

## SOCIALIST APPEAL

Vol. III, No. 47 July 4, 1939

Published twice a week by the  
SOCIALIST APPEAL PUBLISHING ASSN.  
at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.  
Telephone: ALgonquin 4-8547Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for six months. For-  
eign: \$3.00 per year, \$1.50 for six months. Single copies 2  
cents per copy in the United States; 3 cents per copy in  
all foreign countries. Single copies: 2 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:  
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Associate Editors: FELIX MORROW  
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EMANUEL GARRETT Business Manager: SHERMAN STANLEYFIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST  
WORKERS PARTY FOR:

1. A job and a decent living 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.

## What They Say

Somebody said a few days ago that "democracy" and "peace" are the two most abused words in the English language. In this country 20 million starving people are asked to get along on the "fruits of democracy" but nobody knows better than those 20 millions that there is no nourishment in that fruit. Our masters give us the democratic right to go hungry and then to die or be maimed on the battlefields they will send us to in the name of "peace." All over the world billions are being poured into ships, guns, and airplanes for the purposes of "peace." Roosevelt is for "peace"—Hitler is for "peace"—the Japanese generals are for "peace."

In the mouths of the rulers and their chorus of chattering monkeys, preachers, ladies' clubs, rotarians, columnists, radio commentators, newspaper editors, labor fakers, Stalinists, so-called socialists, these words become foul poisons, poured down the gullets of the people. So long as we follow them, there shall be for the millions of us no democracy, no peace.

But we of the Socialist Workers Party have a way of meaning exactly what we say. When we speak of democracy, we mean democracy, not the lying plutocracy of the monkeys' chorus. We're fighting for a society in which the great masses of the people shall be free to thrive, to grow, to flourish in minds and bodies amid the plenty provided by the conquered material resources of the earth.

When we speak of peace we mean peace, not an armed truce. We mean a peace solidly established by the very absence of the causes of capitalist war. The war that menaces us all is not caused by this or that evil Fascist dictator but by the terrific conflict between rival capitalists striving for markets, for labor to exploit, for more profits, more wealth, wrung out of the backs and bones of more people. By crushing capitalism and establishing a free socialist commonwealth of nations we shall abolish war and establish a real peace.

It is to this struggle that the Socialist Workers Party dedicates itself. These are the problems that lie behind the organizational problems with which our convention, in session over this week-end, has been wrestling. And our words mean what they say. We're democrats and we're for peace, but we're not for the phoney democracy of the bosses and we're not for the kind of "peace" that ends up in a new boss war. Hail the convention of the Socialist Workers Party and—To work!

## Stalin's Russia

Every once in a while now the world is given a glimpse into the dark depths of the purge with which Stalin lashed millions in Russia during the past few years.

When Laurent Beria succeeded the unlamented Yezhov—now a victim of his own brutal regime—it was publicly admitted that thousands of workers had been falsely charged, falsely imprisoned, falsely tortured, and wantonly put to death in the dungeons of Stalin's G.P.U. Now that Andrei Vishinsky, Stalin's prosecutor-in-chief, has been kicked upstairs on his way to the oblivion from which no Stalin tool ever returns, more of the filth is rising to the surface.

The New York Times reports that Vishinsky's successor, a gentleman named Pankratyeff,

told a Moscow conference of prosecutors that people had been arrested recklessly, that the period of investigation had been dragged out "impermissibly" and that suspects had been kept for lengthy periods in jail—and jail in the Soviet Union of Stalin means endless weeks and months and years of moral and physical torture.

Russia faces the present war crisis in a position that is strong only in the most superficial sense. The corrosive force generated by Stalin has eaten deeply into the most vital organs of the country. Its effects will become visible when the strain of war is placed upon it. Only by cutting the Stalinist cancer from itself will the Russian working class be able to emerge victoriously from the momentous conflicts that lie ahead.

## Danger Signal

Here is a danger signal—to us and to the labor movement as a whole.

A cross-section of W.P.A. workers and direct relief recipients were asked by the Gallup poll: "Do you think you would be better off or worse off if there were a Republican administration in the White House?"

Better off, said 24%, while another 32% said it would make no difference. In other words, a decisive majority of the unemployed—who overwhelmingly voted for Roosevelt in 1932 and 1936—have lost faith in him.

