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# **WORKERS CAN DEFEAT HITLER Nazis Established On Soviet Border**

They Can End the Threat of Fascism By Crushing the Capitalist System colonial and semi-colonial slaves and the

Every worker in this country and in other countries, where fascism has not vet succeeded in destroying every bit of freedom possessed by the working class, is anxious to stop Hitler at all costs. That is as it should be. There is nothing more urgent at the present moment than to stop Hitler.

But the all-important question remains: How can the workers stop Hitler? The workers must be absolutely clear about the answer to this question. Otherwise, they will struggle in vain and like tens of thousands of Austrian and Spanish workers they will sacrifice their lives without accomplishing their purpose.

To struggle to the death against fascism is absolutely necessary. But we must win in that struggle.

Chamberlain, the prime minister of England, Daladier the premier of France and President Roosevelt are threatening to fight and stop Hitler. Should not, then, the workers back the heads of these "democratic" governments and try to stop Hitler in that way?

That is what the Stalinists and socialdemocrats, the liberals and conservative trade union leaders advise us to do.

## THAT WAY LIES FASCISM

We can say with absolute certainty that if the workers follow such advice, they are doomed. Like their brothers in Austria and Spain they will sacrifice their lives in vain.

In any war by the democratic capitalist countries against Germany, Hitler might be defeated and stopped. But Hitlerism, fascism, will remain, will become the prevailing system in the democratic countries as a result of the war.

If Roosevelt is so pugnacious against Hitler it is not because Hitler has made virtual slaves out of the German workers, but because Germany threatens to take away much of the South American trade which is now in the possession of American capitalists.

The democratic capitalist governments are interested in fighting Hitler only to protect their right to rob and exploit the workers in the home countries.

It is not worth a single drop of the blood of any worker to stop Hitler for the benefit of the capitalists in the "democratic" countries. It is worth everything to destroy Hitlerism throughout the world.

The workers can stop Hitler in only one way. They must begin the job in their

## The Principle of the Thing

703-2101



own country by destroying the capitalist system and they will then find it easy to get rid of Hitler in Germany.

Let the workers take over power in England, in France and in this country. Let them abolish the capitalist system which is the mother of all fascist movements. Let them establish a Workers' Government which will give the factories to the workers and the land to the working farmers. Under such a government the great masses of the people will fight Hitler and Hitlerism to the bitter end.

And a Workers' Government will call upon the German workers to revolt against Hitler and the German workers can be counted on to answer such a call without hesitation.

At present Hitler can tell the German workers that England, France and the United States are preparing for war against Germany because the capitalists of those countries want to enslave the German people. And the German workers can readily see that Chamberlain and Daladier are not fighting for democracy.

## THE ONLY WAY OUT

But when the German workers will see that the workers of England, France and the United States have thrown the capitalists out of power it will be impossible for Hitler to fool them. They will do to Hitler and to the German capitalists what the workers of France, England and the United States did to their capitalists.

This is the hard way but it is the only way out for the workers of the world. There is no other way to stop Hitler and Hitlerism.

The whole program of the Socialist jacket and at the same time be-Workers' party for stopping Hitler can

## Pact With Rumania Gives Hitler New **Outpost: Stalin Still Playing** For Deal With Reich

## **U.S.S.R. IN PERILOUS SPOT**

By establishing German economic domination over Rumania, Adolf Hitler last week had virtually planted his pirate flag on the oorders of the Soviet Union.

Hitler, gobbling up Memel in his stride, forced Rumania to sign an agreement which virtually establishes full German control over Rumania's rich resources, yoking them to German needs and placing the whole of Rumanian economy in subordination to the Greater Reich.

The hesitation and uncertainty that existed earlier in the week over the precise status of this German-Rumanian agreement apparently arose out of the Rumanian government's uncertainty as to the course British and French imperialism would pursue.

There appeared every reason to believe that Rumania waited to see if it could count on British, French, or Russian aid and when it saw that no such aid would be forthcoming, it signed on the dotted

Hitler knew.



Foretaste of War-

Time Regime in

Decrees

Hungary's Moves For while the Rumanian agreement was being crammed down A DICTATORSHIP the throats of King Carol and his friends, Hungary continued mofriends, Hungary continued mobilizing troops on the Rumanian border and late Thursday made a provocative foray into Slovakia, the tremulously "independent" state over which Hitler has assumed a "protectorate" and which he is using as bait to keep Rumania and Hungary at swords'

line. Whether this would save it

from actual invasion only Adolf

Preparing for war in the name points f "democracy," the former Peo-

Hungary presumably invaded e's Front Government of France Slovakia to secure an extension of swiftly converting itself into its new common border with Pototalitarian dictatorship. land. The Slovaks Thursday night Acting with the powers granted him by Parliament, Premier Edouard Daladier last week began the ance, creating a perfect set-up for process of lacing the workers of Hitler to move in with his army France into a totalitarian strait- if it suits his needs.

Meanwhile London and Paris, gan mobilizing the French army more uncertain than ever of what

For it Chamberlain wants to stop Hitler, it is not because Hitler crushes the working class of Germany, but because Hitler threatens England's colonies. If Daladier wants to stop Hitler, it is not because Hitler has destroyed the liberty of the German workers, but because he is afraid to lose some French colonies.

## **U. S. 'Democracy'** Bared In Report Negrin Works With Miaja Rifles, Revolvers, Tear Gas, Shot Guns

Used By Employers, Says Senate **Civil Liberties Committee** 

President Roosevelt has pumped into the war machine more money than any previous peace-time president in the history of the United States. His propaganda machine has taken over the headlines of the entire capitalist press in his drive to ram down the throats of the workers the idea that they will presently be fighting a glorious cause, saving democracy once again for the world, dying for freedom of speech and the Star Spangled Banner.

And while Roosevelt launches the imperialist offensive on a world-wide scale, the industrial leaders of his own class are waging an armed conflict against the workers who will presently be sent abroad to die for their bosses' Civil Liberties Committee, which has studied industrial disputes

**Company Terrorism** 

Eighty corporations and asso-

ciations during the years studied

(Continued on Page 3)

On the front pages of the major newspapers—headlines about the Buried Buried International a half under the chairmanship of Senator La new fight for democracy. Buried Follette, and which is now asking far back in the final pages-a refor legislation that would forbid port from the La Follette Civil the sale of gas or firearms to in-Liberties Committee that shows dustrial concerns for use in any exactly the story of the real war-kind of labor dispute. fare being waged by the present owners of industry against the workers.

**Private Arms** 

From 1933 to 1937 tremendous guard in exposing the brutality, sums were spent by big industry the coldly calculated use of vioto arm their own private troops lence and terrorism and bloodfor a war right at home. They shed by America's corporate inbought more tear and nauseating terests.

gas than all the regular law-enforcement agencies of the United States combined.

One outfit alone, the Republic purchased more than \$1,000 worth Steel Corporation, bought four of tear and sickening gas and times more poison gas equipment these corporations "form the than the largest law-enforcement backbone of large scale industry the gag-rule employed to prevent it had been captured by an or- lion expended in thus preparing Metropolitan that night. States.

These are sober facts. made public on March 20 by the Senate

The surrender of central Spain to Franco is practically arranged, and former Premier Negrin is working closely to this end with the Madrid Junta's Paris representative, according to a dispatch from Paris to La Voz, Spanish-language Popular Frontist daily in New York, March 23.

On the 22nd, conversations between the Junta and Burgos had been proceeding for three days, according to Trifon Gomez, Spanish Socialist leader and Paris representative of the Junta.

"Everything will be concluded favorably," he said, "for I do not expect differences to arise which will oblige us to suspend negotiations." The main point being worked out is evacuation from Spain of the Popular Front leadership.

"Naturally we are trying to evacuate only those persons who have been included by Burgos among those guilty under the Law of Responsibilities, and not those who may have committed common crimes, with whom we have no solidarity whatsoever. All compromised Spaniards will depart by agreement with the Junta and with Burgos' wishes.

Office Workers Quit CIO; **Protest Union Bureaucacy** line, the Appropriations Commit-tee in recommending the latter bill to the House reported that.

