisis, small or big, to advance their own revolutionary aims.

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

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

"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 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. The proposal sharpens the significance of Roosevelt's studied disavowal of any "thought of taking part in another war on European soil," instead of the more usual phrase, foreign soil, in his hypocritical "defense"

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. It is however only 1,400 miles south of Yokahama; and more important, it is right next to sixteen other Mariana Islands, mandated to Japan by the League of Nations.

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. It could, however, serve as a base of operations against the Japanese mandates (not to liberate them, but to continue their exploitation), and even the Japanese

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

Varied Content In Feb. "New International" While the January number of | tralia has appeared in the maga-"The New International," with its zine's columns. timely informative and polemical 4. Biographical and political articles, is stirring unusual inter- review of the late Karl Kautsky,

est and discussion in labor, polit- theoretical leader of the Second ical and scholastic circles, the International-by Max Shachtmanagement announces that the man. February issue will be fully up 5. The Jewish Question and Imto the high standards of "The perialism in Palestine-by the New International," New fea- editors of "The Spark," official tures will appear in the February organ of the Workers Party of issue. Among those already South Africa.

6. The popular column of 1. Is Austria a Nation?-by Dwight Macdonald, "Reading Charles Crompton, pen-name of From Right to Left"; Editors' an Austrian writer of competence. Notes, and other important ar-2. The Farmers and the Recent ticles to be announced in the forthcoming Appeal.

3. A Survey of the Political Bound volumes of the 1938 seand Labor Movement in Australia ries of "The New International" Our Price 75c-Originally \$2.50 the Stalinists and Lasser. We "democratic socialist," has called of the decay to which Thomas, Pa.: "Enclosed find money order Apparently, there was some sort -by Stan, Bollard, of Sydney, are now available: price, \$3.00 per LABOR BOOKSHOP Australia. This is the first time volume. First come, first served. an exhaustive article on Aus- Only a limited number still avail-

this announcement serves as of statement, which was mailed to ciaist Workers Party, Y.P.S.L., brings to light some of the craftiagents that any agent in arrears Also, it is evident, that the statewith payments on the magazine ment was intended as a personal will not receive the February is- bid for recognition from either sue, and requests that settlement reactionary Congressmen or the of accounts be made immediately.

The January issue is still availscription: \$2.00 per year. Address:

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

American City Rank and File History of Minneapolis and the Teamsters Strike of 1934. By C. R. WALKER

28 East 12th St., N.Y.C. (Send for catalogue)

Socialist Party - Old Guard **Fusion Nears Ratification** The shattered remnants of the centrated in the hands of the ex- ary socialist and all other organi- the question can be re-opened democratic-centralized lines is Norman Thomas-Socialist Party treme right wing of the party. zations which stand for or sup- when the next discussion period the only one that can really over-

are being secretly maneuvered into fusion with the "Old Guard" Social Democratic Federation in shoddy deal behind the backs of leaders of the two groups.

mate the reunion will be taken, much less to the details. integration for the past two are not even bothering to con-

Membership in Dark

Despite repeated attempts by line. 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 con-

What Does S.P. Say On Rourke?

A contemptible document has recently been exposed and has provoked considerable discussion -not only in the ranks of the Unemployed and Project Workers Union, in whose name the document was issued-but also in the ranks of the Socialist Party. It appears, after investigation,

that one Henry V. Rourke, an official of the U.P.W.A. and a member of the Socialist Party, issued statement in the name of the U.P.W.U. without consulting either the Executive Committee or the City Central body of the or-The management of "The New ganization. That in itself is bad International" also states that enough, but an examination of the