The Gallup poll's sampling confirms the trend already evidenced in the 1938 elections. Millions upon millions of workers, especially the unemployed—who constitute, with their families, 23 millions—are turning in despair away from the New Deal. And the only alternative to the status quo that they see is the Republican party of Hoover, and they vote for it in their blind desperation. Anything, anything, except what they already have . . . that is the psychology of desperate tens of millions. And not a few of them turn also to the fascist demagogues who lavishly promise everybody everything.

The Gallup poll is a danger signal. It means that, by servilely supporting the Roosevelt administration, the official labor movement is not lifting a finger to prevent the masses from turning to the Republicans and the fascists.

Only smug scoundrels like the Stalinists will blame these millions of workers for turning to the Republicans and fascists. These workers are not to blame. The blame is on the labor leaders who offer them no real alternative.

Either the labor movement will undertake the responsibility for defending the interests of the desperate masses, will fight for their right to jobs and relief, and that means fighting against the relief-slashing Roosevelt administration—or the masses will succumb to the demagoguery of the Republicans and fascists.

## Education Be Damned

The New York State Legislature is in special session at Albany as a result of the court decision that declared unconstitutional the so-called lump-sum "economy" budget which slashed \$9,700,000 from funds for state aid to schools. With an ear cocked to the great clamor of protest that has arisen over this attempt to make economies by taking them out of the hides and minds of the state's children, the Democrats are making a big play of "fighting" for restoration of the school cuts.

Taking every possible opportunity to place responsibility for the cuts solely at the door of the Republican majority, Gov. Lehman and his fellow-democrats have introduced bills for restorations of the school money and have referred protesting delegations to the Republicans.

But Lehman and his friends are putting up nothing more than a sham battle. The Legislature is going methodically through the budget, changing its form to comply with constitutional requirements and carrying over into it, of course, the economies made at the expense of the schools. As a number of Albany correspondents have sagely pointed out, the Democrats, if they really wanted to make any kind of fight for the schools, would be presenting alternate sources of revenue out of the pockets of those who can well afford it in order to make up the necessary sums. But of this there is no sign.

The bosses don't see any point any more in pouring money into a school system that doesn't pay them dividends. You don't need to educate cannon fodder. You've simply got to push them in front of the cannon. Education was a luxury that the bosses allowed themselves when the going was good. It was a luxury, like "benefits" for the workers. But the time for luxuries is slipping past the bosses. The squeeze is getting harder. They rip away the meager "benefits" they used to throw like scraps to the workers and they are cutting down on schools for the workers' children. The Tweedledee Lehman and the Tweedledum Republicans both serve the same bosses. That's why Lehman's battle for the schools is only a sham battle.

New Testimony Damning Stalin  
Policy of Rule or Ruin in SpainIrving Pflaum, United Press Correspondent, Adds His  
Testimony to that Already Given by Krivitsky and Ar-  
quistain on Stalin's Sabotage of the Loyalist Struggle

By RAY ROBBINS

The rule-and-ruin Stalinist policy in Spain, most recently exposed in the revelations of General Krivitsky and Luis Arquistain, is once again confirmed by the corroborating evidence presented by Irving Pflaum, United Press correspondent behind the Loyalist lines throughout the civil war.

Mr. Pflaum, writing in the May issue of the American Mercury, tells how Stalin used the threat of discontinuing arms shipments to the beleaguered Spanish workers as political blackmail. At first, Stalin hesitated to send munitions to Spain. He wasn't sure that such an action would not interfere with his maneuvers on the diplomatic front with Britain and France. This calculated period of hesitation, during which Stalin sacrificed the Spanish workers to the exigencies of "collective security," covered four months, a crucial period for the whole outcome of the war.

**SENDS ARMS—  
AT A HIGH PRICE**

Finally, Stalin decided to back the Spanish struggle, and began to ship arms; making sure that he was paid in good Spanish gold—and paid well in advance.

An ironical letter sent by Caballero, while still Premier, to a friend, is quoted by Pflaum to show the perfidious use Stalin made of the vital arms shipments.

"We would be ungrateful," Caballero says, "and unobliging to those who sell us arms—arms which are paid for in gold, cash on the line, and which they use even for blackmail, removing and installing ministries at their pleasure."

