

SOCIALIST APPEAL
 Vol. III, No. 27 April 25, 1939
 Published twice a week by the
SOCIALIST APPEAL PUBLISHING ASS'N
 at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.
 Telephone: ALgonquin 4-8547

Subscriptions: 2.00 per year; \$1.00 for six months.
 Foreign: 3.00 per year, \$1.50 for six months. Bundle orders: 2 cents per copy in United States; 3 cents per copy in all foreign countries. Single copies: 3 cents.

Bronx and Manhattan subscriptions are: 1.50 for six months; \$3.00 for one year.
 "Reentered as second class matter February 16, 1939, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879."

Editor:
MAX SHACHTMAN
 Associate Editors:
HAROLD ROBERTS **FELIX MORROW**
 Staff Members:
EMANUEL GARRETT **JOSEPH HANSEN**
 Business Manager:
S. STANLEY

Saito's Ashes

When Hiroshi Saito, former Ambassador to Washington, died in this country a short time ago, President Roosevelt as a diplomatic gesture ordered a United States cruiser, the Astoria, to carry back the ashes to Saito's home in Japan.

Last week the Astoria arrived in Japan with the ashes. Observers report that the reception given by the Japanese people to Roosevelt's sending a cruiser across the Pacific with the remains of Saito was singularly moving.

All was silent as the Astoria entered the harbor. Traffic had come to a standstill hours before. Thousands of Japanese, gathered in deep solemnity, watched the cruiser break out the colors of the Rising Sun and fire a salute of 21 guns. Tears showed on many faces. A local shopkeeper was reported to have gathered in a very short time 5,000 signatures to a book expressing gratitude to President Roosevelt.

There were local demonstrations of gratefulness far in excess of that called for by official national mourning over a dead diplomat. Japanese officialdom had difficulty in preventing these demonstrations from swelling into national proportions and taking on an aspect which would have been grave to the Japanese government.

Observers report that the Japanese people believed—naively in face of Roosevelt's real designs—that the United States cruiser accorded by Roosevelt to carry the ashes home meant a friendly gesture from the people of the United States, a token that the cruel oppression which they are now suffering under their own capitalist bosses will not be deepened by war with the United States.

The size and the intensity of this wave of gratitude and relief expressed by the Japanese people is of the greatest significance. That it could seize upon such a minor incident, that the meaning attached to the incident is mistaken, is not of great moment. What is of importance is the indication it gives to the misery, the unrest, the need felt by the Japanese people to find some outlet for their longing for peace.

It is a demonstration that the strain of the war being conducted by the Japanese capitalists against China is becoming so intolerable that a spark can start the powder train which will fire a workers' revolution and blow up the present social structure in Japan just as it did a similar structure in Russia in 1917.

The deep embers of rebellion in Japan will flare up at the first indication anywhere in the world that it is really possible for workers to have their own government and to run a country for human needs instead of capitalist profits.

It has often been pointed out that a workers' revolution in France would immediately topple Hitler and Mussolini. The Mikado would not long keep his imperial peacocks after they fell. Likewise a workers' victory in the United States would immediately rebound with workers' revolutions everywhere.

The Japanese people receiving Saito's ashes—an event such as this might well become the pivot where far-reaching changes in the moods and emotions of the international working class begin, changes that will start a new series of socialist revolutions and end by reducing capitalism to ashes.

A Princely Visitor

The Prince of Norway—that most democratic country of "the middle way"—is scheduled to visit these shores on April 27. If the workers of this country are to properly appreciate him, they should know certain facts about the royal house which he represents.

In November, 1937, the Norwegian democratic government decided to make a friendly overture to Stalin by imprisoning comrade Trotsky and his wife, Natalia. The immediate pretext for the arrests was an article by Trotsky which appeared in the American weekly, "The Nation," about the situation in France.

But in making this arrest the democratic ministers were faced with an embarrassing difficulty. No Norwegian law gave them a basis for imprisoning Trotsky.

In their quandary, the ministers—they were social-democrats adhering to the Second International—remembered their King. And in the constitution they discovered a paragraph which gives the King the right to issue emergency decisions (in the event of war or similar disasters). The provision was promptly invoked; the King signed a special order giving the ministers the right (which he himself did not possess) to imprison foreigners without cause. Thus did they save democracy in Norway.

