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FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY FOR:

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9. No secret diplomacy.
10. An independent Labor Party.
11. Workers' Defense Guards against vigilante and Fascist attacks.
12. Full social, political and economic equality for the Negro people.

Trotsky In Danger

Elsewhere in this issue we report the details of the latest attempt against Trotsky. The vigilance of those guarding Trotsky in his household succeeded in thwarting the attempt as soon as it began.

But let us not delude ourselves: Trotsky is in grave personal danger. Not only is he in danger from the Stalinist GPU assassins; but also from Stalin's allies, the Nazi gangsters; and from the "democrats" who, as the war deepens and is prolonged, fear more and more the spectre of the ending of the war by revolution. To both the camps of Hitler-Stalin and Chamberlain-Roosevelt, Trotsky represents the revolution which they would destroy.

Trotsky's comrades and friends are taking all the precautions that are humanly possible within their means. Particularly, guard precautions have been increased within the household.

The Fourth International does not intend that Trotsky, who represents the direct line of Marxism, shall suffer the fate handed out to the old Bolsheviks by Stalin.

American Labor Party

In the New York City councilmanic elections, we are asking the workers in the Bronx and Manhattan to give first place on their ballots to Max Shachtman (Bronx) and George Lyman Paine (Manhattan), the candidates of the anti-war party, the Socialist Workers Party. For all other councilmanic and other posts, we ask the workers of New York to vote for the candidates of the American Labor Party.

Our support of the ALP candidates, now as in other elections, is *not* based on any agreement with their program. It would be more correct to say that we support them in spite of their program. The ALP program has always been an opportunist one, a patchwork of petty-bourgeois proposals, tinged here and there with a trade union coloration. The ALP's pro-war resolution of Oct. 4, which we have analyzed and condemned in a series of articles, merely continues the opportunist course of the ALP. Peace-time opportunism is the fountain-head of war-time chauvinism.

Why, then, do we call upon the workers to vote for the ALP candidates? Because the ALP is the organized expression on the political field of a major group of trade unions. We want to see the trade unions and other workers' organizations organize their *own* party, a Labor Party, independent of and opposed to the capitalist parties, and within the arena of the Labor Party a struggle of programs for the working class can be carried on far more concertedly than today.

The bigger the vote for the ALP, the more would the workers be encouraged to insist that their unions join in the formation of a nationwide Labor Party.

A Labor Party, to have any meaning, must be based on the trade unions. That is why, in the present fight between the pro-Ally and pro-Hitler-Stalin camps in the ALP, we recognize the pro-Ally camp—the leadership of the needle trades unions—as the official representatives of the ALP. They have with them the overwhelming majority of the trade unions affiliated to the

ALP. The Stalinists have few unions; the neighborhood clubs they control mean nothing in the basic structure of a Labor Party.

Programmatically, we fight equally against both war-camps: against the "democratic" as much as against the Hitler-Stalin camp. We ask the workers to support our program in this election by giving first preference on their ballots to our candidates. But we also ask them to vote for the official candidates of the American Labor Party in order to speed the day when the workers will break away from the capitalist parties.

Within the ALP we ask the workers, in the voting on the ALP pro-war resolution, to vote neither with the Stalinists nor with their opponents. A vote for either side is a vote for a camp of war-mongers. Within the ALP, as everywhere in the working class, we work for the formation of a *third camp*: the camp of revolutionary struggle against both warring camps.

Courting Stalin

Winston Churchill's statement on Oct. 1 that Stalin's invasion of Poland "was clearly necessary for the safety of Russia" received the guarded approval of Prime Minister Chamberlain on Oct. 26; the same day Viscount Halifax, British Foreign Secretary, stated "It is worth recalling that the action of the Soviet Government has been to advance the Russian boundary substantially to that recommended at the time of the Versailles conference by Lord Curzon."

In short, after a month of great moral indignation, the Anglo-French camp has decided to put a good face on Stalin's annexations.

All that this new development tells us is that the Anglo-French camp has not given up hope of wooing Stalin away from Hitler. It tells us nothing new about Stalin's invasion.

We did not join the Anglo-French imperialists in their self-righteous and hypocritical denunciations of the invasion. We do not join them now in their whitewash of the invasion. A month ago and today, our judgment of the invasion remains the same.

