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COURT OUTLAWS SIT-DOWNS

New Fight Begins for War Referendum

La Follette Group Backs Amendment

Mass Sentiment Against War Punctures
Roosevelt Plans to Evade
Nation-wide Vote

SERIOUS FLAWS IN BILL

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
WASHINGTON, D. C., March 2—The tremendous public sentiment against plunging the United States into the rapidly approaching world war managed to break through the iron barrier of Roosevelt war preparations Feb. 28 in the Senate with a proposed amendment to the Constitution providing for a popular referendum before war could be declared by Congress.

The new proposal, backed by a group of twelve senators headed by Senator La Follette of Wisconsin, is similar to the Ludlow amendment which was killed in the House last year.

The Ludlow amendment as originally proposed declared against Congress engaging the United States in any war without a popular referendum unless an attack was launched against the mainland of the country.

War Mongers Attacked Bill
Both the Economic Royalists and the Stalinists attacked this proposal viciously. The Economic Royalists argued that it would tie the hands of the government in carrying out its foreign policy. The Stalinists, hoping for a war alliance between the Stalin government and the Roosevelt administration, argued that it would commit the government to "isolation" and in actual practice prevent it from "actively" engaging in the "fight against fascism."

As the attack grew in fury from the war-mongering capitalist camp and the war-mongering Stalinist camp, Ludlow acceded to amendments to his bill which greatly reduced any effectiveness it might have exerted had it been passed. The House later killed even this emasculated version.

Contains Grave Defects
The present proposed amendment to the constitution contains very grave defects. The referendum would be called when in the opinion of Congress "a national crisis" existed, but only to decide on war in Europe or Asia. If the administration decided that the war should be started in Latin America, it could be launched immediately without the referendum. Moreover, wars in these days are started and sometimes ended without even the formal declaration of war, much less the declaration that a "national crisis" exists.

Secondly, and more important, if Congress wished to make a formal declaration of war without calling for a referendum, it could do so in its opinion any of the following conditions existed: (a) The United States or its possessions had been attacked, (b) The United States or its possessions were immediately threatened with attack, (c) Any non-American nation had attacked or was threatening to attack any country in the Western Hemisphere.

How It Would Work
Translated into the language used by the Roosevelt administration at secret conferences and in secret war commitments, this means, for example, that if the people don't want war and the majority will vote against it, then Congress, strictly conforming to the amendment, can decide that any nation—Japan, Germany, Italy or one of the other capitalist rivals such as France or Great Britain, "threatens to attack" Mexico, Brazil, or Patagonia, or one of the remote outlying islands of the United States in the Pacific Ocean.

Already those who are deliberately steering the nation into war have started their attack against even this mild and imperfect call for a referendum. Neither the Economic Royalists nor the Stalinists can permit so much as the idea to enter the mind of the public that there is a war referendum in the constitution. In a public statement today Secretary Hull

attacked the bill viciously, declaring that it would "interfere with representative government."

Unionists Support Referendum
Support for a referendum on war is widespread throughout the nation, especially among militant unionists. Even though they realize that a referendum cannot prevent war, they recognize the progressive sentiment of the people in demanding such a referendum and are exerting every effort to further any bill which will make a declaration of war difficult or embarrassing to the Roosevelt administration or lead to the exposure of its real war aims.

CARIBBEAN NAVAL MANEUVERS AIM AT INTERVENTION

Problem is How To
Control South
America

Fleet Problem XX, or what the navy will do to enforce U.S. domination of South America, was last week solved by the Caribbean maneuvers. That the theoretical war fought somewhere in the southern Atlantic was more than a routine drill is proved by the participation of Pres. Roosevelt in its direction as well as by the unusual secrecy with which the "games" were surrounded.

As explained by the N.Y. Times (Feb. 28) the problem was based on a presumed large-scale uprising in the southern half of the American Hemisphere, with supplies of both men and munitions coming from Europe. While the Panama Canal and the Atlantic Coast defense were of undiminished importance, the broader aspect of the problem involved giving effective military support to the long-established Monroe doctrine of America for the Americans.

Purposes of Games
The maneuvers then had a double-barreled aim based on one intent: to preserve America for American profiteers. On the one hand the objectives of the "games" were patently directed against a possible revolution in South America. On the other, they were designed to work out American strategy for a coming war which may see certain of the South American countries lined up with powers against whom the U.S. has declared war.

South America, it has been repeatedly proved, figures larger (Continued on Page 3)

AUTO UNION WPA DIVISION PERILED BY STALIN GANG

Stalinists Seek to
Force Jobless
Into W.A.A.

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
DETROIT—The United Automobile Workers Union first launched a campaign to organize the W.P.A. workers of Michigan in the early months of 1939. Michigan, at that time, had over 150,000 workers on the W.P.A. payrolls. The vast bulk of these men were automobile workers and other mass production workers. This campaign constituted one of the most progressive steps of any C.I.O. union.

The U.A.W. was the first important International union that recognized unemployment as a responsibility of the labor movement itself and assumed its rightful obligation to organize the W.P.A. workers in the states where it dominated the labor movement.

The bold stand of the U.A.W. marked a sharp contrast to the timidity and confusion of the C.I.O. national leadership. The only advice and leadership the C.I.O. leadership provided to its affiliated unions consisted of several mimeographed bulletins over the signature of Ralph Hetzel, National Unemployment Director, advising all local unions to hold on to its unemployed membership. How this was to be accomplished, Mr. Hetzel did not know.

In effect, the C.I.O. policy meant no organization of the W.P.A. workers.

Set Up Staff
The Stalinists quickly stepped into this picture of confusion and uncertainty. Through their control of key C.I.O. central labor bodies, they "implemented" the national C.I.O. policy by the proposition that all other workers other than the C.I.O. enumerates, be required to join the Workers Alliance. The C.I.O. central labor bodies thus turned the W.P.A. and unemployed workers over to the defunct Workers Alliance. In spite of this shot in the arm, the Workers Alliance organized no W.P.A. or unemployed workers during this whole period in the middle western states.

The progressive character of the automobile workers program is obvious. For the first time, organized labor stopped mouthing pious phrases about the unemployed. An organization staff was set up, dues were placed at 50c per month, proper arrangements were made with the other International unions in Michigan and the drive was all geared to start.

Wrecking Crew in Action
Were the Stalinists going to allow the W.P.A. workers to actually be organized in a union not under their complete control? Perish the thought, said Earl Browder and his Michigan lieutenant, Bill Gebert. The wrecking crew got into action!

The first monkey wrench was thrown into the machinery by George F. Ades, union secretary-treasurer. He sent out a circular letter to all local unions, countermanding, in effect, the previous instructions issued by the union President. It was illegal, Ades stated, to charge 50c dues; the constitution required that dues be set at \$1.00; the fact that this was a W.P.A. auxiliary and the men involved were earning \$60 per month meant nothing to Ades.

Several more weeks of wran- (Continued on Page 2)

"Our Interests" Must Be Defended!



Court Decision or Not--The Right To A Decent Living Comes First!

AN EDITORIAL

The Supreme Court has ruled that sit-down strikes are illegal.

The Labor Board cannot compel an employer to re-hire a worker who took part in such a strike.

This brutal blow was delivered at the working class and the labor movement by Roosevelt's "liberalized" court.

Roosevelt's direct appointees joined the outright reactionaries of the Court in declaring sit-downs illegal.

The Declaration of Independence about which all "democrats" talk so much, states that we have the unalienable rights of Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness.

Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness mean absolutely nothing without the RIGHT TO A JOB FOR EVERY WORKER and the RIGHT TO A DECENT LIVING.

These rights come before everything else—whether the Supreme Court or anybody else says so or not.

The Supreme Court decision means: The worker does not have the right to a decent living, because he has no right to fight for one.

The American workers found out that one of the best and quickest ways of winning their demands for better conditions was the sit-down strike.

The capitalists, who would like to see labor reduced to the level of starving serfs, shouted: Get out of our plants! They belong to us! They are our private property!

The workers replied: Here we stay until you recognize our union, pay us better wages, shorten our working day.

The workers were saying: Our right to live as decent human beings comes before your right to private property.

THEY WERE 100% CORRECT!

Now, the Supreme Court says: The right to private property comes before the right of the workers to live decently.

It says so now, when it thinks labor is asleep, not fighting.

It didn't dare say a word about it before, when hundreds of thousands of workers were in action, sitting-down in the plants of big capital, and in no mood to be trifled with.

Why was it silent? Because the Supreme Court, like its capitalist masters, fears the power of the organized working class in action.

We repeat: the right to a job and a decent living comes ahead of the right of private capitalist property.

And labor will enforce that right with its own organized strength, whenever it deems it proper, necessary and effective—Supreme Court or no Supreme Court!

British Overlords Sole Gainers In Palestine Conference Plan

BY FELIX MORROW

While the Arab world joyously celebrates and Zionists in and out of Palestine cry out against betrayal, the fact of the matter is that the Palestine conference in London has benefited the British government most of all.

What do the Arabs actually have to show, to justify the jubilation in Palestine and the neighboring Arab states? Upon close scrutiny, apart from whatever private promises were made to the Arab delegates and which as so often before will not be carried out, the official British text of "suggestions" as a basis for further discussion provides:

1. A "transition period" in which Britain would continue to rule much as before. The "many questions" which Britain proposes to settle during this period mean that this period will last as long as British diplomatic ingenuity can drag it out.

Guards British Interests
2. The Constitution to govern the "independent Palestine state" which would follow the transition period will be written under the

round-table conference."

The document contains no commitments concerning provisions for democratic elections of any legislative body, or even for proportional representation according to population which would ensure an Arab majority.

In a word, perfidious Albion has given nothing away that can mean anything to the Arab masses.

Arab Backwardness
That this document is received so joyously by the Arab population, both in Palestine and the neighboring Arab states, testifies to the immature development of the Arab nationalist movement as compared, for example, to the Indian struggle for independence.

Whereas the rulers of the native states in India are correctly hated and despised as puppets of British imperialism and receive not the slightest measure of confidence

(Continued on Page 3)

Property Rights Take Precedence

Rooseveltians and Tories Join Hands
In Striking Brutal Blow At
American Labor Movement

ALL NINE BAN SIT-INS

Continuing the headlong policy of "business appeasement," for which the lead has been given by the Roosevelt administration during the past month, the Supreme Court last Monday fawned on Wall Street and struck hard at labor in three vicious and reactionary decisions.