Special to the Socialist Appeal) progressive office workers to join proved sum, the army would still NEW YORK, March 21.-Five the American Federation of La- be deficient 67% in these "critihundred members of the Stalinbor. It was carried by an over- cal items," indicating future huge ist dominated United Office and whelming majority while a small outlays. Professional Workers Union, Lo- group of hoodlums from the Sta-'Educational Orders"

cal 16, a C.I.O. affiliate, met last linist fraction, who had gained night in Manhattan Center and entry into the meeting by forged voted to sever all connections invitations, attempted to break for "educational orders." This cancel a meeting scheduled to of the working class was enough remains as fluid as the borderlines with the organization and to join up the meeting by shouting and money is primarily expended by take place tonight at the Metrothe A. F. of L. union, the Book- starting fights. Union ushers were private manufacturers, not on ac- politan Opera House.

countants Union.

adopted a resolution denouncing fused admittance. the "rule or ruin" tactics used by the Stalinists to keep control and

The single largest purchaser of opinions within the union. tear and nauseating gas listed as **Hoodlums** Ejected

be summed up as follows:

1. To stop Hitler the workers must destroy Hitlerism.

2. To destroy Hitlerism the workers must depend upon their own united strength. They must take over power and carry on a revolutionary war against Hitlerism throughout the world.

Madrid Surrender Near; Pittman Bill Frees **U.S. Hands for War** Congress Appropriates Huge Sums for

Army and Navy as Propaganda Machine Works Overtime

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

WASHINGTON. - While the well-greased machinery of the plants manufacturing arms Congress continued to grind out armament appropriations, the Roose- planes, and munitions, but to the velt administration, supported by the Republicans, instituted several mines, power plants, the oil and new moves on the road to war.

A \$358,000,000 arms bill, authorizing the army Air Corps to d up to 6,000 airplanes secured final approval on March 22 build up to 6,000 airplanes, secured final approval on March 22, rectly affect the war machine. while the House, the same day, voted an additional \$116,000,000 These industries are placed un to the army for "critical items," including semi-automatic rifles, light and heavy artillery, tanks, anti-



every day in the pages of the New scene. Members of the Socialist York Times. It is virtually certain PHILADELPHIA, March 23. Workers Party and the Young that Moscow's agreement to the -The militant threat of a Peoples Socialist League went in- British - proposed declaration is working class picket line and to various sections of the city, one step in the attempt to extract counter-demonstration forced a making short agitational speeches a bargain out of the German Nazi Fascist outfit here parading under and arousing the population Fuehrer

Situation Is Fluid

In other words, the situation have been during the last 14 days. The Stalin government in the U.S. S.R., weakened by two years of frightful purging that has sapped morale in general and in the army in particular, is still hoping to

buy Hitler off with a deal. On the The workers of Philadelphia other side of Europe the British are not stopping here. A huge and French are apparently makopen-air demonstration will take ing another stab at trying to wean Mussolini away from Hitler place tonight at 7 P.M. to cele-Several trade unions officially brate the victory of the working before concluding that they have

In either case the initiative is (Continued on Page 3)

Tuesday, labor in all heavy industry found itself saddled with a 60-hour week at greatly reduced wage rates. Labor is faced with prosecution for treason if it objects. The French unemployed

on the frontiers.

See article on page 4 for a Under the decrees issued last discussion of the possibilities of agreement between Hitler and Stalin in the present world crisis.

the Soviet Union's position actually is, groped fearfully for a were made subject to governmentway of checking the Hitlerite al conscription for "national dedrive. In both western capitals fense" purposes.

there was much verbal indigna-The "New" Regime tion and France moved ahead According to the New York speedily to convert itself into a Times report, "nearly all of the totalitarian regime, geared for labor system now in vogue has war, but they still seemed to be been temporarily (!) set aside hesitating before taking the plunge and a completely new regime will into a war that the French and be established." This "new regime" British bosses know will mean the means the whittling away and end of their empires as they now before long the complete suppresexist. sion of the meager rights that

London asked Poland and Mosthe workers and their organizacow to sign a common declaration tions still possess. against Hitlerite aggression. Po-

The first set of decrees applies land wanted an immediate comto the "national defense" indusmitment from the French and tries. This does not merely mean British that they would fight. This they could not get, so rather than offend the Nazi colossus they kept out of the joint declaration. fuel industries, the entire trans-

For several days Moscow remained equally coy, first proposing a conference and, when this was rejected by the British, finally-when Rumania capitulated—agreeing to (Continued on Page 3) the proposed common declaration.

At the same time the Russians have made it plain that they will still entertain any bid from Hitler that will turn the edge of the Nazi sword westward. Water Duranty has been singing this tune

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

the name of Committee for De- against the fascist meeting. The news of this rising wrath proval included a \$34,500,000 item fense of Constitutional Rights to

to scatter the fascists back to the gutters from which they came. Early on Wednesday morning, The workers, aroused as they ministration stooge was quickly on making new dies, tools and had never been before by the March 22, their leader, Thomas A. Blisard, Jr., announced that the meeting was "unavoidably postaments. It paves the way for Young Peoples Socialist League, poned.'

The resolution called Local 16 eventual expenditures of a billion threatened to pour by the thoua sorry failure and declared that on war materials for every mil- sands into the streets around the

endorsed the picket line that was class. It will be held on the very no alternative left but war. Prepared for by weeks of bally- to be established and promised to spot where the fascists were to send scores of workers to the have held their meeting.

keepers, Stenographers and Ac- on the job, however, and one ad- tual war materials produced, but

The meeting, called by the Pro- ejected from the hall, and more machinery, that is, on expanding stirring leaflets issued by the Sogressive Group of Local 16, than a hundred others were re- the means of production of arm- cialist Workers Party and the

The resolution called on all

progressives from expressing ganized machine which violated for mass production. its oath to serve the membership

by placing the political interests (Continued on page 2)

**Munitions Expansion Bill** (Continued on page 3)

The bill which secured final ap-

The facts bared by the La Follette Committee are as eloquent as a sawed-off shot gun in the hands of a high-paid company

## SOCIALIST APPEAL

## LEFT Reactionary Swing at Martin Auto Stalinists Beat Appeal Salesmen; \_JABS Convention Swamps Lovestonites Oh! Upright Judge FIGHTING JOBLESS

Since Attorney Tom Dewey showed that in this era of Roose velt prosperity prosecution of no torious gangsters and "honest' New Deal bosses like Jimmie Hines is a likely road to political power, even to the Presidency, special prosecutors are becoming so persistent that a grafter has no more privacy than a gold fish. But to turn to other fields for their found an inexhaustible supply in open on March 27. The editors our highly honored and honorable apologize for the delay.) ccurts of justice. Special Assistant Attorney General John Harlan Amen following the trail of a tion, obviously written by the prostitutes' bail bonding racket, Lovestoneites, calling for continhas apparently bagged a couple ued organization of auto workers more judges and a magistrate or under the U.A.W.U. bore the imtwo with the goods. And the re- print of the red-baiters as folports are that the entire Brook- lows: lyn judiciary are showing signs of high blood pressure as Amen's ambition and the investigation expands. The thing has gone far enough. Something must be done to stop this exposure of bribe taking judges or the entire nation will be jailed for contempt of

Preparing for the Slaughter News Item: Washington, March 21-War Department officials de-

court.

nied today that a special selective conference to study methods of an army draft, which opens here Monday, has any connection with is to a Boston Back Bay Maythe current European war scare. Officials said the purpose of the

meeting is to review draft methods, consider types of physical direct product of the barren soil examinations for men, physical of America's permanent depresrequirements, and all kinds of sion economy. A whole section of administrative details in connection with conscription.

### \* \* \*

France "Defends" Democracy How a "democratic" nation de take jobs in war factories. Anoth- socialism and abundance. er army division of Moroccan serfs profits soared.