We criticized the invasion from the standpoint of the international working class. That standpoint has nothing in common with that of either warring camp, or their Social-Democratic or Stalinist agents. We repudiated with contempt the Social-Democratic call for defense (in "democratic" uniforms) of "poor little Poland." We repudiated with contempt the Stalinist alibi that Stalin was "liberating" the occupied territories; we said that the nationalization of industry and the land by the Soviet bureaucracy in the occupied territories was being carried out, for one reason only: that the Soviet bureaucracy did not desire to share the power with the Polish capitalists and landlords. We called upon the workers in the occupied territories to take advantage of the new situation, by taking the lead in destroying the old regime, organizing factory and peasant committees and preparing to carry through, jointly with the workers of the Soviet Union, of which they are now a part, the overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy.

We still stand on that position, Messrs. Chamberlain and Halifax and Stalin to the contrary.

Why Catalonia Fell

In the early spring of this year, we now know, Hitler prepared his anti-Polish military campaign; the first negotiations between Hitler and Stalin in this connection began then.

In the early spring of this year, the Stalinist-dominated Negrin government was still in power in Loyalist Spain. Suddenly, its defenses in Catalonia collapsed. The chief stronghold of the Loyalists, Barcelona, fell without a fight. Within a few days all of Catalonia was in the hands of Franco. When the outright capitulationists, led by Miaja and Casado, moved to take control and make peace with Franco, the Stalinist leaders offered no resistance; they flew to safety abroad, leaving the masses to Franco's mercy.

Was it a coincidence that, as Stalin was coming to terms with Hitler, Stalin's hirelings were abandoning the fight against fascism in Spain? We did not then know the facts about the secret agreement with Hitler; although we then predicted a pact between them. But even then we were able accurately to characterize Stalin's role in Spain: a deliberate betrayal of the Spanish working class.

The Stalinists indignantly denied it then. But now?

Heywood Brown, columnist and president of the American Newspaper Guild, denied he is, or ever has been, a member of the Communist party. Gad! Think of the dues he's cheated that party out of!

Socialist Appeal
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What the Nazi Press Says About The Stalin-Hitler War Alliance

(Concluded from Last Issue)
The significance of the collapse of the Comintern is summarized as follows by the Nazis. (All quotes are from the *Deutsche Zeitung von Mexico*, Sept. 12, 19 and 28.)

"This complete ideological and organizational disintegration of the Comintern has not failed to affect in turn the inner political developments in the Soviet Union." After Bolshevik Russia found out that it had no revolutionary support in the other countries, "the responsible statesmen in the Soviet Union were left with no other alternative than that of liquidating Bolshevism in their own country too."

"The Nazi organ has no doubt that the liquidation of Bolshevism inside Russia has been concluded for some time: Bolshevism means the erection of a Socialist order of society; Socialism, however, means the removal, i.e., the withering away of the State. The Nazis are not deceived by the label 'Socialist State' which the Stalinist bureaucracy have pasted on; they prefer to stick to the facts:

"The State and all its institutions such as the standing army, police, etc., had not been destroyed; on the contrary the Soviet Russian Army and Police are two very important factors in the power of the State. And in order that no illusion shall remain on the score that the Red Army has long ago ceased to be an instrument of the Comintern and the banner bearer of the world revolution the following words have been deleted from the oath of the Red Army at the beginning of the current year: 'I pledge myself to fight for the cause of Socialism and for the brotherhood of the nations. The Red Army fights on the battlefields of Poland not for the world revolution but, just like the German Army, to rectify an injustice, against British and French imperialism and for a greater Russia.'

"SEE NOT A TRACE OF BOLSHEVISM
"The workers, peasants and soldiers councils which are supposed to form the actual ground work of the Soviet system, have been successfully eliminated for 15 years and in 1937 they were finally liquidated with the re-introduction of Soviet foreign interest."

"Nor has the officialdom been abolished in the Soviet Union. Officials are not elected by the workers, as the Bolshevik program calls for, but are appointed by superior bodies of the State. They receive not the pay of the worker, as Socialism propagates, but have on the contrary, the very same and even greater privileges than the officialdom in old Czarist Russia."