The decisions were handed down on appeals by the Fansteel

**BARRIO NAMED
PRESIDENT, BUT
HE PLAYS SAFE**
Metallurgical Corp., (North Chicago), the Columbian Enameling and Stamping Co., (Terre Haute), and the Sands Manufacturing Co., (Cleveland), from the rulings of the National Labor Relations Board made under provisions of the Wagner Act.

The Fansteel case was the most spectacular of the three, involving as it did the legality of sit-down strikes. During the bitterly fought Fansteel sit-down strike, which was finally smashed by the brutal terror of armed police and company thugs, the Fansteel Corp. discharged a long list of militant workers. The N.L.R.B. investigation disclosed—what was known to every worker in the North Chicago area—that the Fansteel Corp. had been guilty of every sort of criminal and illegal "unfair labor practice." It ruled that the company should re-hire the discharged workers.

**Azana Reveals War
Given Up as Lost
Long Ago**

A communique was issued in Madrid on Wednesday announcing that Diego Martinez Barrio, head of the Spanish Cortes, had "assumed" the Spanish Presidency, but Barrio, still in France, did not confirm it.

On Tuesday Martinez Barrio had informed the press that he

**U. S. AND RUSSIA
REFUSE TO ACCEPT
SPANISH REFUGEES**

Reporting a speech made by Georges Bonnet, French Foreign Minister, the N. Y. Times on March 2 said: "United States was among the countries that had declined to admit Spanish refugees. He said France had requested various governments to make offers to give asylum to certain numbers of refugees, Great Britain had declined, but had offered liberal contributions to the Red Cross. Russia had refused also, but had sent 5,000,000 francs, a sum insufficient to care for the refugees now in France for a single day, as they are costing 7,000,000 francs a day."

had received Manuel Azana's letter resigning the presidency and had transmitted it to Premier Negrin with a request to convoke the Cortes (parliament) to pass on the President's resignation.

Martinez Barrio added that at least 100 deputies are required to pass on the resignation, and that the last session of the Cortes at Figueras on Feb. 1 had assembled less than that number. He indicated that, with the deputies even more scattered by the collapse of Catalonia, it would be impossible for the government to act on the President's resignation.

Barrio's Past
Barrio, head of the Union Republic party, was closely associated with Azana throughout the life of the Spanish Republic since 1931. If anything, he was to the right of Azana, being the right-hand man of the notorious Alejandro Lerroux, head of the Radical party, which collaborated with the fascist Catholic Action party of Gil Robles in the government and in crushing the workers' revolt of October, 1934. Barrio did not break with Lerroux until 1935, when it became evident that Gil Robles had failed to smash the labor movement, and a series of financial scandals put an end to the Radical party.

Barrio himself was one of the premiers during the *biennio negro*—the two black years, 1933-1935—putting down with great cruelty an anarchist rising in December, 1933.

This is the "anti-fascist" pillar on which the Spanish Republic now rests!

Azana's Letter
Azana's letter of resignation did not limit itself to his own retirement, but constituted a vicious

(Continued on Page 3)

Without Shadow . . .
Chief Justice Hughes, who wrote the majority decision, licked his chops and put it this way: "Nor is it questioned that the seizure and retention of respondent's property were unlawful. It was a high-handed proceeding without shadow of legal right."

The crux of the decision turned, not on the point of the illegality of sit-downs—which was thus taken for granted, but on whether, assuming the illegality of sit-downs, the company was nevertheless compelled under the Wagner Act and the N.L.R.B.'s ruling to reinstate the discharged employees. The Court decided that it was not.

Under the general theory of this decision, therefore, any company may avoid any provision of the Wagner Act merely by framing up any kind of "unlawful acts" against the workers, from the all-inclusive "disorderly conduct" upward.

Wagner Act Stripped
The other two decisions remove the remaining guts from the Wagner Act. In the Sands case, the company had, as shown by N.L.R.B. hearings, fired workers for union activities. The Board ruled that the company should reinstate the workers. Again the Supreme Court upheld the company.

In this decision the Court based itself upon a denial of the facts discovered and shown by the N.L.R.B., and the inferences drawn by the Board from these facts. The important point here is that the (Continued on Page 4)

SUBSCRIPTION NOTICE

Due to loss of second class mailing rights in the Bronx and Manhattan boroughs of New York City, the *Appeal* finds it necessary to increase subscription rates for these two boroughs only.

Henceforth, the rate of all subscriptions in Bronx and Manhattan is:

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This increase is necessary to cover additional mailing expenses, and takes effect immediately.

In the Trade Unions

By B. J. WIDICK

(Concluded from last issue)

The C. I. O. convention in Massachusetts performed a remarkable feat in the anti-war resolution it approved. Remarkable not in the content of the resolution, but in the amazing "compromise" worked out by the majority of the delegates against the protests of a small progressive minority.

The resolution, as passed, said in the resolves, "that this convention records itself as being unalterably opposed to imperialistic war, to militarism . . ." but the last clause of this same paragraph, "and to the preparations for war," was deleted!

Strike Out Anti-War Paragraphs

This is no accident of confused workers thinking one way and voting another. For two other paragraphs in the resolution were also rejected. And they are extremely significant because they characterize the war.

They read: "in all the wars the working people make all the sacrifices at home and at the front in a cause not their own, while the employers reap all the profits," and, "the same arguments are now being used for preparation for the coming war as were being used in 1918, such as making the world safe for democracy, government by consent of the governed."

These paragraphs were stricken out by the resolutions committee after the resolution was submitted to them. On the floor, a small minority fought to have the original resolution passed but failed.

Compared to the stand of the national C. I. O. convention on another "war for democracy" the Massachusetts C. I. O. is far to the "left" in words but the failure to get specific and serious about fighting imperialism reduces the convention stand to nothing.

Its value is solely that it gives progressive unionists a legal argument for continuing their anti-war propaganda within the unions basing themselves on the "stand" of the state C. I. O.

The Stalinists voted for the ambiguous and chopped up resolution. Salvatore Camello, of the IJRW, gave the cue for the Stalinists when he spoke against fighting war preparations. "We may be forced within a short time to defend ourselves against the fascist nations," he declared in Daily Worker style.

Knife Unemployed Organization

The customary job of knifing any serious organization of the unemployed was done by the Stalinists. The organization committee of the convention unanimously approved a resolution calling for the organization of the unemployed into federal workers unions chartered by the C. I. O. on the basis of the following program. A federal works job for every worker not employed by private industry; union scale of wages and hours on WPA work.

The report of the committee was not brought to the floor until a half hour before adjournment. There, Don Carson and John Poulos, Lynn labor leaders, put up a fight for passage of this vital resolution. The Stalinists attacked it as "stepping on the jurisdiction of the Workers Alliance," and "changing national C. I. O. policy."

We've often wondered who gave the Workers Alliance its so-called jurisdiction? Earl Browder? As for national C.I.O. policy, David Lasser has moved heaven and earth to get a C.I.O. national charter and John L. Lewis has cold-shouldered him. Both arguments of the Stalinists are completely phoney. Well, the resolution was referred to the incoming executive board which is supposed to kill it, if the Stalinists get their way.

"They're Trotskyists"

Better cooperation beforehand by all progressives could have brought a different result. It takes more than indignation to smash the influence of the Stalinist wrecking machine.

Of course, Michael Widman, of the United Mine Workers who was re-elected chairman of the state organization, can hardly be called a friend of the Stalinists. Quite the contrary; and this should assist in putting the dampers on their ambitious plans to capture the entire state organizations.

Perhaps one of the surprising to the delegates involved—lessons of the convention was to discover that they were "Trotskyists!" Each time dozens of delegates voted for a progressive idea, of any kind, the Stalinists passed the rumor around, "They're Trotskyists!"

Stalinists Seek To Break Auto Union WPA Division

W. A. A. Is Dangerous Substitute for Great Auto Union Achievement

(Continued from Page 1)

gling, conferences and uncertainty. The International Executive Board finally met again and approved the project and the campaign was again due to get started. The organizational staff then found that George F. Addes would not provide receipt books to collect the dues. Some more delay, a few more weeks lost.

Jobless Join

The idea of one industrial union for all W.P.A. workers is so obviously the only way of organization and the W.P.A. workers were so eager to ally themselves with a powerful union movement, they began pouring into the newly formed auxiliary by the thousands. As soon as they learned of the wretched intrigues afoot, they quickly put the squeeze on the Executive Board and the machinations of the Stalinists were stymied for the time being, as far as Detroit was concerned. The dues books and the union buttons began arriving and the campaign was on its way.

In the short space of a few months the U.A.W. organized one of the finest W.P.A. organizations that this country has seen since 1933. The union had a membership of some 15,000 workers; the union spoke with the full weight and authority of the powerful U.A.W. and was already preparing to launch an aggressive drive for a 75c hourly wage minimum and a 30 hour week. The U.A.W. factional fight flared up again in the fall and the W.P.A. organization was shoved into the distant background.

Move to Ditch W.P.A. Men

Driven out of Detroit, the Stalinists began their burrowing and disruption in Toledo, Cleveland, South Bend and other auto centers. Richard Reisinger, Paul Milley and Ellsworth Kramer, Regional Directors of Ohio, claimed that the U.A.W. auxiliary only applied to Michigan. In Ohio they were going to organize the W.P.A. workers on a craft basis and charge the workers \$1.00 monthly dues. The Workers Alliance would organize all the "unorganized workers" and charge only 50c monthly dues—a transparent trick to turn all of the

Minneapolis Party Holds Successful Series of Forums

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

MINNEAPOLIS.—The Minneapolis branch of the Socialist Workers Party is in the midst of the most successful forum season yet held. Started in October, the forums are still going strong, attracting large audiences of workers, Party members and sympathizers, audiences averaging from 50 to 100. The forums are held every Sunday afternoon at the Party headquarters, 919 Marquette.