Solomon's Father-in-Law Professor Montet of Strasbourg, excavating in Egypt, claims to patiently awaiting their cue to have discovered a mummy be- step on the American stage. Natlieved to be the father-in-law of urally, many of the delegates King Solomon. In view of the were honest and progressive fact that Solomon had 999 wives to say nothing of an assortment of concubines, and presumably an equal number of fathers-in-law, we don't see how the Professor could miss digging up at least one of 'em.

Stalinist Union Democracy

## Preferring control by the Exec- months on end. His attacks on

Get Kicked Despite Boot-Licking Of **Representatives; Mass Of Auto** Workers Reject Martin

(The article printed below is the | The progressive and militant second of two articles on the workers construed Martin's at Martin auto convention, the first tacks on the C. P. as the inevithe supply of gangsters with fa- part of which appeared in issue table by-product of class collabo- Leader Asks Relief, mous names being limited, late of March 21. It was delayed in rationism. They shunned him like arriving special prosecutors had publication to make room for a leprosy-many of them even got discussion in our last issue of the lost in Stalinist caucuses as a crooks. And they seem to have C.I.O. auto convention which will result.

Even a relatively good resolu-Right.

"Whereas if our U.A.W.U. had not set up a W.P.A. department to take care of these workers' needs, some radical organization would have taken these workers away from good honest American trade unionism and would have led them to more misery and chaos because of these parties' intentions to over-

throw our American government. Misery is the only thing upon which some of these radical organizations exist." Red-baiting was as native to this convention as snobbishness flower descendant.

**Depression Result** 

This reactionary monster is the American workers have already been forced into quicksands of incipient fascism. They have been driven there by the inexorable

pressure of insecurity and joblessness which is making for the fends democracy is being demon- desperate moods of a terrible upstrated in France. War Industries heaval. There is not yet a revoformerly working 40 hours were lutionary force to enlist them input on a 64 hour week. Jobless to the army of workers' revolumen on relief were ordered to tion, flying the great banners of It would be unhealthy self-dewas started. President Lebrun ception to say these delegates papers. made a ceremonial visit to King were a freak in American social George and Steel and Munitions life. No, they are the legitimate representatives of that growing

> section of workers who will be rliant material for the demagogues and hill-billy fascists, imcamp by the degenerate and bureaucratic regime of the Communist Party. But the convention as a whole was permeated by the poisonous fumes of newly awakened American reaction.

**Feeds Reaction** Martin has nurtured and fed this reactionary monster for UNION PREPARES **APRIL 1st ACTION** Not "Pie-Crust"

## Promises

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) NEW YORK—The fight against But the backward workers, those who remained at home during the great strikes, those in- the proposed layoff of 100,000 New dignant at the loss of work oc- York W.P.A. workers has begun! casioned by union activity, those The Unemployed and Project who nodded approvingly at Workers Union, representing Coughlin's attacks on unionism- more than 3,000 W.P.A. and relief they found a champion for the workers, has issued a call for a first time in Martin. And they demonstration to take place on forced Martin far over to the April 1 at 70 Columbus Avenuethe headquarters of the Local Lovestoneites Caught W.P.A. administration.

Caught in the toils of this re- Calling on all workers to rally actionary monster were the in one mighty demonstration to wretched Lovestoneites. Their con- show the Roosevelt fakers and tinual, undivided, uncritical and the Republican bosses how the servile support of all of Homer workers are prepared to fight Martin's ideas and works landed against any and all reductions of them into this whirlwind of re- work relief and home relief, the action. The more Martin became U.P.W.U. is mobilizing all its identified with bureaucracy and forces from Jamaica and Astoria, dictatorship in the eyes of the Long Island to Brooklyn, Bronx auto workers, the more guilt was and Manhattan. Unemployed heaped on the Lovestoneites as workers and W.P.A. mechanics his most intimate advisors. The and chauffeurs will march side by

more Martin identified the Com- side shouting militant slogans and munist Party with "radicals," and singing working class songs. radicals with everything militant Prepare Real Fight

and progressive in the union, the While the Stalinist-controlled more the Lovestoneites were company union, the Workers Alplaced under suspicion by the liance, is trying frantically to conservative workers who re- sidetrack the upswing of miligarded them as just another spe- tancy and determination of the cies of "communism." workers by a post card and tele-Try as they might to conceal gram campaign, the U.P.W.U. is their identity both as a union issuing thousands of leaflets and

group and as a political organiza- holding mass-meetings in prepation, the reactionary forces could ration for a real fight for jobs not tolerate their existence. And at union wages and an increase as Martin moved over to the right in relief.

and established a following "We are not depending on the among this conservative and re- promises of any politicians," says actionary element, he himself was Abe Dollinger, leader of the un- the needs of office workers, that forced to utilize the Lovestone- employed in Long Island City. the policy pursued deterred workites less and less. At the conven- "We know in advance that only tion, he gave them their walking a real fight and a big one will the cooperation of other trade The sickening course' of the ton, D. C. Why, the waste-baskets tions, which was essential to the

Lovestoneites was an inevitable and garbage pail must be overconsequence of their opportunist flowing with post cards and telepolicy. Having no independent grams. Those birds know the program of their own, they could situation and unless we send 'em not build up an independent fol-a petition with boots on it, unlowing. Dubbed as radicals and less we organize for a real fight, prisals on progressives. This in-"communists" because they per-sist in maintaining a political or-ganization (for some strange, un-"Promises," says Dollinger, "are "Promises," says Dollinger, "are pointed committees. canny reason — best known to like pie-crusts-they are made to

them), they could not find a foot- be broken. We don't want promhold among Martin's following ises—we want jobs." which despises everything "rad-which despises everything "rad-which despises everything "rad-the Stalinist administration, ac-the Stalinist administration. It add-

flunkeys. Without a following, they were forced to hang onto Martin's coat-tails, even if it dragged them through all the filth and muck of

The opposition they led at the It is highly questionable that

picket line on April 1!

Will he get it from Dubinsky?

Will he get this support from

Martin's opportunity came to

him more than once-he might

progressive labor leader. He

missed that boat. Instead he

climbed aboard the ship of reac-

tion-but the ship was gutted and

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) The Communist Party gang-MINNEAPOLIS - For years sters smashed his nose, broke three of his teeth, closed both Chester Johnson has been literature agent for the Fourth eves and battered him about Internationalist press in Minnhe head. Comrade Johnson never had

eapolis, and no party branch has had a more loyal and efa chance to defend himself. ficient comrade in charge of Bleeding and half-stunned, this important work. Chester made his way back to Friday evening, March 17, the Party headquarters. Comrade Johnson was covering This is the last victim the the C.I.O. hall with the current Socialist Workers Party in Socialist Appeal. Despite the Minneapolis will give to the fact that the Stalinists com-Stalinist rats. pletely dominate what there is of the C.I.O. movement locally (Special to the Socialist Appeal) -the main movement here is



OFFICE WORKERS APRIL NEW INT'L QUIT C. I. O.; GET



By Stalinist Wreckers (Continued from Page 1)

of the Communist Party above those of the union.

It charged that the officers were making the union subservient to a line incompatible with ers from joining, and alienated

> union's growth. **Refer to Intimidation**

The Stalinists had forced their take. anti-labor views on the member-

ship and inflicted punitive relems in the United States, Dwight Macdonald writes on the Monorule, wholesale threats, filling of poly Investigation in Congress, and Jerry Pytlak opens his series jobs and the purging of all apof articles on American Agricul-The recent election was a comtural Problems with a review of plete fraud and the new constituthe most important of American tion was designed to perpetuate agricultural commodities-King

Cotton. ical" and "communistic." And, of course, the militant workers would not liston to them because to act in the face of im-ed that any and all attempts to agement request the magazine's would not listen to them because pending disaster—while hundreds change these conditions were met readers to be indulgent with the they were known as Martin's of locals are breaking with the with open hostilities and attemptthe April issue. Many unavoidable ed frame-ups. Cold Reception for Hawley technical matters require adjust-

Peter K. Hawley, President of ment just now. Once these are disposed of the date line for public



Tuesday, March 28, 1939

this way to stimulate the sub-

As we predicted earlier this

The work of Minneapolis, New

York City, and the California

branches stands in front. Partic-

ularly the individual work of com-

rade Bob Ontell of Los Angeles

who has sent us in a half dozen

Ohio .....