"Cast distinction and cast conflicts have not been abolished in the Soviet Union. They are perhaps not greater, but in no case smaller than in other countries." The Nazi paper substantiates this contention by taking up wage policy in the Soviet Union and concludes: "We have here differences in income from 3,000 up to 300,000 rubles." And after all these facts have been enumerated we get this reassuring balance sheet: "Of the

program of the Bolshevik Party... not a single plank has been fulfilled in the Soviet Union" and "there can be no question of Bolshevism in the Soviet Union."

HAVE NO ILLUSIONS ABOUT STALINISM

The Nazis are also acquainted with the arguments which have lately been brought forth by the bewildered Stalinists and People's Fronters, namely that "this pact is only a bluff on the part of Soviet Russia... in order to facilitate the organization of the Bolshevik revolution in Germany." In Germany there is a different conception: "Such an interpretation... is based only upon distrust as to the inner-political stability of Germany, and can only be explained by the fact that the sponsors of such views leave out of consideration the tremendous political and economic changes which have taken place in the Soviet Union in the last few years."

The Nazis on the other hand, who take completely into account the tremendous political and economic changes which have come about in the Soviet Union in the last few years, finally come out with the following contention:

"Even a National Socialist Germany can live in undisturbed friendship with a National Bolshevik Russia which has given up the ideas of world revolution, has no territorial claims on Germany, and which fights together with Germany for the destruction of the Versailles Diktat."

If the Hitler press has no illusion about the true substance of Stalinism, it does have very many illusions regarding the "inner-political stability of Germany" and the "undisturbed friendship" with Russia. The inner-political "stability" of Ger-

many rests in the main upon a convulsive terror.

Hitler and his retainers are today engaged in exploiting the pact with Stalin in the face of the dissatisfied German masses who were opposed to war: if Russia itself, they plead stands on our side, then we do not fight for a just cause? Thus the pact with Stalin serves them to justify the plans of German imperialism and to infuse in the German masses confidence in the fascist warmongers. In reality, however, the support which the Hitler dictatorship finds in Stalin is of very questionable value. Just as the German masses have come to understand the genuine essence of Hitler's "National Socialism," so they will also lose their illusions regarding Stalin's "National Bolshevism."

MASSES DO NOT TRUST EITHER OF ITS 'FRIENDS'

By ordering his scriveners to describe Stalin as a trustworthy partner who has liquidated Bolshevism and Socialism, Hitler at the same time discredits Stalin in the eyes of the German masses who up to recently have looked with hope to Moscow and secretly listened in to the Moscow broadcasts. Hitler intends to cure the masses of their Socialist hopes, but he will only free them of their last illusion about Stalinism. The Pact may have caused temporary confusion and depression in Germany but Hitler will not gain new confidence even with Stalin's help. In turning against Hitler, the German masses are now turning at the same time against Stalin and his clique. The "undisturbed friendship" of Hitler and Stalin is approaching a hard test. The collapse of the one will most certainly carry the other along with it.

Will Stalinist Regime Add to Its Conquests?

By **SHERMAN STANLEY**

The uppermost question in the minds of imperialist diplomats today is, "What next from Stalin and his regime?" Is it possible for Stalin—already deeply enmeshed in his alliance with Hitlerism—to withdraw? Or must he continue along the path of conquest and enslavement upon which he has set out?

Stalin and his bureaucratic cohorts have raised to their lips the bottle containing the heady wine of conquest and expansion, pressed from fruits gathered by their plunderers. The first drops have tasted sweet and have gone down smoothly. Will Stalin now give an additional tilt to the bottle so as to increase the flow?

Let us summarize what has been done by the ruling Kremlin powers to date. They have conquered Eastern Poland (Byelo Russia and the Polish Ukraine) and established their undisputed rule over this large area. Estonia has been made a military "protectorate", with such conditions that its whole national structure is, in effect, ruled by Russia. With this arrangement there has come sea control over the North Baltic (Gulf of Finland) and military positions that make the capitulation of Finland inevitable before the threats of the Kremlin rulers.