Many notable speakers have appeared before the Forum: James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party; Nathan Gould, National Organizer for the Young People's Socialist League (4th International); Kermit and Genora Johnson, leaders of the Flint auto workers' strikes of 1937; Felix Morrow, noted authority on Spanish questions, Vincent R. Dunne, nationally known labor leader and organizer for the militant General Drivers Union Local 544 of Minneapolis; Dr. Grace Carlson, of St. Paul, Workers Defense League national committee member for this area; Max Goldman, organizational secretary of the militant unemployed movement of Minneapolis; the Federal Workers Section of Local 544, W. W. Norris, noted writer and speaker on Spanish questions, and Jules Geller, well known St. Paul militant who was the S.W.P. candidate for mayor of St. Paul in the last election.

Forums to Continue

The forums will continue until the advent of warm weather, which will be sometime in early April. Until then additional authorities in the various fields of the labor movement will be brought before the forum audiences.

The Party has won many new members, and hundreds of workers have been brought nearer to our revolutionary position as a direct result of the forums.

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Tanner, Bates Charges Dropped

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
SAN FRANCISCO.—The police of this city have dropped all proceedings against the six persons arrested for picketing the recent pro-Franco rally. The case, involving Myra Tanner and Roland Bates, Y. P.S.L. members, aroused the indignation of various trades unions and liberal organizations. At Berkeley University, student meetings were held to protest the arrests. A petition asking for the release of the pickets secured 900 signatures on the campus.

LIBERATION SEEN NEAR FOR FRAMED HARLAN MINERS

Frame-Up Was Part of Anti-Union Terror

By MARTIN HARVEY

The prospect of freedom for four Harlan miners, serving life sentences for conspiring to kill three company gunmen, is brighter than ever before, Herbert Mahler, Secretary-Treasurer of the Kentucky Miners Defense Committee, intimated in an interview recently.

Jim Reynolds, W. B. Jones, Chester Poore, and Al Benson, members of the United Mine Workers of America, were tried for murder as a result of the famous Battle of Everts. On the morning of May 5, 1931, a band of deputized company mineguards swooped down on a picket line in Everts, a mining town in Harlan County, Ky., and opened fire without warning or provocation. In that fight three company gunmen and one union miner were slain.

Perjured Evidence

Forty-three miners were originally indicted for direct murder but only seven were finally convicted of "conspiracy to murder." These convictions were made possible only by perjured evidence and illegal importation of jurors from the wealthy, farming, Blue Grass country. The authorities never attempted to apprehend the murderer of the union miner.

Three of the seven life-terms were set free in 1935 by former Governor Ruby P. Laffoon. He declined to act in the case of the remaining four, saying: "I've started the ball rolling on the Harlan cases. Let Governor-elect Chandler show where he stands. He campaigned as a friend of labor."

Frame-up Demonstrated

Evidence presented before Governor Chandler at two pardon hearings demonstrated conclusively that the union men were framed. Proof of the perjury of the prosecution witnesses, recanted by State witnesses, and appeals from 46 of the 47 living jurors and two of the three trial judges for pardons for the prisoners were presented to the Governor. The Democratic Chief Executive, however, refused to act, as did Lieutenant-Governor Keen Johnson to whom Chandler passed the buck.

The LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee investigated conditions in Harlan County but, despite the demands of the Defense Committee, refused to consider the frame-up of the union workers.

Fight for Their Freedom

The cause of these workers who are wasting away their lives in the prisons of Kentucky because they fought in the ranks of labor, is the cause of the whole working class. The pardon granted to Tom Mooney a month ago, however, has caused many workers to forget that the slate of capitalist justice is far from clean.

To rely on the tender mercies of the Governor of Kentucky means to leave the heroic miners to their fate—a living death in prison. A tremendous wave of protest directed against Governor Chandler in Frankfort, Kentucky, will demonstrate that labor is united in its demand for freedom for the Harlan miners. The Harlan miners must be freed!

MANY NEGROES ATTEND JAMES FRESNO MEETING

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
FRESNO, Cal., Feb. 23.—The meeting addressed by C. L. R. James in Fresno was received with great enthusiasm by nearly one hundred workers. This was the most successful meeting the Socialist Workers Party has supported here. It laid the basis for party growth among both colored and white workers.

Several Stalinists attended the meeting but were unable to win any support from the audience. In spite of the fact that the location of the meeting made it unfavorable for Negro attendance, 20 or more were present. James considered this Negro attendance an indication of the political awakening of the race.

A majority of the Negroes as well as many white workers, gave their names and addresses to the

Billings Again Denied Pardon by Calif. Board

By NORMAN MINI
(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
SACRAMENTO, Feb. 24.—The campaign to free Warren K. Billings from Folsom Prison today received its first serious setback when the California Advisory Pardon Board, by a vote of 3 to 2, refused to recommend a pardon for him.

Following the Board's decision Billings announced that his fight to secure complete vindication would go on. As a twice convicted "criminal," Billings must secure a recommendation from the State Supreme Court before Governor Olson can pardon him. Since the Court refused to grant clemency following a hearing several years ago, the Advisory Board's ruling indicates that another Supreme Court ruling against Billings will be forthcoming.

The board members voting to perpetuate the notorious frame-up were Attorney General Earl Warren, Warden Phyllis of Folsom, and Clarence Murrill, chief of the State Department of Criminal Identification. An inspection of the records of these gentlemen reveals how such a decision is possible less than two months after the freeing of Tom Mooney, who was convicted on the same charge.

Enemies of Labor

Earl Warren, as District Attorney of Alameda County in 1936, engineered the conviction of leaders of the Marine Fireman's Union on a false murder charge and by this act gained the dubious fame that elected him Attorney General.

Plummer is a former Los An-

geles police official, while Clarence Murrill's department—a virtual California edition of the Gestapo—for years has been the directing center of all frame-ups and vigilante action against militant workers' activities in the state.

Through this reactionary decision against Billings the Board reveals that the legal institutions of California, despite the change from a Republican to a Democratic regime, remain completely dominated by the same interests which perpetrated the Mooney-Billings frame-up more than 24 years ago. All Stalinist ballyhoo to the contrary, the Democratic Olson government is a hopeless captive of the Republican machine and can do nothing without its consent.

Billings Must Be Freed

With Mooney freed and vindicated, the continued imprisonment of Billings—whose conviction rests upon the same charges—becomes more and more a burning outrage which demands the energetic intervention of Labor.

In the first speeches after his release, Mooney pledged himself to carry on an unending fight for the release of his comrade Billings. But instead of putting himself at the head of a determined army of labor fighters and preparing to smash the criminal ring that sent him to prison, Mooney seems perfectly content to turn over the struggle for Billings' release to Olson's legal wizards. Meanwhile Mooney himself leads (in person!) three cheers for Billings' jailors.

Akron Lodge Wants WOC To Demand 30 Hour Week

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

AKRON, Ohio, Feb. 18.—Challenging the proposal of Clinton S. Golden, Northeastern Director of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, that the workers of the Mullins Manufacturing Corporation cooperate better with the management (accept a wage cut), Lodge 1538 of the S.W.O.C. passed a resolution today unanimously demanding that the S.W.O.C. immediately launch a campaign throughout the steel industry for a 30 hour week at a minimum of \$30 wage.

The Mullins Manufacturing Corp. showed a net loss, according to company kept books, of \$450,000 for 1938 despite the fact that it had bid on contracts amounting to \$21,000,000 and received \$3,000,000 of it.

Wage Cut Asked

On the basis of this bookkeeping loss, the Mullins Manufacturing Corp. wrote to Mr. Golden, stating that they could not bear a similar loss for 1939 and that the workers should "cooperate better with the management," that is, take a wage cut.

Golden in turn addressed a meeting of the lodge officers and stewards representing the workers of the plant and asked that they accede to the company demands in order to put the company in a better competitive position. He proposed more efficiency, better management, less waste, more "cooperation" from the workers.

The resolution of the workers in response to the company's and Mr. Golden's demands points out that further cutting of wages means nothing but further reducing the purchasing power of the workers and throwing more men out of employment. The workers favor greater efficiency, better management, less waste, if it leads to "less human labor."

The resolution unequivocally opposes a wage cut, and demands that the problem of unemployment at Mullins as well as on a national scale must be solved through the reduction of hours of work while maintaining present weekly earnings.

The lodge ended its resolution with a demand that the national organization of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee begin a well-advised, aggressive campaign for a 30 hour week at a \$30 minimum wage. The resolution was introduced by Erwin Bauer, vice-president of the lodge.

The Dunce Hat For You, Ruth

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

AKRON, O., Feb. 28.—Akron's star pupil in the Stalin school of falsification, Ruth McKenney, author of "Industrial Valley," allegedly about Akron, got the dunce cap from Thomas F. Burns, vice-president of the United Rubber Workers of America.

Miss McKenney attempted to inflate the role of the Communist party in building the U.R.W.A. to such an extent that Burns, an erstwhile admirer of her writing regretted that "you didn't permit Jim Keller (Organizer, Akron C.P.—Ed.) to write the story."

Further: "you had to go and mess up Jim Keller and John Williamson's (Ohio organizer, C.P.—Ed.) part in the strike . . . They were there, it is true, and they attempted from time to time to stick their nose in the affair but more often than not they were rebuffed."

"Pure Bunk"
Just an amateur in rewriting history, Miss McKenney embarrasses even those who have "cooperated" with the C.P. The former sob-sister ends with the usual slander of the "Trotskyites," announcing, through Keller, that they are "company spies." This section of the book is labeled "pure bunk" by Burns.

"Jim Keller did a lot of second guessing in order to take a lot of credit for something he did not have a great deal to do with," Burns said.

"If your book fails to sell, your publishers should get in touch with Dies who undoubtedly would be willing to buy up a few thousand copies," Burns declared.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

WORKERS' Discussion Group: Every Sunday night, 8 P. M. Socialist Appeal Hall, 3513 Woodward, Room 5, Adm. free.

Lehman Seeks To Impose Sales Tax On N. Y. Workers

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

NEW YORK.—Using almost the identical technique employed by President Roosevelt in slashing the relief appropriation, Governor Lehman and the Republican Legislature are attempting to foist on the workers of New York State a vicious sales tax which is a direct threat against the living standards of the poorly paid and unemployed workers.

In his budget message of Jan. 30 Governor Lehman proposed \$64,000,000 in new taxes. Of this, \$30,000,000, or almost half, was to come from a 2% business turnover tax—identical with the one already adopted by the La Guardia administration in New York City except that it's twice as large.