Connecticut

Newark

St. Paul

North Dakota

Chicago

Texas

Philadelphia

Foreign

Maryland .....

Illinois .....

Indiana .....

Total .....

**REMINDER:** 

reeting yet?

ollection lists?

Tennessee .....

Pennsylvania ..... 3

We have a new bundle-order

agent for the Y.P.S.L. unit in

May Day is ONE month off

Have you sent in your branch

Are you taking care of your

Kansas

. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .

Next week we'll publish the list

subs already.

Detroit

"A group of German workers of TOLEDO ORGANIZES BRANCH Yorkville (New York City) wish COMPETITION. "We have divided the branch

to congratulate your Party on the splendid anti-Nazi demonstration into two teams so that now the held on Feb. 20 outside Madison Lenin team will vie with the Square Garden. The S.W.P. won. Trotsky team in a smashing subthe sympathy and respect of thou- drive. The losers are to give a sands in our neighborhood—the party for the winners. We hope in centre of Nazi influence.

campaign."-D.C. of Toledo, Ohio. "This action served as an eyeopener for many rank-and-file THE SUB-DRIVE RINGS THE BELL AGAIN! nembers and sympathizers of the Communist Party. Ony a Party week, we have another all-time which is completely independent and clean of capitalist politicians record-breaking subscription list and follows the class struggle to report.

PHILADELPHIA, March 23. programe of Marx and Lenin can -Stalinists last night attacked lead the workers in the struggle members of the Socialist against fascism and to the victory Workers Party and the Young of socialism. That party is now People's Socialist League who the Socialist Workers Party. We were distributing leaflets at the are with you. Enclosed find \$15.00 entrance to a Stalinist meeting. for the Socialist Appeal." Although an entire gang of

Stalinists led the attack, they Thank you, comrades. Your letof branch quota achievements up were successfully repulsed by ter eloquently speaks for itself. to April 1. Remember that the GREETINGS FROM FOURTH contest now extends until April 15 INTERNATIONAL PARTIES. with a host of new prizes being "Today the Socialist Appeal-

offered. a splendid paper from all stand-Here's this week's list: points: editorial and presentation. MINNEAPOLIS ..... 43 and which we would like to serve New York City ..... 22 as a model for our "Lutte"---ap-California pears twice each week, . . . Massachusetts ..... "Moreover, this success doesn't Rochester .....

satisfy our comrades who want to do better by making the Appeal a great daily paper.

"Audacity, more audacity, still **PIVERT LETTERS** more audacity! Such is the slogan of our comrades.

The International scene, and "We wish our comrades, our America's relation thereto, will brother Party - the S.W.P.,-a be dealt with in the April num-prompt and complete success in ber of THE NEW INTERNA- this campaign for 1,000 new read-TIONAL, about to come off the ers, and hope this will be another

press. The Editors deal fully step forward on the road to a with the European crisis, the in- daily! tensified general War Danger -La Lutte Ouvriere, organ of the and the policy of American Im-Belgian Fourth Internationalists. perialism and specifically the Our French party-the Workers' Roosevelt administration's atti-

Internationalist Party --- now entude and orientation. gaged in a life-and-death battle Recent correspondence between

with Daladier's military dictator-Leon Trotsky and the leaders of the P.S.O.P. organization in ship find time, in reporting the Madison, Wisconsin. Melvin Tu-Madison Square Garden anti-fasc- min who starts with a bundle of France-Pivert and Guerin-on the political situation in France ist demonstration, to say: "Let us 10 per issue. and the tasks and duties of the add that the Socialist Appeal now

French working class parties will appears twice each week. This appear in the April number. magnificent success is due to the enthusiasm and spirit of sacrifice Whither France remains the key to the future of Europe and this of our militants. From here we

correspondence serves to point send our fraternal salute to the the road the French masses must Appeal, the splendid paper of the

Have you placed your extra Fourth International in the U.S." – La Lutte Ouvriere May-Day bundle order? Directly concerned with prob-

> JUST PUBLISHED FASCISM AND BIG BUSINESS BY DANIEL GUERIN

An American edition of the French book, "Fascism et Grand Capital," by the same author. Translated, edited and brought up to date for the American reader with an introduction by





racy.

**Daily Worker Reporter Refurns** Art Shields, Daily Worker correspondent in Spain, is on his way back to the U.S., says the Daily Worker, March 20. "Interned by the military Junta headed by Miaja and other generals, soon after his arrival in Madrid, the Daily Worker reporter was saved by the prompt action of Uncle Sam's representatives." Life becomes more complex with each passing day. Here we have a Daily Worker reporter arrested by "Comrade" Miaja of the Communist Party of Spain being saved by Uncle Sam's embassy. \* \* \*

"Concentration Camp"

now showing in New York and the union committee to discuss produced in the Soviet Union is a the workers' grievances, chief of truly graphic and moving indict- which is the "group-work" system ment of life in a Concentration of pay whereby wages are paid Camp. Filming of this picture on a piece-work basis, but are diwas an easy matter for the Stal- vided equally among a number of inist camera man. Plenty of props workers who constitute a group. were already at hand, extending from Lubiankia Prison to the Si- ment has consistently refused to berian concentration camps.

### Coughlin Apes the "Know Nothings"

In a dispute over Father Cough lin, columnist Westbrook Pegler gaining agency, the company has quotes the following from "Has appealed the decision to the the Emigrant Kept the Faith?" a Catholic historical book:

. . .

"While this Catholic immigration was entering the country, it refrigerator business was reachwas greeted by growing hostility | ing its saturation point. Plant conto foreigners and Irish Catholics, ditions were becoming increaswhich crystallized in the infamous ingly bad. From an original force Know Nothing slogan 'America of 3,500 men, for example, the for American Protestants.' Its ef- number of workers in the plant fect was manifest throughout the was reduced to 1,800.

country in bigoted persecution of Catholic pupils in 'Nunnery In- Evansville. Its manager, Louis Its treasury is practically empty. spection' laws and in mob violence Ruthenburg, is consequently very Without outside support it must have been America's greatest in which churches were burned influential in the city's politics crumble to dust-some of the loand Catholics assaulted and mur- and in the manufacturer's assodered. In some States hampering ciations. Hence the importance of and others degenerating into comthe strike for organizing the un- pany unions. property laws were enacted." BILL organized plants in the city.

utive Council of the A.F. of L. to Stalinism, originally pseudo-pro-Stalinist gag rule in the Office gressive, had to seek the level of and Professional Workers Union, red-baiting. To attack the C.P. 500 office workers in New York and to maintain a bureaucratic City voted 474-26 to leave the internal administration and to O.P.W.U. and rejoin an A.F. of L. seek the road of peaceful colfederal union This speaks volumes laboration with the motor comfor the democracy of the Stalinist panies was to arouse from inactin's goon squads; red-baiting; profits of the merchants. professional defenders of democ- tion and passivity the most backward sections of the auto union. singing of the Star-Spangled ban-

ner; the most disgusting idolatory SERVEL STRIKE of Martin-all of this was countenanced by these despicable op- support or these finances? TIES UP PLANTS portunists without a mumur.

convention was only the death- hard-headed Dubinsky would inrattle; the election of Washburn vest-or has-in this shell of a (Special to the Socialist Appeal) EVANSVILLE, Ind., March 18. and Irving Brown a Pyrrhic vic- union any more than he would Striking to compel the company tory. The Executive Board packed buy the Brooklyn Eridge. to recognize Local 1002, United with Martin hand-raisers, Wash-Electrical, Radio and Machine burn and Brown are nothing but the A.F.L.? Martin strained every Workers Union, as their regular captives. They will be used as muscle to create a situation at bargaining agency, 1,800 workers long as Martin needs them, only the convention that would lead Co. have shut the plant down tight. Considered the key to organizing Evansville, the workers stoneite act in the auto workers best he could get was a resolution are putting every effort into winup a big zero for their performning their strike.