Again, when Trotsky filed suit against the Norwegian Stalinist and fascist press, the government could not find a constitutional way to prevent him. Whereupon another special order was issued by the king, giving the government the right (which he himself did not possess) to deny imprisoned foreigners the right to bring legal suits. Thus did they again save democracy in Norway.

We can, therefore, understand why the Second Internationalists love the royal house of Norway. It helps them make democracy function.

The Coming War Will Surely See Britain's Colonial Empire Wrecked

The Rising Nationalist Movements for Freedom In Every Section of the Empire Which Guarantee the Doom of the British Colossus Also Presage the End of Capitalism

By **SHERMAN STANLEY**
 The financial wizards of Street—are nervously fingering their money bags these days. "The City"—London's Wall—Without exception the people of all England's world colonies hate and detest the British rule. These colonial people will utilize the first available opportunity—the war—to oust the British.

Many times before the British have faced opposition in the colonies. They have always succeeded in staving off the inevitable, however. One of their principal methods has been to buy off and bribe the leaders of the opposition movement, or to maneuver things so that the colonial masses are "led" by agents of the native capitalist class whose basic interests are with the British. This is what they have done for example, in India (Gandhi) and in Ireland (De Valera).

They have not hesitated for one moment to use the armed forces of the police and the British Colonial Army. The British unleash a Hitlerite reign of terror when necessary to preserve their rule. They have done this in Palestine, in Ireland, in their African colonies and especially in India.

WORLD-WIDE FIGHT AGAINST BRITISH RULE

Never before, however, has colonial opposition been so solid in its determination to put an early end to British rule. Militantly conducting the struggles of today, the colonial masses grimly await the opportunities that tomorrow holds out for them. Let us cite a few examples of today's opposition:

Ireland: A newly revived nationalist movement has shattered the sweet dreams of the British money-baggers. The Irish are starting in once again where the traitor De Valera left off. Their struggle is for a united, independent Ireland—free forever of British domination.

India: The workers and peas-

ants of this vast country of four hundred millions are in the forefront of the struggle against British imperialism. In the past year this country has had a wave of strikes—general strikes in Bombay and Calcutta, the working class centers—militant demonstrations and actions for freedom. Represented in the Indian National Congress alone are 5,000,000 workers and peasants who are pledged to gain complete independence for their country.

The Indian nationalist movement provides the biggest headaches for the bankers of "The City." That movement is rising over the heads of Gandhi and his conservative following. Once this is accomplished, then the British know they can kiss good-bye to "the finest jewel in the Crown of Empire."

Ceylon: In this important and strategically located island, the left-wing Socialist Party of Ceylon is leading an aggressive and direct struggle against the British. Little news reaches the outside world of their battles. Ceylon—a pearl of "democratic" England—is hermetically sealed from without. Meanwhile, from within, the British carry on their violent attempts to crush a people who never give up.

West Indies: These islands, famed for their hurricanes, have brewed a storm too severe for the British to handle. Labor—militantly led under the banner of the C.I.O.—has organized the dock workers, sailors, sugar mill workers, etc. Wave upon wave of strikes have served notice on the British that here too they are not wanted. **CANT FOOL THEM ALL THE TIME**

Egypt: The British granted a fictitious "independence" to some fake nationalist politicians a few years back. They thought that these men could indefinitely fool the laborers and peasant "fellaheen." The British, who wrote the treaty, kept control of Egypt's foreign affairs, financial matters and

arranged for British troops to remain in the country. The thing was a fake from the word "go." Today, the masses led by radical students, continue the struggle for independence, real independence. Chalk up another thorn in the side of the British—right at the entrance to the vital Suez Canal!

Kenya, Union of South Africa, etc. All sections of Britain's African colonies have been stirring restlessly. Headquarters of the African nationalist and revolutionary movement, which operates directly from London itself, reports warm responses to the work of the organizers it sends out. Organization of black workers in sections of the Union of South Africa is progressing as never before. These men will show that they too understand that freedom and British rule have nothing in common.

Even those sections of the Empire that are actually independent, capitalist nations are deserting the British. So great has been the pressure of the people in Australia, Canada and the Union of South Africa against supporting England in any war that the leaders of these governments have been forced to declare publicly that they will not send any soldiers overseas to aid the British.

We doubt if these capitalist politicians mean it. But we don't doubt that the people of these lands mean it! And their word will be the final word.