Dies Committee. The City Central body of the able to those desiring to obtain U.P.W.U. is to be commended for copies. Price per copy: 20c; Sub- its prompt action in repudiating the rotten Jewish "Daily For- nization by the decision of the Friend, N.Y.C., \$1.20; Jersey City dent Labor League (Lovestonethe document and censuring its ward" machine, is an "educa- right wing to liquidate into the Group, \$5. author. Evidently the workers of tional" sect led by doddering old American Labor party. the U.P.W.U. are on guard against has-beens who long ago aban- With the party purged some Ken of Houston, Texas, writes: In a recent issue of "Workers the personal ambitions of any doned socialism in the hopes of time ago of almost everyone who "Our next unit meeting is going Age" it was announced that I "leader" and also against red-bait- living comfortably from the took revolutionary socialism set to be devoted entirely to discuss- am to be among the speakers in ing in any form. The rule or ruin crumbs thrown them by the trade riously, the final step of re-union ing ways and means of selling the a series of lectures to be given tactics of the Stalinist-controlled union bureaucracy and the capi- with the "Old Guard," who were Appeal." Discussions of this char- at the Independent Labor Insti-Workers Alliance and the cheap talist parties they support in and denounced by Thomas and Co. a acter should be on the agenda of tute. To keep the record straight, betrayal of the rank and file by out of elections. David Lasser are lessons well The Federation and its paper which would now bring the blush twice a week Appeal raises new told the Institute several weeks learned by these workers who are vicious red-baiting institu- of embarrassment to their faces, problems. broke once and for all with both tions and their editor, a typical will mark the fitting culmination John Brucker of Allentown, talk there, for various reasons

In addition, these "democratic" port "dictatorship of any kind," previous to a party convention throw the centralized, tightlysocialists who are cooking up a

is indicated, at the meeting of Nevertheless, all the indications the National Executive Committee are that the unity will be tension of that support to Rooseof the S.P. scheduled to open in achieved on the basis already pro- velt and the New Deal fraud Chicago on Feb. 3. The measures vided by the program of the re- which the Federation has backed will complete the process of liqui- formist Old Guard which broke from the beginning. dating the Socialist party, which away from the party some three has been in a state of rapid dis- years ago. Indeed, the reformists ceal the fact that the union is to

> Writing in the Jan. 14, 1939 issue of the organ of the S.D.F., the "New Leader," the prominent good deal. right-wing socialist, Adolph Warshow, points out that the Thomas group has degenerated politically to the point where unity is now desirable and possible:

be marked by a capitulation to

"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. Finally, their present position on the united front, the trade union movement, and the Labor Party is essentially the same as ours. Our apparent differences on collective security and the approach to the New Deal are no longer so violent as to prove an insuperable barrier if a genuine desire for unity permeates the deliberations of the committees who are soon to discuss the question."

The coming fusion will eliminate all the remaining pretensions of the present Socialist reported at the last meeting of ganization. He will hear more ficial announcement to all So- members of Congress by Rourke, Party to a revolutionary or left the S. P.'s Executive Committee about it. wing position-which was, in in Baltimore, is at the lowest fig- The following sent in their inand all other "New International" est red-baiting we have yet seen. fact, given up more than a year ure in decades. Whole state and dividual contributions: Eddie ago at the time of the bureau city organizations have simply Grey, N.Y.C., \$15; Abraham S., cratic mass expulsion of the mili- collapsed, including, most recent- Coney Island, \$3; David A, N.Y.C., tant socialists who subsequently ly, the once substantial up-state \$2; Samuel F., Smartville, Calif., formed the Socialist Workers New York party. In New York \$1; Matt S., Waukeegan, \$3; Bob To the Socialist Appeal: Party.

ber the cases of Lasser and Lash. Staffnist. communist. revolution- principled reformist course.

Patriotic Partner

The "New Leader," Federation the course of negotiations that the members, are seeing to it organ, is the stamping ground have been going on between the that a minimum of publicity is for avowed "patriots" who call given in the press even to the for a super-armament program Decisive measures to consum- fact of the unity negotiations, in the United States and for a "democratic" war against fas-

It will be interesting to watch the attempts of the Thomas leadership to ram down the throats of the remaining membership the their point of view all along the proposal to unite with as unappetizing a gang of social-patriots as is to be found in the Second International---which is saying a

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 learnthat unity with the S.D.F. will provide it. In any case, it has become obvious to him and his colleagues that the heart-sickening job of trying to breathe life into the S. P. is more than they 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 Pledge Fund card No. 2? city, furthermore, the once socialist "Milwaukee Leader" has

S. P. Collapsing

wonder what the Socialist Party repeatedly for government sup- Altman, Zam and Tyler doomed on our Appeal quota. We will of misunderstanding.

QUESTION BOX

(Conducted by the National Educational Department)

QUESTION: What does the term "democratic centralism" mean?—D. B., San Diego, Cal.

problems, and freedom of criti- to reason why."

ideas: democracy in internal joyed "state's rights" and to a party life, and centralized disci- large extent were not subject to two sides of a coin. We believe cies. that the most effective means of insuring disciplined action of In more recent years, with the party should put forward and right-wing leadership in order to who its leaders should be.

which they have themselves par- control. ticipated in making. Even then, A party that is organized on comes around.