Latvia and Lithuania are meekly following behind Estonia and are likewise foredoomed to become "protectorates"—thus giving control of the entire Baltic Sea over to Stalin. Bessarabia—a totally undefended section of the tottering Rumanian state—can be plucked by the Kremlin's hand at a moment's notice. Rumania is eventually to be parcelled between Fascist Germany and the Soviet Union. Thus, a transportation route running from Georgia and the Caucasus, via the Black Sea and Rumania, has been cleared. Over this route will flow a part of the raw materials bound for Hitler's troops.

As to the fate of Turkey and the Balkan nations, while this question has been postponed for the time being by the signing of the Anglo-French-Turkish Pact, it is nevertheless more likely that the German-Russian alliance will be more potent. The door has been left open for this eventuality by an "escape" clause in the Pact which categorically states that under no circumstances will Turkey fight against Russia.

The great strategic value and importance represented by the Dardanelles and Bosphorus—as proven by the great campaign waged for control of the Straits and the Gallipoli peninsula in the last world war—make it vitally necessary for Stalin to attempt to hold Turkey in line. This fact, combined with the traditional policy of German imperialism—the drive to the East—will tend to dominate the fate of the Balkans.

Not a March for Liberation

Already there are reports that indicate the rapid approach of events in the Near and Far East which will have the utmost significance for the oppressed colonial peoples of Asia. These reports indicate the intention of the Stalinist bureaucratic gang to embark on a program of expansion southward and eastward.

Fulfilling his current role as a supporter and agent of German imperialism, Stalin may—at the command of his present master—be instructed to strike vital blows at British imperialism in its territories that extend from Iraq on the West to distant Burma on the East.

These lands are now the prize possessions of the badly shaken British Empire. They include Iraq, Iran (Persia), Afghanistan, British and Native India, Nepal, Tibet, and Burma. Within its vast confines live hundreds of millions of colonial slaves—workers and peasants—who have suffered long years under the harsh rule of "democratic" British imperialism. These people—representing almost one-fourth of humanity (500,000,000!) have been swept by tidal waves of revolutionary nationalist sentiment for liberation from imperialist rule.

The people of these British colonies desire—above all—their national independence. Right now their lives are spent as colonial slaves working in the interests of the hated British slave-masters. The oil fields of Iran, the produce of the "Fertile Crescent" of Mesopotamia (Iraq), the mineral and industrial wealth of India—all of these are exploited by the British imperialists.

But Stalin would not come down among these people as a "liberator" or a revolutionary enemy of British rule. If Stalin should march south into the Persian oil fields; if he should attempt to overrun Afghanistan as a route into the Punjab, the most fertile and developed agricultural area of India; if he should conceive of a double invasion of India by way of Afghanistan from the West, Sinkiang and Tibet from the East; then we must openly state that he comes as an enslaver of the colonial peoples—not as their "emancipator."

Colonials Will Reject Stalinism

The key answer to this complex problem lies in the overwhelming desire of these colonial people for their real, genuine freedom and national independence. Although the forms and methods of conquest and oppression of Stalin may vary greatly from those of British imperialism, nevertheless the entire nationalist and colonial revolutionary movement will instinctively reject and oppose any moves of Stalinism in their direction.

If reports continue to come through of the massing of Red Army troops in Sinkiang, of border violations in northern Afghanistan, of Nazi and Stalinist agents at work among the colonial peoples in attempts to deceive them and misuse their more than justified hatred of "democratic" British enslavement, then we shall return to what may become a burning question for the revolutionary colonial movement.

For the masses of the countries involved in these events there is only one slogan that strikes to the root of their desires: **Neither British imperialism, nor enslavement by the Stalinist bureaucracy. National independence and the right to work out their own revolutionary and socialist destiny!**

It took the Stalin regime three months to intervene in the Spanish revolutionary events, with results that everyone is acquainted with.

Now, with the beginning of activity on the part of the 375,000,000 people of India in a drive to gain their independence from British tyranny, the Kremlin masters are already casting an anxious eye in the direction of India. They are already laying the basis for their counter-revolutionary intervention through the pseudo-revolutionary activities of the Indian Stalinists and GPU agents! Stalin stands in unholy fear of a colonial revolution in India. Such a revolution would knock at the very doors of the Kremlin and threaten the ruling caste with immediate overthrow.

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