All of this spells death for the British Empire! The most significant event in the rise of capitalism was the erection of this Empire. The most significant event in capitalism's fall will be the destruction of that Empire. And we who live now will have the glorious opportunity of witnessing its break-up and replacement by independent, free nations of workers and peasants, associated with and aiding one another in a world socialist society.

IN THIS CORNER

By Max Shachtman

It was to be expected that once the Popular Front regime in Spain came to its natural, that is, its ignominious, death, we would begin to get the complete inside story of what happened behind the scenes during its lifetime. It was inevitable that all the sordid details of this "democratic" fraud would be revealed eventually in the form either of penitent confessions by its several participants or mutual accusations, each of which would aim at throwing the responsibility for the debacle on somebody else and all of which, properly assembled, would provide a fairly complete picture of the intrigue, the secret diplomacy, the horse-trading, the treachery that made up the life of this "instrument of the masses for the united defense of democracy."

A Belated Witness

Among the first of the partners to speak up is Luis Araquistain, one of the "left-wing" leaders of the Spanish Socialist Party, well known as one of the principal advisers in the realm of theory and diplomacy to Largo Caballero. The "Independent News" of Paris has just made public a letter addressed on April 4, 1939 by Araquistain to the last President of the Spanish Republican Cortes, Diego Martinez Barrio. In it he announces a rather belated resignation from what he calls "our fantasmagorical Republican Cortes," and dissociates himself, also somewhat belatedly, from the "most inept, the most despotic, the most unscrupulous government ever suffered by Spain, even in the most disastrous periods of the Austrian dynasty or that of the Bourbons." This is his politest reference to the great government of the Democratic People's Front headed by his own party comrade, Juan Negrin!

"During the two years—approximately—that he held the power, we lost all of the North of Spain, we lost a part of the Mediterranean littoral, and finally we lost all of Catalonia. At another time and elsewhere, I shall set forth the totality of the causes for this disaster which has no precedent in the Spanish wars. It is enough for me here and now to record the fact and to indicate the profound source and the ultimate reason for this immense defeat: it is the stupid and brutal communist dictatorship which guided our hapless war and led us to this tragic denouement; of this dictatorship, Juan Negrin and his coadjutor, the former Minister of State (Azana), were the docile and unconditional agents. Dictators under the dictatorship of the communist party."

Silent Accomplices

It is not out of place to add at this point that Araquistain, Caballero and their associates were, at the least, silent accomplices of this "dictatorship in the name of democracy." They tolerated it, they cooperated with it, they kept quiet about its outrages and crimes at a time when forthright and truthful appeal to the masses could have altered the situation, they did not take a single serious step towards organizing popular opposition to a ruinous and despotic regime—all in the name of the "unity of the People's Front."

Araquistain reminds Martinez Barrio of the story told the latter by President Azana who, in 1938, was thinking of a change in government policy. Negrin, the "democratic socialist," thereupon declared to Azana: "You shall not remove me, and if you try to do it, I shall resist; I shall place myself at the head of a popular and military movement, for the army and the people are with me." (Which, presumably, is why both the army and the people drove him and his cohorts out of Loyalist Spain.)

The Negrin regime was characterized not only by despotism and intrigue, but also by plain and fancy graft. Not a few professional democrats filled their purses with good Spanish gold. Araquistain's proposal to the government for an audit of its finances was cynically rejected, as was a similar proposal by the Ambassador to Washington, Fernando de los Rios.

"I hold that there were enormous administrative irregularities in the finances of certain agents of the Government abroad. By refusing to accept my proposal, it is evident that the so-called Negrin government shares the responsibility for these derelictions. I also affirm that high personalities of the Republican regime possess, deposited in their name in English banks and in those of the United States, important sums of money, hard to justify. But all possibility of a check-up being abolished—and that is what my proposal sought to avert—Republican Spain will never know which of its agents and representatives acted with probity and which behaved differently; all of them will be plunged into an atmosphere of suspicion. Nor will it know... what became of the Spanish treasury, of the 500 and some tons of gold which were deposited outside the national territory, nor how this gold was spent, nor what remains of it, nor the name or names under which this deposit was made, a fact of the highest importance and one which perhaps would explain also why certain people, in an incomprehensible manner, clung obstinately to power in spite of the defeats and the hostility of public opinion...."