The union's principal demand ance The film, Concentration Camp, is that the company meet with

Up to now the plant managemeet with the union representatives, and has struck at the union by firing union men, and

sponsoring a company union. Told by the N.L.R.B. to recognize the U.E.L.R.M.W. as the workers' barcourts.

\* \* \* Organization of the Serve workers began in 1937 when the What is the future for Martin's group?

leadership has neither the ability doom-Martin has shot his wad their union." nor the experience, nor the apti- in the auto union. Servel is the largest factory in tude to organize the unorganized.

cal unions returning to the C.I.O.

More-they have done tre-

mendous harm. After watching

the C. P. and the "C.P.O.," thou-

sands of auto workers have

come to the conclusion that all

radical organizations are only

cliques who want jobs for their

people and whose methods con-

character assassination. There

was nothing clean and fresh in

their actions, nothing principled

and militant and democratic in

their program — nothing which

resembled a revolutionary or-

ganization. The Lovestoneites

have been asphyxiated by the

opportunist chloroform poured

from their own bottle.

sist of unprincipled intrigue and

But where is Martin to get this leaking when he got on.

through all the filth and muck of in every state and township are Local 16, was present nied the charges and claimed cation of THE NEW INTERNAreactionary unionism. The only clamoring for a new national orthat the A. F. of L. was undemo- TIONAL will be moved forward door open said "exit." To the very last day, they suffered these incratic and dictatorial. Hawley of- again and the regular date of issufered a separate charter to the ance resumed. against the layoffs, the discrimidignities — a pitiful sight. Eva Stone, Lovestonite director of Den which would blacklist all re-

from the union membership.

TENANT FARMERS

OUIT CIO UNION

progressives if only they would The subscription rate of the Women's Auxiliaries, was ejected from the visitors' gallery by Mar-in's geometry and the seript-voucher lief workers while jacking up the profite of the merchant not bolt. However, his ruse was magazine remains at the low price easily seen through by the union of \$2.00 per year (single copy, 20 men and women. They realized cents). Address: THE NEW INthat Hawley was simply propos- TERNATIONAL, 116 UNIVERSI-Join the Unemployed and Project Workers Union! Join the ing to segregate all the progress- TY PLACE, NEW YORK CITY. ives into a separate local which

would continue to pay revenue ANNOUNCEMENTS to the bankrupt union leadership, while they would be isolated

COMRADE SEEKS room in lower or west-side Manhattan. Low rent. Write details\_ c/o S. Stanley, 116 University Place

Workers' Information Please Your Questions Answered by Our Board of Experts Shachtman-Morrow-Burnham Master of Ceremonies-Garrett at the

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Many readers and friends of the Appeal have often asked why

Quite a few small storekeepers, son, a well-known Stalinist funcestaurants, movie-houses, etc, have expressed a willingness to In a statement issued to the press the union said that the ref- advertise in the Appeal. Some have done so at various times. erendum indicated "an overdemands for a referendum and his appeals to the N.L.R.B. he tion thus separating the union But then the Stalinist 13th St. squad goes to work! They call their dozen and one stooge outfits. The storekeeper is threatened industry. Its reactionary program will not attract new recruits. Its bired by the manufacturers—and that step would spell immediate welfare of the sharecroppers in etc. The storge organizations cancel orders and spread around ma-

114 University Place next to headquarters Special 25c Lunch! Soup, 15c Sandwich, Coffee or the method of petty gangsters and racketeers par excellence! Milk

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advertise in the Appeal. Some	
have done so at various times.	MONDAY, MARCH 27, 7:15 P.M.:
But then the Stalinist 13th St.	SAM GORDON-"Party and Trade Union Belations."
squad goes to work! They call	MONDAY, MARCH 27, 8:50 P.M.:
their dozen and one stooge outfits.	JAMES BURNHAM "Third Party Movements-Middle
The storekeeper is threatened	Class Politics."
with boycott, loss of C.P. business, etc. The stooge organizations can-	TUESDAY, MARCH 28, 7:00 P.M.:
cel orders and spread around ma-	JOHN G. WRIGHT-"The Chinese Revolution, 1925-1927."
licious lies. One advertiser was	TUESDAY, MARCH 28, 8:50 P.M.:
even called up to the National	WILLIAM PHILIPS-"Marxism and Literary Criticism."
Office of the Stalinists!	WEDNESDAY, MARCH 29, 8:00 P.M.:
Do these tactics have a familiar	GEORGE NOVACK-"The Role of the Working Class in
odor to them? You're right. That's	the American Civil War."
the method of petty gangsters and	All lectures held at IRVING PLAZA, Irving Place and 15th St.
racketeers par excellence!	Admission 25c per le <b>#</b> ure
The Manager	

Several days before the New York office workers registered employed by the Servel Electrolux to be bounced eventually as mem- to a vote of affiliation to the their disgust with Stalinist unionwrecking leadership, the Southern bers of an "outside organization." A.F.L. But even his own conven-As the curtain falls on the Love- tion turned him down and the

Tenant Farmers' Union had taken similar action after a referendum among 35,000 members in 200 lounion-the critics can only mark providing for membership refercals in five southern states. endum on any future affiliation. Acting in accord with the re-Yet it is doubtful that the A.F.L. ults of the referendum, the Exwould put its money on Martin's

ecutive Committee ordered all its deuces unless he can get a conlocals to withdraw from the tract from the Ford Motor Co. Will he get this agreement C.I.O.'s United Cannery, Agriculfrom Ford? Perhaps. But judging tural and Allied Workers of Amerfrom past policy, it would seem ica, to which it had affiliated in that Ford would prefer to be 1937. As in the case of the office without an union if he can get workers, the S.T.F.U., which emaway with it. Moreover, if Ford braces the greatest bloc of organrecognizes Martin, he must count ized agricultural workers in the

on C.I.O. infiltration and the con- south, found it impossible to consequent struggle for power in the tinue functioning under the anti-Ford plant. The prospects do not democratic regime which the Stal- our paper does not contain more look very bright for Martin even inists have imposed on the United ads, particularly those of a commercial nature. n this direction.

Cannery Workers. Donald Hender-On a Sinking Ship Unquestionably Martin will tionary, is president of the U.C.W. continue to be a source of annoyance for some time to come. Between his court cases and his

Its thinning ranks have no de- will be able to keep the kettle from the control by the Communcisive weight in the automobile boiling. But unless he is directly ists who think in terms of their

> licious lies. One advertiser was SHERIDAN SANDWICH SHOPPE even called up to the National Office of the Stalinists! odor to them? You're right. That's

Tuesday, March 28, 1939

### SOCIALIST APPEAL

## By Dwight Macdonald Senate Committee Bares **OFF** Terror Against Workers RECORD THE

### The Wallace Plan

Several months ago, in my New International column, I quoted a Washington "confidential News Letter" on an embryonic New Deal scheme. "Idea," ran the report, "is to find ways of enabling more people to eat more food. . . . It appears to be a fact that 1-3 of our people, perhaps even ½, don't get enough to eat. . . So, step up consumption, eat up surpluses, thus aid farmers. That's the basis idea. How? One way might be by socialism or communism. Another way is by improving existing distribution methods WITHIN the profit system." What interested me at the time was the frank admission that (1) the American masses don't get enough to eat under capitalism; and (2) communism would mean, for them, more food. But now the "other" way, WITHIN the profit system, has materialized. It makes a neat rounding out of the story. The alternative to communism turns out to be Secretary Wallace's ingenious orange and blue food card system, which was lately saluted in an Appeal editorial. On the surface, the Wallace Plan is designed actually to give the unemployed, in this seventh year of the New Deal, enough to eat. General Hugh Johnson, an admirer of the Wallace Plan, admitted recently in his daily column: "Government studies of W.P.A. wages have shown that, while the amount available for food for a family of four, for example, is enough to prevent starvation [Who says democracy doesn't work?-D.M.] it is not enough to provide a minimum balanced diet, especially for children, in some of the foods of which there is a surplus-dairy products, eggs, fruit and vegetables." (And let it not be forgotten that W.P.A. wages, just above the starvation level, are much higher than home and local relief.)