Caballero, Pflaum also reports, accused the Stalin gang of withholding munitions at decisive points in the military

struggle in order to further their factional interests.

**TAKE CONTROL BY  
BLACKMAIL AND THREATS**

"On three occasions during his incumbency, he (Caballero) said, it would have been possible to strike decisively, perhaps to defeat Franco—at Guadalajara, Pozoblanco, and Aragon—and each time the flow of munitions stopped in time to save Franco."

Caballero says that he was told by the Stalinists that the arms shipments had been held up by the "Non-Intervention." "But I believe," Pflaum reports him as saying, "the prolongation of the war was deliberate. Arms were held back until communist control was assured."

As a result of such ruthless sabotaging and blackmail tactics, Stalin's "democratic" bloodhounds were soon in control of Loyalist Spain. Terror against all opponents, especially directed against the revolutionists, destruction of all the gains made by the workers and peasants toward socialist control, emasculation of the army by the G.P.U. cabal; these were the inquisitorial methods of the Stalinist agents once they were firmly in power.

In the face of the Stalinist measures, the inevitable effect on the workers was demoralization. Pflaum tells the heart-breaking story of the last days of the Loyalist rout. The spirit of both civilians and soldiers had been undermined.

"General apathy took the place of the revolutionary zeal evidenced in the earlier period. The draft displaced the volunteer system. The kind of fighting force that had defeated Franco's trained troops and their foreign reinforcements now gave way to a sullen, 'disciplined,' and continually more spiritless army, chafing under the po-

lice regime of its communist commissars. More than two-thirds of the most ardent and self-sacrificing fighting men, being communist, were insufficiently supplied, and in effect demobilized when their assistance was most needed. More and more Spaniards say, 'What difference who wins; it's tyranny on both sides.'"

**POPULAR FRONT  
POLITICIANS CONVICTED**

"When Franco reached the sea, in March 1938, Prieto, still Minister of Defense, told me," Pflaum relates, "it's not munitions so much as cojones (guts). The men don't want to fight as they did in the early days." And no wonder. After the Stalinist blight had passed over the army, the Spanish workers would have to have been made of superhuman material not to lose heart and wav-

er. The rout of the last days of the civil war thus becomes perfectly clear. The withdrawal of the Loyalist army from Barcelona, handing the city with its great supplies of munitions and foodstuffs to the fascists without the slightest real resistance, stands as a condemnation of Stalinism.

The article by Pflaum is aimed solely at the Stalinists, but it indirectly convicts the cowardly policy of the various Popular Front politicians. Why did Prieto, Arquistain, Caballero and Co. preserve complete silence when what they might have said would have been of the greatest importance in the military struggle? Their extreme eagerness to talk now, when the Spanish workers are finally defeated, is a two-edged weapon. Their mutual accusations, angry and frenzied, sound more and more like the falling out of thieves, each one eager to cover himself by unloading on the others.

Striking a Balance of Labor's  
Recent Minneapolis Campaign

With the dust of the Minneapolis municipal campaign still settling on one of the most heartening manifestations of independent labor political action of recent years, and with the labor movement of this state still buzzing with talk of the phenomenal showing of the labor slate, it is appropriate to make an estimate of the political struggle through which the Minneapolis unions have come.

Briefly, the balance sheet of the campaign reads as follows:  
**Many Pluses**

1. The platform adopted by the April 8 trade union and Farmer-Labor conference, the platform upon which the labor candidates ran, marked a measurable advance over all Farmer-Labor platforms of recent years. It spoke out for the defense of popular civil liberties and for a defense of specific working class rights: "The rights of labor to organize, bargain collectively, picket, strike and strive for better living and working conditions." It opposed the sales tax for the right reason, that such a tax "is a burden on the people least able to pay." It advocated "a municipal public works and housing program to take care of all persons now residing in homes unfit for human habitation." Such a program would have to build decent homes for at least eleven thousand persons now living in squalid quarters.

The platform declared for adequate relief, opposed the concentration camp system advocated by the employers and their boss parties. It opposed "all attempts to return the cost of relief back to the states and the local communities as this is an attempt by large income tax payers to . . . shift the relief burden to the backs of the home owners and the small businessmen."