This tax on all business and professional receipts above \$10,000 a year, as experience in the past with such taxes has shown, will be added to the prices of goods and services and will be paid by the final consumer—the working man and woman who can least afford it.

Not satisfied with this reactionary measure, John J. McNaboe, Tammany Democrat, with the support of the Republicans and the business and real estate interests, has introduced a bill imposing a 2% sales tax on business and service transactions including food, which is even more severe than the sales tax in effect in New York City.

The net effect of this measure will be to rally the reactionary labor leaders, Stalinists, and so-called "liberals" behind banker Lehman's tax program. Lehman will be painted as the great Democratic friend of the worker who protects labor from such reactionaries as McNaboe. In point of fact, however, whichever tax program wins, the workers lose.

APPEAL ARMY

"This new Socialist Appeal is much, much better than the old and twice as interesting"—a reader in Houston, Texas.

"Send me 50 copies extra of this issue as Browder is speaking here Sunday. . . . We have comrades going out 3 nights a week in Boston, Roxbury and Dorchester on street sales. Thanks for the newsboy aprons. I am also trying to get the social committee to run a party to clean up our bill!"—J.T., literature agent of Boston, Mass.

MODEL RED - BUILDERS SQUAD IN NEW YORK CITY:
Comrade Stan "Newshound" Lauren of New York is now in charge of New York's Appeal Squad. The New York Red Builders under his able direction are now selling on busy street corners and in subways every day of the week. The Squad has about a dozen members already and Stan is out to double the size. The branches are being canvassed for "professional" salesmen and volunteer Red Builders to meet this quota.

These Red Builders are not only building Appeal circulation. They are Party organizers! **MORE PROMOTION MATERIAL FROM APPEAL CENTER:**
(1) The Appeal Poster Shop is now busily at work putting out another one of its famous posters for the Appeal. This one will be a corker! The best yet! Comrade R. is putting all he's got into it.
(2) Parts 3 & 4 of the new Appeal Army Bulletin containing information on newsstand circulation and subscription-campaigns will soon be in the mails.

SUBSCRIPTION CAMPAIGN LAGGING BEHIND:

With only five (5) weeks left to go, the sub-drive is just 25% completed. We print below the achievements up to date. Some branches have done exceptionally well. Austin, Berkeley, and New York City are to be commended for their fine efforts so far.

But what of the 15 branches with the goose eggs? And here is one month of the sub-drive. How is your branch doing?

Branch	Quota	Obtained	Percent
Austin, Minn.	10	8	80
Berkeley, Calif.	10	9	90
Houston, Texas	5	3	60
Akron, O.	10	5	50
Youngstown, O.	10	5	50
Quakertown, Pa.	10	5	50
New York City	200	94	47
Fargo, N. D.	5	2	40
Philadelphia, Pa.	40	13	33
Lynn, Mass.	25	8	32
Washington, D. C.	10	3	30
San Francisco, Calif.	30	8	27
Cleveland, O.	40	10	25
San Diego, Calif.	10	2	20
Chicago, Ill.	100	20	20
Newark, N. J.	50	10	20
Rochester, N. Y.	20	4	20
Columbus, O.	5	1	20
Allentown, Pa.	10	2	20
Los Angeles, Calif.	50	9	18
Boston, Mass.	30	5	17
New Haven, Conn.	10	1	10
Baltimore, Md.	10	1	10
Detroit, Mich.	50	6	12
St. Paul, Minn.	50	4	8
Minneapolis, Minn.	100	10	10
Toledo, O.	10	1	10
Oakland, Calif.	20	1	5
St. Louis, Mo.	25	1	4
Sacramento, Calif.	10	0	0
Denver, Colo.	10	0	0
Hartford, Conn.	10	0	0
East Chicago, Ind.	10	0	0
Evansville, Ind.	10	0	0
Kansas	5	0	0
Louisville, Ky.	10	0	0
Worcester, Mass.	5	0	0
Clayton, Mo.	10	0	0
Faterson, N. J.	10	0	0
Ithaca, N. Y.	5	0	0
Syracuse, N. Y.	10	0	0
Portland, Ore.	5	0	0
Reading, Pa.	5	0	0
Seattle, Wash.	5	0	0
Totals	1,035	252	25

NOW IN SESSION

The MARXIST SCHOOL is being held at Irving Plaza, Irving Place and 15th Street, N. Y. C. Classes began on Feb. 27.

I. PRACTICAL TRADE UNIONISM—Sam Gordon, B. J. Widick. Lectures on the day to day activity of the trade unionist. Mondays, 7:15 P.M.—8:40 P.M. 6 lectures—\$1.00

II. PROBLEMS OF AMERICAN POLITICS—James Burnham, Albert Goldman, Max Shachtman. Marxist analyses of the shifting American political scene. Mondays, 8:50 P.M.—10:15 P.M. 6 lectures—\$1.00

III. WHAT IS TROTSKYISM? John G. Wright. The truth about Trotskyism based on original documents. Tuesdays, 7:00 P.M.—8:40 P.M. 6 lectures—\$1.00

IV. ART AND POLITICS. Six lectures by Phillip Rahv, Dwight Macdonald, James T. Farrell, F. W. Dupe, Delmore Schwartz and Will Phillips. (A half year's subscription to the Partisan Review will be given free to every registrant.) Tuesdays, 8:50 P.M.—10:15 P.M. 6 lectures—\$1.25

V. THE SECOND AMERICAN REVOLUTION—George Novack. The American Civil War. What it really was and meant. Wednesdays, 8:50—10:15 P.M. 6 lectures—\$1.00

Registration can be made at the school office, 116 University Place or at the Labor Bookshop, 28 East 12th Street, N. Y. C., between 1 p.m. and 8 p.m. Registrations may also be made by mail or by calling ST 9-0567.

8 DAYS LEFT! Special Combination Offer!

SOCIALIST APPEAL THE NEW INTERNATIONAL America's leading socialist and revolutionary paper. Outstanding theoretical monthly of the Fourth International

PARTISAN REVIEW "I think Partisan Review is the best literary magazine in America and is keeping up its standards damn well!"—John Dos Passos. All Three Together for a full year—\$4.00.

Or else the following combinations:
(1) Socialist Appeal and The New International together for one year—\$3.00.
(2) Socialist Appeal and Partisan Review together for one year—\$2.50.

(3) The New International and Partisan Review together for one year—\$2.50.

Act now! This generous offer expires on March 15th. Send all payments on the above to the Socialist Appeal.

OFF THE RECORD

By Dwight Macdonald

In a story about the next world war, printed in a recent issue of the English literary magazine, Seven, there is a marching song which today especially has a certain grim point to it. The author of the story is G. S. Fraser, and he introduces the song thus:

"As they marched, they sang a song which had become popular during the war now known as the 'dress rehearsal'—the Spanish Civil War. A singularly ribald composition, it was said to be the work of a young English communist who had fought in the International Brigade. For obvious reasons (it was coarse, brutal, unorthodox), it had not been included in his slim, posthumous volume.

"The song went like this, to a good marching tune:

"Many the skies and the omens above
But few the defenders and feeble the love:
As I passed by Lerida, I heard a man moan:
The beggars, the beggars won't let us alone!

"They regild the saints, they reopen the church.
By our fine-spoken friends we are left in the lurch.
Our cause was most moral, of words we had tons.
But the beggars, the beggars, who gave them the guns?"

"We went to old Stalin until we were sick,
He said we would beat them with dia-lect-ic!
He said that pure logic would see them in hell!
But the beggars, the beggars maneuvered too well!

"We went to old Blum, and he spoke very high,
But he thought of Herr Hitler, and left us to die.
There'll be weeping and wailing in Paris cafe.
But the beggars, the beggars, they're well on their way!"

"We went to Old England, her heart is of oak.
But she soon made us feel we were sorry we spoke.
She wrote us some verse, but blocked Bilbao
For the beggars, the beggars to give us the kayo.

"O, all you fine rebels, whose guns go rantan,
I am a poor sod of a Government man.
I fought till I blistered, I walked till I aubt.
But of all the damned beggars, you aren't the wust!

Gas Masks and the Class War

All over England these days the ominous letters, A.R.P., are blazoned on billboards, sprinkled through the news columns, discussed over tea tables. A.R.P. means "Air Raid Protection"—a series of measures which have so far been put into effect with neither efficiency nor enthusiasm.

A certain Sir John Anderson recently stated publicly: "People write as if we ought to aim at making war safe for civilians. My opinion is that we cannot make war safe for civilians." Sir John's opinion was heard all over England; he is Chamberlain's Minister for National Defense. The reason for Sir John's apathy is the simple fact that in England, as in the other great democracies, nine out of ten citizens are not "people of importance," i.e., people of enough property to make any difference—except to themselves—whether they are blown to bits or not. Those who can pay for it have all the A.R.P. they want, and of the very best quality. Even in the

gas masks issued by the Government to civilians the class lines are sharply drawn. I am told by a returned traveller that there are three types of masks, costing respectively \$5, \$2.50, and \$1.00. Every Englishman is free, of course, to buy whichever of these he likes. ("How just are the laws of the Republic," said Anatole France, "which with stern impartiality forbid the wealthy as well as the poor to steal bread and to sleep in the parks.") But somehow the well-to-do generally end up with the \$5 type, which is a really excellent commodity; the petty bourgeoisie with \$2.50 type, which is reasonably effective; and the great mass of workers and unemployed with the ninety cent type, which loses in a month or two such slight protective value as it originally had.

My informant also told me that in a recent London slum fire, a tenement dweller put on one of these cheap gas masks to fight his way through the smoke and flames. He was found later, asphyxiated.

"Suffer the little children. . ."

Last Sunday's New York Times carries a revealing story on another aspect of A.R.P. in our sister democracy across the sea. The A.R.P. officials estimate there are 2,000,000 children in London and other cities who, in case of war, must be moved out into the countryside if they are to escape being bombed. They have been trying to find refuges for some of these children in the great English country estates. "The protests," comments the article, "may seem surprising to any one laboring under the impression that Britain is a democracy on the style of the United States or France. . . . Most British children living in the cities are poor. And as a Suffolk doctor put it very neatly in a letter to the editor: 'Children from working class areas in the towns will not fit in with middle class or upper middle class families in the country. They ways are completely different.'"