The Mystery of the Vanished Gold

Had Araquistain been given the opportunity to read the article of Walter Krivitsky on "Stalin's Hand in Spain" before writing his letter to Martinez Barrio, at least part of his question about the disappearance of the Spanish gold stores would have been answered. Krivitsky revealed that not only did the Father of the Peoples in the Kremlin demand spot cash payment for the few rifles, cannon and airplanes he sold to his beloved Spaniards, but he also arranged for the transfer of a huge part of the Spanish gold reserve to Moscow. For, when Stalin made his one solitary reference to the civil war in Spain as not a Spanish but a world affair, he apparently interpreted it to mean a good business affair for the Soviet Commissariat of Finance.

As for all the varieties of leaders of the Spanish People's Front, the proletariat has the infuriating consolation that only now that they have completed their work of defeat and ruin will they themselves begin to tell the truth—by fits and starts, and in installments—about the crimes in which they acted either as principals or accomplices.

President Roosevelt speaks on the campus of Tuskegee, famous Negro school: "Keep the ideals of your youth all your lives," he tells the assembled Negroes. No mention of the lack of the Negro franchise and other racial discrimination in Alabama was made by either Roosevelt or any of the listeners. Perhaps this ideal was too close to home for the man who is so eager to denounce the race pogroms of Hitler.

FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY FOR:

1. A job and a decent wage for every worker.
2. Open the idle factories—operate them under workers' control.
3. A Twenty-Billion dollar Federal public works and housing program.
4. Thirty-thirty! \$30-weekly minimum wage—30-hour weekly maximum for all workers on all jobs.
5. Thirty dollar weekly old-age and disability pension.
6. Expropriate the Sixty Families.
7. All war funds to the unemployed.
8. A people's referendum on any and all wars.
9. No secret diplomacy.
10. An independent Labor Party.
11. Workers Defense Guards against vigilante and Fascist attacks

Like A Tombstone

There are few things more silent than a tombstone.

During the past two weeks, however, one political tendency in this country has come perilously close to depriving the tombstone of its pre-eminence in this field. We refer to the so-called "isolationist" school of faith which devoutly prays that a world cataclysm can occur without involving the United States or affecting the class relationships inside the United States.

President Roosevelt very neatly and without the use of either firing squad or dungeon sealed the mouths of these "Keep-America-Out-of-War-for-the-Time-Being" patriots. He merely outlined the realities of capitalist policy in the United States and his deliberate long-thought-out plan to plunge the United States into the coming world war at the first possible moment.

The eloquent reply of the isolationists, in which they so successfully emulate the volubility of a tombstone, discloses most precisely that at bottom they are for the capitalist class, for President Roosevelt, and for the coming imperialist war.

And it discloses at the same time that there is only one political tendency really opposing the coming war; that is, the Socialist Workers Party, which has devoted the major part of its press to denouncing the war-mongers during the present war crisis and pointing out the only road to defeat them—establishing a workers' political party and putting a workers' and farmers' government in power in Washington.

Dictatorship In France

The Daladier government which was voted into power by the Socialist and Communist Party-supported People's Front, last week established further straight-jacket laws for the labor movement.

In a decree issued in the same way decrees are issued in Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany, Daladier empowered Labor Minister Charles Pomaret to take the following steps:

- Centralize "information" on the needs for labor in public services and private industry.
- Recruit labor in military fashion for the various categories as deemed necessary.
- Arbitrarily assign workers to public and private enterprises.
- Regulate wages and hours by arbitrary decree.

If these regulations are successfully imposed, labor will occupy the same position in "democratic" France as labor in Germany and Italy—starvation between the barbed wire of concentration camps and the bayonets of the army.

The closer war approaches the less there is to distinguish the "democratic" dictatorships from the fascist dictatorships. Workers' revolution is in order in both the opposing capitalist camps.

Federal Criminal Syndicalism Law Would Foist Military Rule on Labor

By **FELIX MORROW**

Representatives of the War and Navy Departments appeared before the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives on April 12 to lend their weighty support to what has become known as the Smith Omnibus Bill—even the New York Times calls it "a composite of the anti-alien and anti-radical legislation offered in the last twenty years."

Last month Charles Edison, assistant secretary of the Navy, secured the introduction of a bill outlawing "subversive" propaganda in the armed forces; it appears now, however, that the Army and Navy prefer the Smith Bill (H.R. 5138) which includes not only provisions referring to the armed forces, but is practically universal in its scope.