For their above-starvation foodstuffs, the unemployed have had to depend on the erratic bounty of the Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation, which buys up big lots of surplus farm products and gives them to the unemployed. The system is designed to stabilize farm markets rather than to meet human needs, and so the unemployed function as a sort of refuse dump for whatever our insane economic system overproduces at any given moment.

The Wallace Plan continues to use the unemployed as a dump for surplus farm products. But instead of the Government giving the food direct to the reliefers, it gives them blue cards, which are exchangeable at their grocers for whatever foodstuffs are officially designated "surplus" that week. The beauty of this new arrangement is that every one-except, of course, the ultimate consumer-gets his cut of profit, from wholesaler to retailer.

Nor is this all. Secretary Wallace has decided that the unemployed cannot be trusted to spend their nickels wisely, and so he also proposes that the amount of each relief check which he and the other New Deal supermen in their all-wisdom decide should be spent for food-that this amount be paid not in cash but in orange tick-

MEN AND WOMEN OF LABOR

ets. Like the blue tickets-which apply only to surplus commodities- these will be redeemable in any store for food. The same Washington News Letter from which I originally quoted, in a later issue revealed that the Wallace Plan will be tried out first in a few selected cities and then, if it works, will be extended everywhere. "Clothing and other necessities are not included in the plan now, but it is freely said they may be added later, IF the plan works on food." I hope the unemployed workers of the country will show by demonstrations and by other suitable action that the Wallace Plan doesn't "work," that they are still adult enough to buy their own shoes and hats and food even if this cockeyed economic system prevents them from working productively. For their banners, I suggest two inscriptions: "Mother DOESN'T Know Best!" And this sentence from the Washington Letter: "Purpose of Plan is primarily farm relief, secondarily human relief."

### A Luxemburgite Objects

Some one who wants to remain anonymous writes in to endorse, on the whole, my recent remarks in this column on the S.W.P.'s handling of the Anti-Bund demonstration outside Madison Square Garden. But he also adds: "I wish to register, as a Luxemburgite, that the comparison with Fascist showmanship goes a bit too far, because there are limits to left showmanship that do not restrict fascism. These limits relate to the degree to which a genuine social revolution is in its actual occurrence-as distinguished from demonstrations, meetings, etc .--- a self-induced mass act, rather than something, as Rosa said, 'led with a baton.' The fascist coup d'etat is always accomplished under the baton, and this is one of the signs that it is not a social revolution. While the socialist revolution, no matter what role the Party plays as a gear, overflows the rim of the ordered and assumes a ragged, uneven character-with even the most conscious elements running around wild and improvising. And this has to be prepared for, too.

"So, while I agree with your general criticism, I suggest you add to it the thought that if all the Party members had been on their toes, thinking of the total effect of their act, they would, even without preliminary preparation, which would have been preferable, have thought of various improvised means for letting the crowds know about the S.W.P., the Appeal, etc. In short, I just want to strike one note for the individual side, along with your chord on the organizational. Both ought to develop together. Of course, this is a big subject, and I'm just poking around in it here."

But I'd like to ask my Luxemburgian lover of spontaneity-and I'm all with him there, myself -just how the demonstrators, on their toes or not, could have improvised banners and placards out of thin air, or could have conjured up copies of the Appeal when none were sent from headquarters?

(Continued from Page 1) |tioners, but according to the La law-enforcement agency (read Follette lists their basements are strike-breaking agency) was the filled with enough tear gas, shot-Ohio National Guard. It loaded guns, and rifles to keep the Amerup with \$20,234.59 worth of the ican flag flying over the cash poison. But much larger pur- register no matter how many emhases were made by the Repub- ployees in the district may deselic Steel Corporation, the United crate American institutions by States Steel Corporation, the asking for a rise in pay or recog-Youngstown Sheet and Tube Com- nition of their right to organize. The law enforcement agencies pany, and the General Motors listed as purchasers of weapons Corporation.

They Armed the Police of violence for use against work-"Over 80 per cent of these pur- ers are in almost every instance chases were made during or in agencies under the control of coranticipation of labor trouble," porations in the vicinity. Youngsstates the report and goes on to town, Ohio, Flint, Mich., Salinas, explain that corporations not only Calif., Kohler Wis., Mahoning armed private guards but supplied County, Ohio, the Ohio National arms and gas to police depart- Guard-each one recalls a spectacular attack by the employers ments.

Virtually all the weapons used against the workers and the in the forcible dispersal of a pick- shedding of their blood.

San Francisco, for example, et line at Monroe, Mich., during bought \$20,000 worth of equipment the Little Steel strike were furduring the months of May, June, nished to law enforcement authorities by the Republic Steel and July 1934 during the maritime and longshoremen's strike. That Corporation.

purchase of arms was climaxed **Right of Free Speech** by Bloody Thursday, the day po-The employers exercised their lice shot down strikers in the ight to free speech in order to back on the San Francisco waterbring the workers around to their front. Wreathes each year still point of view . . . purely in the keep fresh the memory of those traditional democratic American stains on the sidewalks. vay. During the Little Steel

Secret Diplomacy in Industry strike, for instance, the La Fol-The employers themselves are ing terms, and sometimes The employers themselves are ing terms, and sometimes the proud of their armed struggle for munitions companies are not even lette Committee reports that Republic Steel exercised the right the democratic right to exploit informed of the identity of the

of free speech with 552 revolvers, 64 rifles with 1,325 rounds of am-munition, 245 shotguns with 5,874 rounds of shotgun shells, 143 gas guns with 4,033 gas projectiles and 2,707 hand grenades. 64 rifles with 1,325 rounds of amuns with 4,033 gas projectiles workers. After all, the workers hish all extraordinate will soon have to go to war to of political intrigue and blackand 2,707 hand grenades. die for corporation profits and mail that are latent in the prac-

These facts, which are as plain and ungilded as a crate of gas the same tit is smart diplomacy to keep some tice of private purchase of munithings secret. tions for public use." "Public ombs, sound more like a violent "The fact that industrial pur- use," of course, is not to be taken neutrality legislation was finally from far more basic causes than Hearst editorial denouncing a chasers of munitions frequently re- as meaning that these munitions workers' revolution for its use of terrorism than the cautious un-derstatements of a capitalist in-

possession of arms and gas from Excerpts from letters written by vestigating committee. But Retheir own employees," states the gas salesmen to their companies public Steel does not stand alone, report, "is significantly indicative show vividly that the business of a unique and isolated instance. of the purpose for which such these munitions outfits depends "The purchasing and storing of munitions are bought. arsenals of firearms and tear and "The munitions companies, in dispute. Here are a few of the sickening gas weapons," states their business methods, accept statements: "Wish a hell of the report, "is a common practice this state of affairs and carry on strike would get under way." "I their trade in a manner which hope that this strike develops and bargain collectively with legitiapproximates the secrecy and eva- matures and that it will be a mate labor unions.' sion that characterizes bootleg-damn bad one; we need the

"Respectable" Business Outfits ging. The buyers of poison gas listed by the Committee constitute a

"Public Use" of Munitions "Deliveries are made and in- to suit me." Who's Who assembly of solid "re- voices are mailed to the homes of The La Follette Report shows

spectable" American business con- officials far from the plants; rec- as clearly as the company vioerns and organizations. The ords are kept in blind or in frag-lence it describes that there can Chamber of Commerce in many mentary form; payments are be only one answer to the private American cities ostensibly exists made through disreputable inter- armies of the American stockin order to publish slick paper mediaries and are in cash; in- holders - and that answer blurbs to beguile moneyed vaca- voices are written up in mislead- Workers Defense Guards.





(Continued from Page 1)

cal fashion, it was entitled, "Peace Act of 1939."

More frankly, Pittman in a raupon employers creating a labor

money." "We are surrounded with strikes but they are too peaceful British and French governments ican armed forces.

**RUMANIAN PACT PLACES HITLER AT SOVIET FRONTIERS** (Continued from Page 1)

eft in the hands of Hitler and just what his plans are the imperialist chancelleries apparently do not know, if we are to believe Augur, the well-known mouthpiece of the British Foreign Office, who writes in the New York Times.