A hunting squire in Gloucestershire "urged the government to remember that slum children would not be happy in the country but would prefer the desolate South Wales mining towns—more like what they were used to." Viscount Hallsham, until a few months ago Lord Chancellor, asks a whole series of "legalistic questions," one of them being who will pay him for damage done his property by the children. The United Ratepayers Advisory Association has organized protests in 150 tax districts. Its slogan: "THINK OF THE DANGERS—DIRT, DISEASE, THEFT, VANDALISM, IMMORALITY, AND STRIFE!" Nonetheless, the article concludes in a more cheerful vein, "most of the better off are quietly preparing to put children either in cottages or in a separate part of the house where there is no good furniture to be scratched." The Duke of Connaught, great-uncle of the King, has been pressed into service by the Prime Minister, who "felt it expedient to ask the royal family to show that such things are 'done.' The Duke has announced that he will allow 200 Cockney kids to find shelter in his country home. The article hastens to add: "His youngsters, to be sure, will not be admitted to the Duke's house itself but will be put up in servants' cottages. . . ." The Duke of Connaught suffers the little children to come into him—but by the servants' entrance, please.

British Sole Gainers In Palestine Scheme

(Continued from Page 1)

dence from the Indian masses, the rulers of the Arab kingdoms, whose delegates are working hand in glove with the British in London, are still trusted by the Arab workers and peasants. While in India the native capitalists have lost the leadership of the independence movement to the Congress Socialists, in Palestine a clique of reactionary landowners and capitalists still hold undisputed sway over the mass movement.

It must be said bluntly that the main cause of this backwardness of the Arab nationalist movement is that the struggle, instead of being centered against British imperialism, has been diverted to the conflict with the Zionists.

Want Deal With Britain

The present reactionary leadership of the Arab nationalists have welcomed this diversion. This clique neither desires nor would benefit by independence from Britain. It wants only what the ruling caste in Egypt and Iraq have: a juicy junior partnership with Britain as senior partner, in the common exploitation of the Arab masses. Its basic interests are, therefore, in conflict with those of the Arab workers and peasants, whose miserable living standards can only be bettered by putting an end to Britain's blood-sucking of the wealth of the Arab world, by putting an end to the monstrous taxes and rents paid for the back-

breaking privilege of tilling the soil, etc.

This basic conflict between the Arab leadership and the masses who still follow them has been cleverly obscured by a deliberate policy of turning Arab wrath away from Britain to the Jews. Not British rapacity and the vicious landowning and taxation system, but Jewish immigration and land purchases have been held up by the Arab leaders as the cause of the masses' misery and poverty.

Zionist "Ulsterites"

This policy could never have fooled the Arab masses so long, however, had it not been facilitated by the insane policy pursued by the Zionists of every hue. Staking everything on proving their usefulness to Britain, the Zionist leaders sought to build a "loyal Jewish Ulster" amid the revolting Arabs, and as a result have brought down upon themselves a hatred among the Arabs as deep as that of the Irish Republicans against the "loyal"—to Britain—Ulstermen. The Arab masses do not discriminate between the Zionist Revisionists, who propose to use "physical force" against the Arabs, and the regular Zionists, bourgeois or "socialist," who propose to establish a Jewish majority under the protection of British bayonets—and the Arab masses are right, for every wing of Zionism is hostile to Arab freedom from British rule.

The Zionist policy is particularly reprehensible because it has been clear for decades that no amount of servility toward Britain would secure in return a Jewish state in Palestine. The Zionist leaders cry, "We are betrayed," because the British document proposes to wipe out the League of Nations mandate of 1922 which directed Britain to establish a "Jewish National Home." But— to mention none of its previous moves against the Zionists—on October 20, 1930, the Passfield White Paper which Zionist leaders then correctly described as a complete annulment of the Balfour Declaration of 1918 pledging England to aid the establishment of a Jewish Homeland. Stephen S. Wise described it as designed "to undo and eventually destroy the Jewish National Home."

Passfield White Paper Stands

At that time, the Zionists declared that withdrawal of the White Paper was the minimum condition of restoring Jewish faith in British intentions. But the paper was never withdrawn. Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald gave the Zionist leaders a face-saving letter, on February 13, 1931, which Weizmann and others hailed as "modifying" the White Paper, but the plain truth was that Zionist fund-raising had collapsed after the issuance of the White Paper and MacDonald's letter, which he himself declared in Parliament did

not modify the Passfield document, was "interpreted" by the Zionists to revive the stream of contributions from American Jewry.

It simply never occurred to the Zionist leaders to reorient away from Britain: "The tragic aspect of our situation is that though a Government has failed us, we dare not court irretrievable failure by falling the British," wrote a leading Zionist, Gershon Agronsky, then.

But irretrievable failure has come precisely on the road of courting Britain.

Great Opportunity

A magnificent opportunity awaits any section of the Jewish labor movement in Palestine which would, once for all, recognize that collaboration with Britain is hopeless, and turn boldly toward collaboration with the Arab workers and peasants. Such a step would enormously speed up the process of separating the Arab masses from their present reactionary leadership.

Accepting the minority status which the Arabs demand, such a Jewish group could thereupon submit the British proposal to sharp exposure of its imperialist and anti-independence content, and thereby speed the crystallization of an Arab worker-peasant leadership. Only an alliance between the Jewish workers and the Arab masses can save the Jewish community in Palestine.

HOLLYWOOD MERRY-GO-ROUND

Nothing is more suited to the purposes of a capitalism bent on war than the popular art mediums. Commanding the popular avenues of entertainment, capitalism is wholly able to pervert their use to its own diabolical ends. In a period when mass unrest is widespread and when war is offered as the only solution to mitigate its woes, capitalism makes every possible effort through the facilities at hand to head off the gathering discontent and to enable its macabre adventure on the battlefield.

For capitalism is utterly cognizant that material preparations for its war are not enough. Equally as important and pressing is the setting of an appropriate mood among the masses. And thus, while Washington rumbles ahead at breakneck speed to erect a titan military force, Hollywood is not far behind in its special effort to impose a star spangled attitude of acquiescence among the masses.

Academy Award Is

Case In Point
The best symptom of what is yet to come out of Hollywood is revealed in this year's awards of the Academy of the Motion Picture Industry. For the first time since it started making its annual awards, the Academy this year introduced an award for the best pictures dealing with patriotic subjects. Naturally, almost needless to say, the award went to Warner Brothers.

A glance at the production schedules reveals that Warner's has for immediate action before the cameras another service picture while Universal announces a cadet picture featuring its child stars. Nor are the other studios asleep. Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer has all but clinched the rights to "The American Way," which can only mean that with its usual superlativeness, Metro will do the Kaufman play in those celebrated technicolor pastels: Red, White and Blue. Functioning independently, no less a person than Chaplin is engaged in shooting the "Dictators," from which farce, it is safe to assume, will emerge another long yell for Yankee Doodle Doo and Democracy.

Foreign Films

In Same Key
As for the foreign cinema, it too is no slouch in the matter of patriotism, nor any the less aware of its responsibilities to the Fatherland. Most recent of the French films is a Sasha Guitry crumpet entitled "Champs Elysees," a sentimental, nostalgic, not very droll, historical cavalcade which ends just short of a waving tricolor. The much renowned and anointed "Grand Illusion," despite the blurb that goes with it, is anything but anti-war. Although we have come to expect a higher level of cinematic excellence from the French films, the acute situation that prevails in Europe cannot but result in a degeneration to panegyric and flag waving on the screen.

Caribbean Naval Maneuvers Aim At Intervention

(Continued from Page 1)
and larger in the business and military speculations of Uncle Sam. The Lima conference, the addition of some twenty-odd military attaches to Latin American consulates, the increase of the Military Intelligence force in the lands of our good Southern neighbors—all these, and more, attend the determination of Wall Street's agents to step into the South American picture with an armed show-down in mind.

Afraid of Masses

Germany and other countries have for some years been gradually increasing their business hold in various of the South American nations. England has for long been a potent factor. And for as long a period the U.S. has tussled with these different competitors for control of the markets, and consequently politics, to the south. But Roosevelt is more afraid of a peasant and proletarian uprising in South America than of any amount of business competition. One is a death thrust at American boss-dom; the other injures it, but leaves it breathing. Hence the particular character of the "games"—to determine what the U.S. would do in the event of a revolution. And it is quite obvious that "good neighbor" Roosevelt not only has in mind the trumped up "revolutions" which are financed by one or the other of the powers, but a real and bona-fide revolt of Latin America's deeply persecuted masses against all the imperialist powers.

S. W. P. Leaflet To All Jewish Labor

A four-page leaflet in the Yiddish language, calling upon the Jewish workers to unite with all militant labor in the struggle to smash fascism, has just been issued by the Socialist Workers Party in connection with the huge counter-demonstration it called to picket the recent Madison Square Garden meeting of the Nazis. The Jewish capitalist and social-democratic press, it will be recalled, took a cowardly position towards the Nazi mobilization, calling on its readers to stay at home and refrain from attending the counter-rally. The S.W.P. leaflet attacks this attitude, as well as the sabotaging position taken by the Stalinists. The leaflet has already been distributed in thousands of copies in the city of New York and is also available for distribution among Yiddish-speaking workers throughout the country. Branches are requested to order bundles of leaflets from the National Office of the party. They are priced at \$2.25 a thousand copies.

Labor Skates Back Mayor Kelly in Chicago Primary

C. P. Paper Boosts Man Responsible for Steel Strike Massacre

Since the article printed below was written, Mayor Kelly has won the democratic nomination in the primaries. As explained in the article, Mayor Kelly's nomination, which in Chicago is equivalent to election, was aided by the combined efforts of the labor skates and the Stalinists.

By ALBERT GATES

As the Chicago mayoralty primary draws to a close it appears more certain now that Mayor Kelly will win the Democratic nomination and Dwight Green the Republican.

The campaign of Bill Thompson is almost non-existent, and in addition to the silence of the press in respect to his candidacy, he is certain to lose. In the Democratic fight, however, during the early days of the campaign, Tom Courtney was conceded an even chance to win over Kelly.