2. The most refreshing aspect of the platform and of the entire labor campaign was that none of the candidates tried to fall the discredited New Deal and turn the workers backward

to a support of the Democratic Party. It is this one factor, more than any other, that explains the enthusiasm and the success of labor's political comeback as contrasted to the Farmer-Labor debacle of last fall, when the Benson machine got snowed under when they tried to sell the workers and farmers of Minnesota the tattered remnants of the Roosevelt party. The 1938 elections nationally and every political development since then indicates that the New Deal with its war-mongering and relief-slashing is losing the support of the masses.

**Trade Unions Lead**

3. For the first time in many years the trade unions led and controlled the campaign through their members on the Volunteer Trade Union and Farmer-Labor Campaign Committee. The Farmer-Laborites on the committee, composed mostly of Stalinists, contributed nothing whatsoever to the campaign, indeed they proved a definite handicap. It was the union committee headed by Seavey and Ogg that raised the finances from the local unions, opened the union headquarters in various wards and carried on and directed the fight for the labor slate.

The Farmer-Labor ward clubs, completely gutted by the disastrous defeat of 1938, played no role.

The trade union committees set up in the various wards did women's work for the labor slate. Here is precisely the campaign apparatus that must be developed in all future labor campaigns, in Minneapolis and every other city. It is especially encouraging to note that these trade union committees were not disbanded since the election, but are being organized on a permanent basis in the three wards where they flourished.

**Spurred Communist Party**

4. If the labor slate silently rejected the New Deal, along with the party of Stassen and Landon, it publicly and vigorously lashed out at the Communist Party. And it didn't do any clownish red-baiting, it called the Stalinists for what they are, the most reactionary force in the labor movement today.

The day has passed in Minneapolis, and is rapidly passing everywhere in the world, where

either the Communist Party or Martin Dies can pretend that the Stalinists are reds. They're not, they are war-mongers and supporters of anti-working class politics in every country of the world.

T. A. Elde, labor's mayoralty candidate, bluntly rejected the Communist Party by stating in an open letter that "I have not sought and I do not wish any support or endorsement from the Communist Party. I wish to seek the support of all groups who are sincerely interested in the improvement of the working conditions and living standards of all people who must labor for a living."

Carefully distinguishing between the aims of the Communist Party and the aims of organized labor, Elde said, "I wish to point out that the principles and purposes of the Communist Party do not coincide with a progressive and constructive platform such as I am campaigning on."

**Try to Knife Slate**

True to their yellow record, the Communist Party threw a knife into the labor slate in the closing days of the campaign by distributing a foul leaflet in the reactionary wards of the city, attributing New Deal sentiments to Elde and otherwise distorting the union campaign.

This dirty job is registered in the minds of tens of thousands of workers, and Elde, after the campaign, called them on it.

"At the last minute the old blundering tool of reaction, the Communist Party, peddled its propaganda sheets throughout the most conservative wards and church areas, intensely blanketing the Eighth and Thirtieth Wards, seeking to give the impression their cause would be helped by the election of T. A. Elde. This door-to-door work by the Communist pamphlet peddlers occurred at the same time as my opponent's last minute city-wide distribution of propaganda sheets took place, all aimed to discredit me without giving me an opportunity to answer because of lack of time."

"The enemies of the liberal and progressive movement who have been boring from within have been forced to show their true colors and now we stand ready to carry the fight to every corner of Minnesota," said Elde in his post-campaign statement.

IN THIS  
CORNER

By Max Shachtman

June marks an anniversary that should not be passed by without mention. Ten years ago appeared the first number of the Bulletin of the Opposition (Byuletin Oposititsye), the first regularly printed organ of the Russian Bolshevik-Leninists.

Leon Trotsky, Natalia Ivanovna Sedov and their son Leon had been banished from the Soviet Union by the G.P.U. a few months earlier, in January 1929, and had taken up residence in Istanbul, Turkey. Stalin's decree banishing the organizer and the sword of the October Revolution was perhaps the greatest single mistake made by the Kremlin autocrat in his self-assigned task of interfering the world revolution. Despite the natural restrictions imposed upon a political exile in Turkey, Trotsky's release from "house detention" in the wilderness of Alma-Ata, where he had been confined for about a year since his expulsion from the Russian Communist party, afforded him his first real opportunity to establish contact with the international movement.