By his successive coups of the last two weeks, Hitler has placed himself in a position from which he can either continue his eastward drive or else turn, as his ally Mussolini would like him to do, toward the rich colonial empires of Britain and France and press for a new partition of Africa and a revision of the "spheres of influence" in which the imperialist masters hold subject their hundreds of millions of colonial slaves.

War In Either Case In either case the end result will be a mad plunge into a new imperialist world war, with its attendant death, privation and misery for the masses of the world. The capitalist war-makers, of the democratic and Fascist stripe alike, are the instigators of this war. The last word will not belong to them, however, but to the masses aroused against the insane butchery for bosses' profits-To arouse, organize, and lead the masses to the transformation of the imperialist war into a war for the liberation of mankind from all tyranny is the task in-

The fundamental drive of American imperialism to war in 1917 hoo, the bill to abrogate existing and now, flowed and still flows introduced into the Senate on its status as a creditor of the March 20 by Chairman Key Pitt- Ango-French bloc. To the extent man of the Foreign Relations that this factor facilitated entry Committee. In blandly hypocriti- into war, however, it is now to be repeated again.

### Latin-America In Uniform

Another important Roosevelt dio speech last Sunday night des- administration war move is the cribed its main function as the Pittman resolution to "assist the expansion of the private muni- governments of American repubtions industry by permitting bel- lics to increase their military and ligerents to purchase unlimited naval establishments" by providamounts of arms in this country. ing them with material unavail-If adopted, the bill will imme- able in private munitions factodiately result in a vast expansion ries-in a word, with the most of the munitions industry, for the basic military secrets of the Amer-

are ready to place enormous or-This type of assistance is only ders but have hesitated for fear given by one government to anthat, under existing legislation, other on the basis of the closest the orders would not be delivered possible military - political allif war broke out meanwhile. Like- ances, and indicates the real wise munitions manufacturers meaning of the Lima Declaration have hesitated to accept orders of "continental solidarity" which government spokesmen use to justify the Pittman resolution.

In hearings before the Foreign As a sop to the anti-way sound ment which originally forced adoption of legislation forbidding State, War and Navy Departexport of munitions in wartime, ments for the first time publicly Pittman's new bill contains a advocated such "assistance" to

the Latin-American governments.

It means nothing less than the

military organization of the West-

ern Hemisphere under the direc-

**JAMES CONNOLLY** 

0 f

BY EMANUEL GARRETT utive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party.

the Past

The 'War For Democracy' On the Home Front

(June 5, 1870-executed May 12, 1916) The newspapers report the resurgence of the Irish independence movement. "Up the Rebels," is again heard in the streets of Dublin-this time directed against a one-time rebel, Eamon De Valera, as well as the British tyrants. The anniversary of Red Easter Week is only a few weeks away.

Jim Connolly was once asked at a lecture how it was that he knew so much about revolutionary and military matters. "You forget," he replied, "that revolution is my business."

And that it was. For though he worked at any number of trades in Ireland and in this country-as baker, shoemaker, tiler, machinist, linotyper, etc.-Jim Connolly was primarily a revolutionist, in the words of his biographer, Desmond Ryan, the "first builder of an insurgent barricade in war-wrecked Europe."

### Irish Question Is a Social Question

Himself a worker, and the son of a worker, Connolly sought to free the movement for Ireland's freedom from the petty-bourgeois and nationalist elements who dominated it at the time; he viewed with distrust the official nationalist leaders who had, he said, "bowed the knee to Baal."

A student of Marxism, and proud to acknowledge that, he insisted that "only the Irish working class remains as the incorruptible inheritors of the fight for freedom in Ireland." For "As we have again and again pointed out, the Irish question is a social question, the whole agelong fight of the Irish people against their oppressors resolves itself in the last analysis into a fight for the mastery of the means of life, the sources of production." His great book, "Labor in Irish History," is based on that thesis.

Back in the 90's when Connolly first began his socialist work, the nationalist movement was in pretty bad shape. The British, riding the wave of imperialist prosperity, tossed the Irish a few crumbs and devitalized the movement for liberation into a mere plea for Home Rule. (Connolly was especially bitter against the Home Rulers.) Such revolutionary work as was being done, was done secretively. Connolly broke through this "ridiculous secrecy," and brought the socialist movement into the open. In 1896 he founded the Irish Socialist Republican Party, and became editor of its paper, the "Worker's Republic." (The paper bore on its masthead this legend: "The great appear great only because we are on our knees, let us arise!")

Emigrating to the United States in 1903, he immediately enrolled in the trade union and socialist movements of this country. An industrial unionist all his life, he became in America one of the earliest organizers of the I.W.W. For a time he was a member of the National Exec-

Disagreeing with Daniel De Leon, leader of the S.L.P., over some questions of policy, he joined the newly formed Socialist Party, for which he worked as a national organizer.

England's Crisis- Ireland's Opportunity Returning to Ireland in 1913, he arrived at the very moment when the great strike battle, led by the Irish Transport and General Workers Union, against Dublin's united bosses was getting under way. 20,000 workers fought for six months to assert their right to join a union. Jim Larkin, a striking figure and orator, was the best-known leader of the strike. Connolly worked as Larkin's right-hand man.

Connolly judged crises according to their revolutionary possibilities. In England's war crisis, he saw revolutionary Ireland's opportunity. Realizing that collaboration of all the independence movements was absolutely vital, Connolly united, in preparation for action, the I.T.G.W.U., the Socialists, the Citizen's Army the Sinn Feiners, and the Republican Volunteers

Both sides mobilized. April was stormy with preparations and preliminary skirmishes. Finally, the British moved in to disarm the Volunteers and the Citizen's Army. Connolly, who, as the most popular and undoubtedly most able person, had been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the revolutionary forces, gave the order for the rising on April 23. The petty-bourgeois leaders of the Volunteers rescinded the order, but the rising went on-their cowardice was too late. The "Provisional Government of an Independent Irish Republic" was proclaimed.

By the morning of April 24, virtually every important point of Dublin was in the hands of the rebels, so carefully had Connolly laid his plans. Facing the ruthless bombardment of British artillery which destroyed the center of the city, the rebels nevertheless fought fiercely for a week with inferior weapons. The uprising was crushed, and the democratic British immediately imposed a bloody reign of White Terror.

## Ours ... Fighting and Hoping

The moment may not have been fully ripe for revolutionary action. But the valiant action led by Connolly was by no means an ill-considered, valueless stroke. Like the Russian 1905, it was a preliminary battle, preparatory to the final struggle. Weak-kneed traitors, and "I-Told-You-So" cowards can dismiss Red Easter as an adventuristic putsch; but in the words of Lenin, "those who can term such a rising a putsch are either the worst kind of reactionaries or hopeless doctrinaires, incapable of imagining the social revolution as a living phenomenon."

Connolly was held prisoner in Kilmainham Jail (Eamon De Valera was privileged to be there with him). On May 12, wounded, carried out on a chair, "fighting and hoping" (he always ended his letters thus), courageous beyond flinching, he faced a British firing squad.



the protest among the week workers were so great that the trade union bureaucracy, with the **TREND TOWARDS** id of the socialist and communist party leaders, had to call a foreloomed 24-hour "demonstration" **A DICTATORSHIP** general strike in order to help head off and disperse the rising

No Opposition

(Continued from Page 1)

As was to be expected, Daladier crushed that strike, because the ler the direct control of the workers' leaders kept it from bestate, although of course, private coming a generalized struggle capital preserves its full equity against the regime. Since then and will profit enormously from the erstwhile hero of the French the terrific speed-up imposed upon People's Front has steadily inthe workers. creased the iron hand of state

This week Daladier is under- control. stood to be planning to issue a second set of decrees which will

Today the official leaderships of under-score the end of parliathe workers' organizations give no mentary "democratic" institutions in France, imposing on capital sign of even attempting to resist certain rules and regulations in the installation of the Daladier dictatorship. In Parliament the the common interest of all the osses, and infinitely more rigid socialist and Stalinist deputies feebly protested and engaged in and costly restrictions upon the futile verbal arguments and fistiworkers-also in the common incuffs with rightist deputies while terest of all the bosses. outside in the mills and factories

Daladier will move steadily, es- the millions of French workers, ecially as the international situ- deceived and befuddled and disation worsens, toward suppression couraged by this outcome of the of all the remaining freedom of two-year People's Front regime, ress, organization, and assembly. still await a new leadership that Strikes will become a crime pun- will show them the way to save ishable as treason against the themseves from falling under the State. heel of Fascism at home on the

Last year when Daladier began pretext of "defense" against Fashis open attack on the 40 hour cist dictatorships abroad.

by prior to export in wartime all right, title and interest in the war materials must have been transferred to the purchasing tion of the U.S. government, plac-

under these conditions.