Labor Skates Back Kelly

What has turned the tide? The intervention of organized labor in support of the mayor. The active campaign in behalf of Kelly now carried on by both the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O., the latter through Labor's Non-Partisan League, has become little short of a scandal.

Within the last two weeks the labor-skates in the Kelly-Nash-Arvey machine have finally succeeded in rallying a large number of local unions to their support. Every day a new list of labor unions who have endorsed Kelly is published. The Executive Committee of the Chicago Federation of Labor through John Fitzpatrick has denounced Courtney publicly and called upon the organized labor movement to support Kelly.

Forget Steel Massacre

Labor's Non-Partisan League pursues the same policy as the A.F.L. Kelly's conduct during the massacre of the striking steel workers in 1937 has been completely forgotten. No more mention is made of the fact that during the great wave of sit-down strikes in Chicago, it was Kelly's police who broke them up by a concerted campaign of brutality toward the strikers. In the first weeks of the primary, L.N.P.L. did not openly advise voting for Kelly, but they did tell the workers not to vote for Courtney or Green. As the voting drew near this straddling position gave way to open exhortations to vote for the regular democratic machine ticket.

Finally, there is the Communist Party and its mouthpiece, the Mid-West Daily Record. Its conduct is far more scandalous than that of the labor-fakers only because its pretensions are mightier. Passing off as a working class party the C. P. plays the game of labor's misleaders with a great deal more experience and finesse than its union counterpart.

The Chicago Stalinists have their own mayoralty candidate in

the person of Jack Johnston. This is an outright piece of fakery since his candidacy is more a matter of form than anything else. Aside from a speech or two made by him in his own favor, few know that he is a candidate. The Daily Record hardly mentions his name since all space is devoted to Mayor Kelly.

Heretofore the C.P. and the Daily Record, following a nationwide practice, without in so many words calling for support of Kelly, denounced Courtney as an enemy of the New Deal, progress, peace and democracy. It is true that Kelly was at all times pictured as the champion of all that is progressive, honest, virtuous and beautiful. It was discovered that he is labor's champion, the enemy of reaction and the business interests. By inference, Kelly was presented as Roosevelt's man. And this was strengthened by biographical sketches showing that some twenty-five or thirty years ago Kelly had actually worked for a few weeks. Need one have any more proof that Kelly was the friend of the working man?

But on Feb. 28, the Daily Record published its special local election issue and no longer equivocated. Kelly, the murderer of striking steel workers, was "labor's choice" and the labor movement was called upon to cast its vote for him. The issue contained paid ads of Kelly candidates. Column after column was devoted to praise of his machine and his aldermanic candidates. In addition to the paid ads, the Daily Record published a list of its own selections of "labor's" candidates and almost the entire list was culled from the Kelly-Arvey-Nash machine.

The Daily Record has been experiencing financial difficulties and its campaign for sixty thousand dollars has been falling far short of its mark. Yet good copies of this special Kelly issue were distributed free! Reliable information has it that the Kelly machine paid for this issue!

In addition, it has been reported, that hundreds of Kelly's precinct captains have been compelled to subscribe to the Daily Record! There, no doubt, is the pay-off. This fact is borne out by precinct captains who visit workers' homes carrying copies of the Daily Record. They exhort these workers to vote for Kelly on the ground that he is labor's friend and labor's candidate. The proof is in the numerous columns devoted to Kelly in the Daily Record!

Plays Ball

All in all it is a happy arrangement between the infamous Kelly-Nash-Arvey machine and their Stalinist bootlickers. Kelly no doubt realizes that in his fight against Courtney he requires every possible vote and he is prepared to play ball not only with the trade unions but even with the Stalinists. He wants their backing because it may mean the

On the Way to the Trenches

Good news for the French worker: The French Academy of Medicine urges the government to begin now collecting blood which will be kept in reserve for operations required by wartime injuries. It is also proposed to set aside a reserve of arms, legs, heads?

At the same time that British naval estimates for the current fiscal year were announced (\$600,000,000 to be spent on new warships), it was disclosed that next year's would in all likelihood be larger. Special attention is being given the Australian, South African, Canadian and Hong Kong "defense," according to the Admiralty.

The War Department has asked the House Appropriations committee for additional funds to enable the opening of three more offices connected with the Military Intelligence Division of the army in South America. Colonel E.R. Warner McCabe, chief of the Military Intelligence, explained that the principal mission of his staff was to obtain the information on for-

eign countries necessary for the proper formulation of our defense plans. To accomplish this mission we now have thirty-two officers detailed to twenty military attaché offices maintained abroad. Military Intelligence is, of course, a high-faluting term for spying. (Sh!)

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BARRIO IS NAMED PRESIDENT, BUT HE PLAYS SAFE

(Continued from Page 1)
blow against those who wish to continue the fight against Franco. It asserted that "the political machinery of State, Parliament, high representation of parties, etc., has disappeared within Spain. It also asserted that "the chief of the Central General Staff"—apparently Mijangos—"told me in the presence of the Council of Ministers that the war was irremediably lost for the republic."

Azana also asserted that the government "counseled and organized my departure from Spain" after he had proposed to make peace with Franco. Coupled with his statement that recognition of Franco by England and France "deprives me of the international juridical representation necessary to make heard to foreign governments" his proposals for peace, it indicates that the Loyalist cabinet "counseled and organized" Azana's departure in order to have him try to get England and France to act as intermediaries in arranging peace.

Moscow and other forces which treacherously advised the Spanish Loyalists to stake everything on carrying favor with the Anglo-French imperialists, continue to give unsolicited advice to those wily foxes, Chamberlain and Daladier. Editorials appearing in Moscow on March 11 deplore Anglo-French recognition of Franco as "short-sighted and weak-kneed," the Journal de Moscou, organ of the Soviet foreign office, exhorting Anglo-French imperialist attention to the "threat to British and French imperial communications" involved.

Appearing as the defender of

"national interests" against the narrower interests of British capitalists, British Labor Party spokesman Attlee shouted at Chamberlain in the House of Commons: "What does it mean to the government if Gibraltar is in danger if we get the Rio Tinto dividends?" (The reference is to the copper mines in the Basque country.) The hero of the Stalinists and other Popular Fronters, Anthony Eden, rushed to Chamberlain's defense, declaring that "national interests" required immediate recognition of Franco.

CARIBBEAN NAVAL MANEUVERS AIM AT INTERVENTION

(Continued from Page 1)
and larger in the business and military speculations of Uncle Sam. The Lima conference, the addition of some twenty-odd military attaches to Latin American consulates, the increase of the Military Intelligence force in the lands of our good Southern neighbors—all these, and more, attend the determination of Wall Street's agents to step into the South American picture with an armed show-down in mind.

Afraid of Masses

Germany and other countries have for some years been gradually increasing their business hold in various of the South American nations. England has for long been a potent factor. And for as long a period the U.S. has tussled with these different competitors for control of the markets, and consequently politics, to the south. But Roosevelt is more afraid of a peasant and proletarian uprising in South America than of any amount of business competition. One is a death thrust at American boss-dom; the other injures it, but leaves it breathing. Hence the particular character of the "games"—to determine what the U.S. would do in the event of a revolution. And it is quite obvious that "good neighbor" Roosevelt not only has in mind the trumped up "revolutions" which are financed by one or the other of the powers, but a real and bona-fide revolt of Latin America's deeply persecuted masses against all the imperialist powers.

MEN AND WOMEN OF LABOR

Out of the Past

By EMANUEL GARRETT

IRA STEWARD (March 10, 1831 — March 13, 1883)

Connecticut-born, Ira Steward at the age of nineteen went to work as an apprentice machinist, working twelve hours a day. One year later his bosses fired him for his peculiar views," to wit: twelve hours a day was too long a working day.

What is more, Ira Steward was outspoken about his views to which he added the additional "peculiar" twist that eight hours a day was more than enough for a working man. And that, in the 1840's and 50's, was indeed a "peculiar" proposal.

Steward and the 8-Hour Movement Were One

To the cause of the shorter work-day, Steward devoted the rest of his life. Indefatigably, he pressed the shorter day, sparing himself not at all, with the result that the movement in the United States for the ten and eight hour days was, properly speaking, one and the same with his life and activity. During his lifetime he served as organizer and president of the Boston 8-Hour League and the National 10-Hour League, as well as active participant in other labor organizations.

A delegate to the convention of the International Union of Machinists and Blacksmiths which met in Boston in 1863, he proposed and obtained the passage of a resolution calling for the 8-hour day—the first such resolution adopted in the United States by an important labor body. Thereafter, constantly agitating, speaking, propagandizing, his proposals secured an ever widening basis of support.

It was largely through his efforts that the first effective 10-hour law was passed in Massachusetts. And later, when the 10-hour day had by no means yet become established practice even formally, it was through the tireless efforts of Steward and his co-workers that the 8-hour day was accepted by various localities and industries, if only in limited application.

Shorter Work-Day Not An End In Itself

Eventually, the fight for the shorter work-day became part of the program of every trade union and social reformer. With Steward, however, the shorter work-day was not an end in itself. For him it was the focal point of an attack on the whole system of capitalist society. Shorter hours would result in higher wages; higher wages would compel improvements in technique, and would give the workers an ever increasing share

in the national income of the country; the progressive reduction of working time would allow for the absorption of all unemployed workers, thus keeping wage levels high; and in time the workers would be in a position to buy out the capitalists and institute socialism.

Today, in the light of working class experience and the teachings of the great socialist leaders, Steward's program was, to say the least, inadequate. As a program for overthrowing capitalism it bordered on the ridiculous; it nowhere fully considered the process of capitalist overthrow, and certainly overlooked the detail of boss unwillingness to yield power.

But, in a general and very one-sided way, it did nevertheless posit the absolute necessity for the working class to fight for better economic conditions and indicated the trend of capitalist society towards concentrated production and improvement of technique—essential economic bases for the future socialist society. These are now accepted facts; in those days they were novel and significant. Especially so, since at the time he worked, it was a popular opinion among many of the so-called socialists that it was futile to ask for higher wages because these could not be won under capitalism.

Urged Organization of the Unskilled

Beyond his specific philosophy of social change, Steward's activities contributed considerably to the early inculcation of socialist ideas in the American labor movement. Hardly a pioneer of American socialism in the strictest sense (he had been preceded by Joseph Weydemeyer and scores of others), many "firsts" are associated with his name. His work was perhaps more fruitful than that of most in establishing the identity of labor's economic struggles with the ultimate socialist goal.