## Rearming the Movement

Clearing away the mass of misrepresentation and falsehood spread by the Stalinist machine about the Bolshevik opposition in the Soviet Union was the first job to be tackled—and nothing in our time has more closely resembled Hercules' tasks of cleansing the Augean stables. Inseparably connected with this job went the one of re-arming the international communist movement with the principles and traditions of Marx and Lenin, which the Moscow machine had ridiculed, discredited and then solemnly banned as heresy.

The accomplishment of these tasks would not have been impossible without the Bulletin of the Opposition, but it would have been infinitely harder than it was.

Up to the time it began publication, the only material we could rely upon to give us a true picture of the situation in the Soviet Union and the program of the Bolshevik Opposition—what appeared in the Stalinist press could of course not be relied on at all, then as now—was contained in the episodic scraps which Trotsky or other comrades managed to smuggle out of the Soviet Union. From June 1929 onward, we—and I speak here primarily about our own terribly isolated movement of those days—had at our disposal not only a dependable source of information, but a political-theoretical organ which measured up to the highest standards of the great literature of Marxism. Even nowadays we await each issue with impatience, and just as impatiently the translation of the important articles, which usually means virtually the full contents of the number.

## Trotsky's Contributions

It is almost an iron law of the movement, as we have observed it in the last decade, that every backslider and turncoat from Marxism who is abandoning its revolutionary principles, or even those shreds to which he was once attached, covers his retreat by squeaky denunciation of "Trotsky's dictatorship" or the "one-man international" or more of the same. Anyone acquainted with the early years of our international movement, back in the days of Marx and Engels, will easily identify this refrain, if only the names in the latter-day revisionist lament are changed from Marx to Trotsky.

The most merciful thing that can be said about these critics is that they are guilty of the crime of ignorance. They know nothing about the actual functioning of our movement. Those of us who do, understand how absurd is the accusation—more accurately, this pretext for retreat. We who have been eager to learn and fight in the revolutionary struggle, not only at high tide but also at low, know how to appraise justly the invaluable and unique contribution Trotsky has made in enriching the arsenal of the living movement. And unlike the shamed-faced "friends" of the revolution, whose much-touted "independence of thought" is conceived by them as license for fluttering around in a thickening daze, we are proud to proclaim ourselves followers of Leon Trotsky.

The Bulletin of the Opposition has played a tremendous role in the crystallizing of our political ideas and in the solidifying of our movement throughout the world, the movement which our enemies are pleased to call—it is a name we readily accept—"Trotskyist."

## A Salute to Leon Sedov

No comment on the Bulletin can end without a mention of the comrade who was its effective director from the very beginning, the late Leon Sedov. Soon after his banishment to Turkey, he left for Berlin, where the Bulletin was launched. Although he lived under difficult political conditions, "Lyova" succeeded in editing and managing (and contributing to) the Bulletin until early in 1933. The advent of the Hitler regime meant the end of the German publication of the review. The Nazis banned it, forcing young Sedov to flee to Paris, where publication of the Bulletin was resumed.

Those who had the privilege of knowing this magnificent young revolutionist could learn from his conduct what a model militant should be. His devotion was tireless and profound. His political development—he died at the age of 32—was remarkably rapid and solid. He knew in what proportions to mix boldness, courage and prudence, even though he never tended to lay emphasis on the last-named. Despite surveillance by the G.P.U. and the bourgeois police, he knew his job, knew how to accomplish it, and did accomplish it. It was not only the Bulletin of the Opposition that owed its existence to Leon Sedov.

We evaluated him in life less keenly, alas, than did the G.P.U. We did not realize in time how determined Stalin's hatchet-men were to rid their boss of Leon and his works. Only later we learned of the special attention the G.P.U. had devoted to the young militant for a long time before his death. Only later was it revealed that he had been shadowed daily and almost assassinated one day at a rendezvous which, by happy accident, did not materialize.

Leon died in "mysterious circumstances." But not so mysterious that the hand of the Kremlin butcher is not evident.

His death was a stiff blow to his parents, a blow to the Bulletin, a great blow to our international movement. On the tenth anniversary of the Bulletin we salute the shining memory of the intrepid revolutionist whose name will always be associated with it—Leon Sedov.