In Other Parties

this to the state of affairs that vanced workers upon whom the exists inside the Communist party is based.

Party and the Socialist Party. In the Communist Party, the most fundamental policies are adopted or changed at will by the top committee alone, without any discussion and decision by the party ANSWER: The Declaration of ranks. The decision is then Principles of the S.W.P. puts it handed down to the party memas follows: "The organizational bers at the same time that it is structure of the revolutionary made public and put into pracparty, enabling the party to carry tice. After all this, the leadership through its historic task, rests then begins a "discussion"-which upon the principle of democratic is limited to explanations by the centralism. This means the fullest leaders of why the line is correct, inner-party democracy combined and "discussion" by the members with centralized direction and of how the line can best be aprigid discipline in action. Inner- plied-no more. The attitude of party democracy guarantees full the Stalinist bureaucrats toward and free discussion of all party- the membership is: "Their's not

cism both of policies and of the | The opposite extreme was true leadership. The leadership, up to of the Socialist Party some years and including the highest bodies, ago. There was comparatively a is freely and democratically high degree of democracy interelected by the membership, and nally-discussion of policies, right subject to its control and re- to disagree with the leadership, moval. The administration of etc. But at the same time, there the party is centralized, with was no thoroughgoing discipline lower units subordinate to the required of the membership nor higher units. In public and in centralization in the actions of action, all members are required the Party. S. P. members in the to carry out the discipline of the trade unions openly pursued anti-Socialist or anti-progressive poli-Notice that the term "demo- cies, and nothing was done about

cratic centralism' combines two it. The state organization enpline in the external and public the control of the national organactivities of party members and izaion, so that the S. P. in difunits. These two things are sup ferent states could and did folplementary to each other, like the low diametrically opposite poli-

Left Wing "Disciplined"

party members is the fact that growth of the left-wing movethe members themselves have ment in the S. P., more and more first determined what policies the restrictions were imposed by the curb the revolutionary sentiment Once this has been decided by of the membership; and correthe majority of the party, after a spondingly, disciplinary control discussion in which all partici- was exercised more and more pate with complete freedom of strictly over the left-wingers expression, any who disagree are while the right-wingers continexpected to abide by the decision ued to act independently of party

knit capitalist state, and at the same time, faithfully reflect the It is worthwhile comparing wishes and interests of the ad-

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. Already the Socialist Appeal has made its mark in the union movement with lively articles on burning issues before the labor movement. Now, we have the possibility of becoming a powerful influence through the medium of our twice-a-week Appeal,

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

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

\$2,800 IS DRIVE TOTAL WITH ONE

(Continued from Page 1)

York writes: "Enclosed find check have our quota fulfilled by Februjust announced its demise in fa- for \$2. I hope to see the Socialist ary 1st." vor of its successor, the "Mil- Appeal a daily paper soon, with waukee Post" which, on its ap- pride that will never disappoint "Am enclosing a money order to pearance, declared that "it will us. May I call your attention to apply to our Appeal quota. We not be a party organ" or own the need of a publication, in Yid- are still plugging away. We may 'allegiance to any one organiza- dish and open forums in the same be a few days late in fulfilling it tion or group of organizations." language?" Comrade C. will be but we'll get there." glad to learn that a Jewish group The party membership, it was is already in the process of or-

State as a whole, the party has R., Yonkers, 50c; B. H., Wellsley,

FROM OUR BRANCHES

few short years ago in terms all branches. Distribution of the I'd like to state that actually I had

will do in this case. We remem- pression and outlawing of all the S. P. by virtue of their un- make our final payment before

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 for-

M. Hess of Youngstown, Ohio: 'Encosed is another payment, I'm Another reader, W.C. of New still quite certain that we shall

Mark Knight of Los Angeles:

Letters to the Editor

Like the S. P., the Social Demo- recently been officially dissolved Mass., \$2; Gates, Kansas, 50c; M. a letter that I sent to the "Workcratic Federation, kept alive by as an independent political orga- E. B., Cottekill, N.Y., \$5; A ers Age," organ of the Indepen-

before that I could not give a

Sincerely, DWIGHT MACDONALD