In a day when the trend of labor organization was directed towards the skilled workers, he urged the organization of the unskilled. With members of the First (Marx's) International in the United States he founded in 1876 the International Union of Labor—the first really sizeable move towards organizing the unskilled workers.

Steward's writings were few. Works that he planned remained unfinished at the time of his death. But in his speeches, in the articles he wrote for various journals, above all in the movements he created or helped build, we have a record of an important period in American labor's fight for better conditions and emancipation—one in which Ira Steward served as leader and teacher.

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1. A job and a decent wage for every worker.
2. Open the idle factories—operate them under workers' control.
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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.

They Fear A Referendum

A year ago when the Ludlow amendment was being debated in Congress, Secretary Hull opposed the bill on the grounds that if it was first necessary to hear the decision of the people before sending them to war it would tie the government's hands in the conduct of its foreign policy.

In plain language, the government's foreign policy means war and a popular referendum would put a crimp in starting that war.

This year when a similar referendum is proposed in Congress, Hull opposes it again on the grounds that it would be an infringement on the system of representative government handed down by the founding fathers.

In plain language, Hull's conception—the conception of the entire capitalist class—of representative government, is a government by a minority with power to hurl the nation into war at will—and they don't want anything to obstruct that set-up no matter how flimsy the obstruction might be.

That's what the bosses really mean by "democracy"!

Rip The Veil Away!

The dark veil of lies, hypocrisy, and silence covering the secret conference between President Roosevelt and the Senate Military Affairs Committee over purchases of airplanes by France was once again slightly lifted during Senate debate last Thursday.

"If the American people ever learn what was said there, and if Senators want to hear it," said Senator Lundeen of Minnesota who was present at the secret conference and should know what he is talking about, "the nation would be shocked and stunned at the secrecy and at the conference we had."

Why would the nation be shocked and stunned?

What did the President tell the conference members under oath of secrecy about his war plans?

Senator Bridges of New Hampshire declared to the Senate during the same debate that the confidential record of the testimony before the Senate Military Affairs Committee tells a different story from the expurgated testimony made public by the committee.

The testimony actually published by the committee, then, is a fraud and a lie on the American public, a brazen bare-faced maneuver to cheat an aroused and wrathful public opinion.

Why did the committee expurgate this testimony?

"We may some day give publicity to the secret conference," Senator Lundeen told the Senate.

Are the real plans of President Roosevelt too damning to stand the light of day? Why? Must the war come first? Why not give publicity to the secret conference now?

"I happen to know that the notes of that conference in the White House are in existence," Lundeen continued.

Why aren't those notes published?

If Roosevelt has hidden them in his secret archives, why don't the members of the Senate Military Affairs Committee make public what Roosevelt told them?

Where the lives of millions of farmers and workers are being bartered like herds of swine for profits and colonies and spheres of influence and the guns are now being loaded that will kill the voters who trustingly put them into public office, why are these "representatives of the people" who attended the secret conference too cowardly to speak out?

Is a secret oath given to a butcher worth more than the lives of millions of innocent people? Honor has a strange ring in Congress!

Why are these cowards and cheap careerists afraid to tell the American people of the fate that sinister forces back of the White House have planned for them?

Senator Bridges gave the answer to that question: "It is best for America and for the rest of the world (read international capitalism) that all the details of that White House conference never become known."

Senator Bridges fears that if the American people ever find out what was revealed in that secret conference the repercussions would sweep him, Roosevelt,

and the whole rotten-system they represent forever out of power.

The people of the United States have a right to know what their representatives know.

The people of the United States have a right to decide whether they shall follow the commitments made by the ruling class down the bloody horrible pathway to war.

We demand that the genuine testimony before the Senate Military Affairs Committee be published in full.

We demand that the whole veil of secrecy be ripped away from President Roosevelt's secret treaties and foreign commitments.

Let the American people see and judge!

Stalin's Closed Doors

Soviet Russia has refused to provide asylum for refugees from Loyalist Spain, according to a statement attributed to French Foreign Minister Bonnet, in the New York Times, March 2.

Bonnet also pointed out that the sum sent by the Soviet government for refugee relief, five million francs, is insufficient to care for the Spanish refugees now in France for a single day.

What possible justification can Stalin find for closing the doors to the Loyalist soldiers and their families?

When it became impossible any longer to remain silent on the question why Stalin did not open the doors of Russia to the refugees from Germany and Austria, the Stalinist press finally told us that those refugees were predominantly "bourgeois and petty-bourgeois" and hence would not fit in in Russia—this in the 22nd year after the victorious revolution!

The Stalinist press has, however, never explained why German and Austrian workers, technicians, doctors and dentists, etc., were not permitted to find asylum in the Soviet Union. Nor have Stalinist apologists been able as yet to find an explanation for the horrible fact that Communist party members seeking to flee the Nazification of Czechoslovakia, have been refused visas to go to the Soviet Union.

To these unanswered questions is now added the latest: why will Stalin not open the doors of the Soviet Union to the flower of the Spanish proletariat, now hungering and freezing in the open-air concentration camps of France?

It is understandable why capitalist France should want to be rid of these proletarian fighters, and why capitalist England, America, etc., should want no part of these workers and peasants. We shall have to arouse the working class everywhere to win asylum for the Loyalist refugees.

But why does Stalin bar them from the Soviet Union—the Workers Fatherland?

"Many officials of the Federal Bureau of Investigation have long advocated universal finger printing as a means of identifying people who are killed in accidents, dogged by impersonators and forgers or who are suffering from amnesia," says Dr. George Gallup in reporting the results of his poll which indicate that 84 per cent of the people favor such finger printing. Damned handy too, in putting the finger on militant workers in strike struggles.

An End To Zionist Illusions!

During the preparations for the anti-Nazi demonstration of Feb. 20 a group of Yipsels called at the East Side headquarters of one of the Zionist youth organizations, the Hashomer-Hatzair, to ask these Jewish boys and girls to join in the demonstration.

"Sorry, but we can't join you," said their leader. "Our Zionist policy is to take no part in politics outside Palestine."

In that incident is summed up the crime of the Zionist leadership. Since 1918 it has devoured the energies and minds and hearts of millions of Jewish men and women and boys and girls—not to speak of the hundreds of millions of dollars it took—in an enterprise which revolutionary socialists predicted from the first could come only to its present end: punctured by the British imperialists on whose favor the Zionists staked everything.

An end to this criminal waste! It is an immediate task of our party to get those boys and girls out on the picket line with us next time, to awaken the Jewish people to the realization that the fight against anti-Semitism, which is the fight against fascism, is here and now, and that all the real fighters against fascism belong in the ranks of the Socialist Workers Party!

A bill by Senator Rufus C. Holman (R., Oregon), to limit exports of Douglas fir and Port Orford cedar logs, is designed to protect American lumber manufacturers from Japanese competition. Now if someone will present a bill to protect us from the lumbermen, all might be well,—maybe.

Any Dirty Boots Around?

How high is up? Nobody knows.

How low is down? Here's how low it is:

Commenting on the Supreme Court's Fansteel decision, Stalinist Sam Wiseman, secretary of the Workers Alliance of Greater New York, declared, according to the N. Y. Herald-Tribune (Feb. 28):

"The Workers Alliance will obey the law. We have never cherished sit-down strikes as such. Whenever the workers on relief sat down they did so because of intolerable conditions or to protest some injustice by the relief administration. The Alliance will continue to lead the unemployed in their fight for their just demands."

Oh no, it won't, any more than it has in the past couple of years. It won't because, thank God, it's a law-abiding organization, with a law-abiding Stalinist leadership.

The Nine Old Men of Capitalism say no sit-down strikes. Okay! say the Stalinists, we never care for sit-downs anyway.

Tomorrow, the Old Men will say no strikes at all, and that's the law. Okay! the Stalinists will repeat.

Now we know how low "down" is. It's as low as the Stalinist leadership. It's so far down that not only the Supreme Court, but anybody else who has some dirty capitalist boots hanging around, is invited to send them to the Wiseman and Co. to be licked clean and shiny. Satisfactory work is guaranteed by past performances.

Thomas Jefferson's Strange
Return to Life

The Stalinists Do Violence To The Whole History Of
Early America In Order To Present Jefferson As One
Of The Patrons Of "Twentieth Century Americanism"

By CHRIS ANDREWS

When in 1835 Moscow gave orders to its Communist Parties to make friends with the bourgeoisie, the interpretation of American history entered into a new period of agony. Stalinist speakers, glowing with their new and self-bestowed titles of 20th Century Americans, began to make halting but determined references to Patrick Henry, Paul Revere, and Daniel Boone. Meanwhile the party hacks burrowed into the volumes of the liberal historians—to return rejoicing with the unhappy shade of Thomas Jefferson, Sage of Monticello.

This historical burlesque evoked anger mixed with wonder from the observers, and resentment in many quarters, most recently and most curiously from the stern ranks of the I.W.W., where C.W. ... is the ONLY organization in the United States upholding democracy as defined by Thomas Jefferson." His querulous protest, of course, was futile and is drowned out; Thomas Jefferson is claimed by Browder and all his zealots. Their clamor does not abate, but only grows wilder.

Now who was Jefferson and what was his "democracy"? What did it mean to the workers of his time? What could it mean today? To Stalin? or to Browder?

A Little Bit of History

The American Revolution was waged between the ruling class of England, and the ruling class of the 13 colonies—merchants, bankers, shippers, planters. Resourceful and intelligent men who dominated economic, political, and social life, their victory got them most definite material gains—commercial freedom, the right to develop industry at home, the cancellation of the planters' debts to English creditors, the right to expand to the West—in other words, the power to exploit the untapped resources of a virgin continent and its corresponding right under capitalism, the right to exploit the labor of the workers and farmers who lived and were to live in the new nation.

A most handsome prize—and not to be confused with the Rights of Man or the Pursuit of Happiness—except as those phrases applied first and foremost to the above-mentioned bankers, merchants, shippers, and planters.