As we analyze this bill, do not forget that Roosevelt is Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces which have endorsed it!

A Criminal Syndicalism Law
 Title I of the bill begins: "It shall be unlawful for any person by word of mouth or in writing, or by transmission by radio, to advocate, abet, advise, or teach the duty, necessity, desirability or propriety of overthrowing or destroying the Government of the United States, or the government of any State of the United States, or the government of any subdivision thereof, by force or violence...."

Section 4 of this Title says: "It shall be unlawful for any person to organize or help to organize or become a member of, or affiliate with any society, group, or assembly of persons who teach, advocate, or encourage the overthrow or destruction of the government...."

Punishes Beliefs
 The American Civil Liberties Union accurately describes this as "a Federal criminal syndicalism law." In complete violation of the fundamental legal concept traditional to democratic government, that only overt acts shall be punishable, the actual history of state criminal syndicalism laws has demonstrated that they are used to punish ideas and beliefs only.

There has never been a prosecution under a criminal syndicalism law involving actual or attempted violence or incitement to violence; for such a prosecution would have to prove facts, whereas the crim-

inal syndicalism law, as used, simply proves that the victim is against capitalist exploitation!

The principle distinction between overt acts and free discussion has been recognized "in principle" by the United States Supreme Court, but nevertheless criminal syndicalism laws still function in many states, and the principle involved troubles not at all the Congressional and Administration proponents of the Smith Bill.

Joker Against Unions
 Title II of the bill, requiring licensing of civilian military organizations, conceals a joker: among organizations which must be licensed are those which by "economic coercion" advocate the denial to any citizen of constitutional immunities. A labor union's "economic coercion" of a boss could be interpreted under this provision to be violation of his constitutional right to his property!

The War and Navy Departments are specifically endorsing Section 9 of Title II, which says: "It shall be unlawful for any person to advise, counsel, urge, or solicit any member of the Army or the Navy of the United States to disobey the laws or regulations governing the Army or the Navy or to disobey the lawful order of a superior, or to publish or distribute any book, pamphlet, paper, print, article, letter or other writing which advises, counsels, urges, or solicits any member of the Army or the Navy of the United States to disobey the laws or regulations governing such military or naval forces, or to disobey the lawful orders of a superior...."

Section 10 says: "Any book, etc., may be taken from any house or other place in which it may be found, or from any person in whose possession it may be found, or from any person in whose possession it may be"—by search warrants to be issued under the war-time 1917 law governing treason and espionage cases.

Rule By Military
 Just realize what the Army and Navy authorities are advocating:
 1. Any anti-militarist, anti-war, or pacifist literature which may fall into the hands of a soldier or sailor would be outlawed right now, in peacetime.
 2. Army and Navy regula-

tions are, in large part, not laws passed by Congress but rules handed down by the military authorities. The Smith Bill would therefore make it a law, in advance, that to violate any regulation heretofore or hereafter decreed by the generals or admirals is a crime. This ends all distinction between civil authority and the military authority which is traditionally presumed to be subordinate to the civil authority. It means rule by the military in peacetime.

Dared Less in War-Time
 3. The wartime treason and espionage law of June, 1917 provides for issuance of search warrants to civil or military officials on presentation of affidavits that in the official's belief, a search of some given house will aid in securing a conviction for treason or espionage.

In the midst of the last war, the government dared apply this procedure only to cases involving treason or espionage. Now, in peacetime, the government's military authorities dare to propose to apply this procedure immediately to any and all opponents of war!

Aliens Made Criminals
 Title III of the bill is directed against aliens. It prohibits naturalization for those aliens who advocate "any form of government for the U. S. contrary to that now existing." A believer in peaceful transition to socialism or, for that matter, a believer in non-violence who wanted the government also to be non-violent, would be ineligible to become a citizen.

It provides a whole series of new reasons for deporting aliens, and for the registration of all aliens. Since it is obvious that registration cards for aliens are wholly ineffectual unless citizens also have identification cards, this provision is really a step toward compulsory registration of the whole population.

Concentration Camps
 Title IV sets up restrictions against immigration from those countries which refuse to accept for deportation aliens now in this country, while Title V sets up a concentration camp for aliens who are now in this country and who cannot be deported.

Such are the main outlines of this vicious bill—warmly endorsed by Roosevelt's military subordinates.