Masses Must Be Rallied
It is a commonplace of Marxism that human beings erect above the economic basis of their society—which is the final and determining source of their conduct with one another—a superstructure of religion, law, politics, and so on. In the decades of preparation for the break with England, the colonial bourgeoisie had written and argued eloquently and well; they had a remarkable group of leaders. Not only did they have to organize themselves for the dangerous task in hand—they were staking their heads—but it was necessary to rally behind the masses. They were needed to face the British Grenadiers.

Even the bourgeois historians will admit that in the Colonial period a class society existed here. To win these poverty-stricken workers and farmers, indentured servants, debt-ridden men and women pushed off the best lands to eke out a living in the back country, kept by poll taxes, religious qualifications, property requirements from any political activity—(the record of their misery can be found in the books; it is far enough back in our history so that liberal and conserva-

their breach—that is, at liberty to fire them with impunity.

What this means is that a company can sign a phoney flink contract with anyone it chooses; and then, if the workers strike for a bona-fide contract, the company is legally justified in firing them because they are guilty of a "crime," a "breach of contract."

These decisions are one more excellent object lesson, first, in the nature of capitalist legality and second, in the futility of labor's relying on any thing but its own organized class strength for protecting its rights.

Workers' Rights Attacked

In the Columbian case, this point was stated even more elaborately in the Supreme Court's decision.

The Sands case decision, moreover, contained an even more decisive attack on the rights of workers. The Court contended that the workers had struck in violation of an existing contract, and that therefore the company was "at liberty to treat them as having severed their relations with the company because of

Real Source of Decision
The future of sit-down strikes and of union contracts will not be settled by court decisions, as the bosses know perfectly well; nor will the N.L.R.B. or any such board prove decisive. For two years the Supreme Court did not dare make any ruling on sit-downs, because they knew their ruling would not mean anything while the labor movement was advancing and in a position to fight effectively. For three years the N.L.R.B. seemed to be important,

and was always upheld by the Supreme Court only because the Board was simply recording, after the fact, what the workers had won by their own direct struggle.

In the current mood of political reaction in this country, and with a retreating, weakened labor movement sabotaged by its cowardly officialdom, the bosses take courage to strike back, and use their Supreme Court to express their desires.

The workers will protect their right to jobs and decent wages and will win and defend their bona-fide contracts where they are firm and united and hard in meeting the bosses on the arena of the class struggle; and disputes over legal niceties can then be well left to the petty squabbles of the brightboys of the N.L.R.B. and the learned twaddle of the stuffed-shirts on the benches.

ATTENTION
NEW YORKERS!
The SOCIALIST APPEAL is placed on the newsstands every Wednesday and Saturday.

self from France wrote to inquirers, "I approved from the first moment, of the great mass of what is in the new Constitution." Taking a position of independence from politics, he avowed, "I am not of the party of Federalists," but hastened to add, "But I am much further from that of the anti-Federalists."

Madison, great friend and ally of Jefferson, and the man Jefferson chose to succeed him in the Presidency, played a leading role in the work of the new Constitution, helping to put shackles on that purer form of democracy which existed during the Articles of Confederation. The new Constitution was most skillfully prepared so as to provide unbreakable obstacles to majority rule; it continues to do its job successfully today.

Bourgeoisie Quarrels

After having united to consolidate their power for the defense of their property and privileged position, the bourgeoisie quarreled among themselves for precedence. Hamilton, leader of the merchant, banker, commercial groups, fought to lay down economic policies for the new nation which would aid the growth of industry and commerce. The planters, aware that the dominance of these groups would be costly to them, aligned themselves in opposition. With them stood Jefferson, Madison, and the other great names of the agricultural regions.

Once again the politicians matched phrases and promises in the fight for the support of the masses. While certain sections of the city workers sided with the Federalists, the agrarians rallied behind Jefferson and carried him to the Presidency in 1800. They supported his attacks upon the banking interests, his concept of a nation of small, independent farmers, his opposition to centralization in government, and his eloquent speeches regarding the rights of the common man.

Practice Different from Theory

Eight years of Jefferson's administration showed that he was unable to carry out his theories of administration. Strict constructionist, he had to arbitrarily assume broad powers in his purchase of Louisiana. Foe of Hamilton's financial group and policies, he was forced to play politics with the bankers, and ultimately his followers even had to restore the privately-owned Bank of the United States to its controlling position. Meanwhile the workers continued to suffer under laws restricting and crippling their political liberties, and especially so in those Southern states which were the strongholds of the Jeffersonian "Democracy."

Inconsistent in promise and practice like all capitalist politicians who depend on the masses for support, Jefferson decided, "What is practicable must often control what is pure theory." His ideal of a static society of small land-holders was simply impossible, given the material resources of the new United States, and the economic forces at work in the world. In spite of Jefferson's cloudy ideals and incoherent humanitarianism, any realistic historian must see that Hamilton, not Jefferson, was the real progressive of his day. Hamilton's genius, his superior foresight, laid down policies which laid the foundation of a rapid increase in the productive power of the society they guided. Jefferson's gaze was averted from the future; it was Jefferson who advised the new nation, "Let our workshops remain in Europe."

(Concluded next issue)

IN THIS
CORNER

By Max Shachtman

In a recent debate I had with a social-democratic spokesman, who defended the Roosevelt war armaments drive, he sought to play upon the anti-fascist feelings of the audience by referring to the fact that Senator Nye, "isolationist" leader, had been cheered to the echo by the Nazis at their Madison Square Garden meeting; and that, by implication I, an opponent of the Roosevelt program, stood on all fours with the Nazis.

This cunning device of identifying working class revolutionists with their extreme reactionary opponents, is older than the labor movement itself, but it hasn't improved with age. It is the favorite device of the essentially conservative liberal who, as has been said so well, has his two feet firmly planted in mid-air. When Ferdinand Lassalle was trying to organize an independent working class movement in Germany, the "Progressives" accused him of being an instrument of the reactionaries. When the British Laborites first put up their independent candidates, the "Liberals" accused them of being tools of the Tories.

So it has been ever since, down to the present day. And there are, alas, many foolish people who are impressed by this kind of argument, and many scoundrels at work impressing them.

That Vote On

the Guam Naval Base

Take the case of the recent House of Representatives vote against the \$5,000,000 proposal for a naval base at Guam Island. The proposal was defeated by a vote of 205 to 168. The reaction of the Stalinist press was most interesting.

"HOUSE TORIES AID TOKIO AGGRESSORS IN DEFEAT OF GUAM DEFENSE PROPOSAL," shouted the big box-car streamer across the top of the Daily Worker (Feb. 24). The accompanying dispatch was written in the same vein.

What we have here is a first-class patriotic fraud. The truth of the matter is that brazen as the Stalinist sergeants are, they are nevertheless a bit embarrassed over the need of explaining away the fact that they are pretty solidly aligned not only with Roosevelt, but with Landon and all the Republicans, and big business in a war drive which, as usual, is given the name of "defense preparations." In order to overcome this annoying difficulty, and to make it appear that there is something "democratic" about the war program, the Stalinists try to picture the situation as if all the "progressives" are for the super-armaments program and defense of American imperialism, and all the Tory Republicans and Democrats are against it. Once this is done, the Stalinists believe that it will be easier to denounce all working class opponents of the war campaign as allies or agents of the Tories.

But They Did

Vote For the Program!

That's the purpose of the Daily Worker headline. The naval base at Guam Island is a "defense" measure; only the Tories are against it; they oppose it because they are agents of the Japanese Mikado; and anybody else who opposes it is an agent of both the Tories and the Mikado.

Simple, isn't it? But if the Republicans, who represent the most reactionary section of American capitalism, are agents of the Mikado (why they should be, nobody ever explains!), then, by the same logic, Roosevelt, the New Deal Democrats and Earl Browder are also agents of Japanese imperialism.

For the same House of Representatives that defeated the \$5,000,000 proposal for Guam by a vote of 205 to 168, adopted the Roosevelt bill for \$48,800,000 for all the other naval bases by a vote of 288 to 4!

What's more, according to a Washington dispatch to the N. Y. Times (Feb. 10), "President Roosevelt's emergency program for national defense as outlined in his message of Jan. 12 was approved today, in its main features, by the Republican Conference of the House of Representatives. . . . The action of the conference indicates that there will be little opposition to the May bill, strengthening the air corps and otherwise enlarging the military establishment. . . ."

That is, the Republicans (who include, according to the Daily Worker, Tories, Liberty Leaguers, traitors and assistants of Japan) are in fundamental agreement with the Roosevelt-Browder program. Or to put it differently and more precisely: they are all united in a war program for the preservation and expansion of American imperialist interests.

But many Tories did vote against the Guam naval base, didn't they? How can you account for that?

Their vote is not hard to understand; there is nothing mysterious about it. They were moved, just like those who voted for the base, by purely imperialistic motives. Only, they differed from them in what is essentially a technical question, very much like the technical disputes between military experts who put great faith in infantry while others emphasize aviation, or naval experts who stand for heavy dreadnaughts while others emphasize lighter and speedier vessels.

All are In
the Same Camp

This was made perfectly clear by the N. Y. World-Telegram (Feb. 9): "We cannot think of a single good purpose to be served by this move—unless, of course, we wish to improve Guam for the benefit of Japan. Every informed naval and military officer admits that in case of war Japan's first move in that area would be to take Guam. She could do that without much difficulty, and our expenditure of a mere \$5,000,000 or so on Guam would not delay the process an extra forty-eight hours. Experts estimate that it would cost us from \$50,000,000 to \$100,000,000 to transform the station into anything like a decent naval base, and it would still be surrounded by islands fortified by Japan."

As can be seen, the camps of both the advocates and adversaries of the Guam base stand solidly on the ground of what they consider the best interests of U. S. imperialism. Despite the frenzied efforts of the Stalinists to sink to the level of military advisers of American capitalism, labor will do well to stay clear of both imperialist camps.

March has been set aside by the Socialist Workers Party as the month for a concerted national drive to aid the New International, our monthly theoretical review. Social affairs are to be held throughout the country, and the proceeds will go to the magazine. Although the New International rarely calls for such aid, its modesty should not lead you to believe that it is a stepchild; it is one of the party's proudest achievements. I urge all comrades and friends to give their warmest and most generous support to the March social affairs for the benefit of our review. If they do it in large enough numbers, they will help solve many irritating and even dangerous financial problems.