Fake "Safeguards"

As a sop to the anti-war senti-

sponsors that this provision, plus and resources of the semi-colonial another prohibiting wartime loans to belligerents, will prevent Amer-

welded to the Anglo-French bloc and resulting in a repetition of America's entry into the war on their side as in 1917. But this is not true.

The fact is that the cautionary provisions can in no way prevent and especially those most suba repetition of 1917. First of all, large-scale cash orders from the Anglo-French bloc in the first months of the war will result in production on the basis of these

orders. Any threat to the continuation of these orders—such as important victories by Germany, or effective submarine warfare by Germany, or for that matter the inability of the Anglo-French blog to continue paying in cash-would result in irresistible pressure by American financial and industrial interests for American entry into the war on the side of her cus-

tomers. **Evasion Made Easy** 

Secondly, the "cash-and-carry" the name of 50 Senators-more provision could easily be evaded than a majority-the lack of sefrom the first. The Pittman bill riousness of this move is indiitself provides a number of loop- cated by the fact that the bill, holes. Although it formally pro- as drafted, would result in Federal hibits loans to belligerents, it and state income taxes amounting gives the president the discretion- in the higher brackets to a total ary power, in extremely vague and of more than the income to be proad terms, to permit extension taxed. Sponsored also by the reby banks and industry to belliger-actionary "Veterans of Foreign ents of "ordinary commercial Wars," the bill is signed by New credits and short-time obliga- Dealers, conservative Democrats tions"; and the bill does not apply and Republicans alike-in other to "renewal or adjustment of words it is a meaningless gesture. such indebtedness as may exist" A war tax of 99% on big inwhen war breaks out.

"Ordinary commercial credits" fuddle the workers while the can be expanded to mean a great enormous appropriations for ardeal, while "renewal or adjust- maments are being made. Not ment" of indebtedness enables the one signer of the bill really takes Anglo-French bloc to arrange in it seriously. advance for any amount of bank

comes is a nice bit of pap to be-

loans which will actually become Get Your APPEAL operative only when war starts. Thus, at bottom, the Pittman At Your Local Newsstand

Against (Special to the Socialist Appeal). spirit of revolt among the masses NEW YORK-Police testify-

ing in the case of Peter Shopes, Murray Nerewitz, and Abe Dollinger, who were arrested at the Feb. 20 anti-Nazi dem-

been charged. segment to the picture of Feb. 20, when LaGuardia's "finest" were ordered out 1,700 strong to protect the fascists, and to

Defense was provided by the American Fund for Political Prisoners.

onstration admitted to the court that the arrests had been made on the order of superiors, that none of the defendants had been seen committing the crimes with which they had

Magistrate Kross, before whom the case was heard at the 54th Street Court, dismissed the case after the admission of the police. The police testimony adds another

prevent the workers from executing their democratic right to picket.

Cops Admit Frame-Up Was Ordered **Pickets** 

It is contended by the bill's ing at its disposal the manpower

countries in the fight for mastery of the world, "Democratic" Dictators ican interests from becoming

The government spokesmen played upon the phrase, "the twenty-one republics" as though this signified a hemisphere of democracies. Actually the governments which the Roosevelt administration thus proposes to arm,

servient to the administration's plans, are almost all military dictatorships-typified by such butch-American industry organizing its ers as vargas of Litan much-touted "forces of democracy"!

The Pittman resolution simply provides the mechanism whereby the enslaved masses of Latin-America shall be employed as cannon-fodder by the puppet dictators at the behest of the Colos sus of the North

"War Without Profits" As window-dressing for all this,  $\Delta \sim \mathcal{A}$ there appears again the old figleaf of war-mongers, a bill to

"tax the profits out of war." Introduced into the Senate in

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FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY FOR:

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

- 3. A Twenty-Billion dollar Federal public works and housing program
- 4. Thirty-thirty! \$30-weekly minimum wage 30hour 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.
- II Workers Defense Guards against Vigilante and Fascist attacks.

## **Billions For Gunpowder**

It is impossible for anyone to estimate at the present time the eventual amounts which Congress will divert from the pockets of the unemployed to the war machine. Conservative commentators in Washington believe that before the present Congress adjourns it will go down in history not as the "Economy" Congress which it would like to call itself, but the "National Defense" (Imperialist War) Congress

They predict that authorizations for direct expenditures on war planes, battleships, submarines, long range guns and other instruments for the destruction of human life may reach \$3,000,000,000 for this session-with appropriations for indirect expenditures bringing the total to not less than \$4,000,000,000.

Hearings began this week, for instance, in a House committee upon one appropriation, the proposed naval budget, which alone, not considering other appropriations for the army, the air force, spies, secret diplomatic maneuvers, will amount to \$755,000,000. That is \$50,000,000 more than Congress has allowed for all the unemployed in the United States. And there is absolutely no indication whatsoever that the least cut will be made in this request for war funds.

Not since the last World War has any Congress dumped such vast sums of money down the gullet of ment granting the 6-hour day, walked off all jobs in their territory operated by the Master Plumbers of the Bronx and Manhattan. All plumbing work on new construction is tied up tight in Manhattan and the Bronx.

Work at the World's Fair is at a standstill. The Plumbers are in an excellent position to win all their demands. But they must keep a watchful eye on the International officers and guard against any attempt to arbitrate away the six hour day.

Encouraging indeed to labor everywhere is the whole-hearted support accorded the striking plumbers and helpers by Local No. 3 International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. This local which has already won the 6-hour day is engaged in a big campaign to spread the fight. They have issued buttons, leaflets, stickers and sent out speakers to other locals. Their slogan is "The 30-hour Week-A Practical Solution for Unemployment."

The example shown by the Plumbers and Electrical workers must be followed by unions everywhere. With the same spirit and determination which the trade unions of America started the fight for the 8-hour day 53 years ago, organized labor must today take up the fight for the six-hour day and the 5-day week.

Division in labor's ranks is an obstacle to that fight. For a United Labor Movement! Against unemployment and starvation!

Forward to the 30-hour week! Hail the fighting ranks of Local No. 463!

## The Uses Of Terrorism

In a report just made public, the Senate Civil Liberties Committee reveals a picture of terrorism and violence in industrial warfare that should confound once and for all the assertions of apologists for capitalism that in America there are no classes and that the American way is the democratic and peaceful way.

We refer to the planned, deliberate, premeditated use of terrorism and violence by employers in the United States. We refer to their conscious, calculated purchase of revolvers, shot guns, rifles, gas guns, ammunition, and hand grenades with which they plan long in advance to spill the blood of the human beings who work under their domination.

The arming of the capitalist class is not just an isolated racket that can be stamped out with a few well meaning laws. Capitalists laugh at such laws. The use of arms, private thugs, organized murder, terrorism and violence forms the core of their strategy in maintaining their stream of super-profits.

The war for a peaceful system of life does not lie in the direction pointed out by Roosevelt. It is right here at home. And the enemy has been listed by name and individual corporation in the report of the Civil Liberties Committee.

## Stalinists Hurt C.I.O.

Following in close succession, two unions have quit the C.I.O. in protest against union-wrecking Stalinist leadership. First, the Executive Committee of the Southern Tenant Farmer's Union ordered all its locals to withdraw from the United Cannery Workers, a C.I.O. affiliate, after a referendum among its membership. Then, 500 office workers in New York voted to leave the United Office and Professional Workers Union, and to apply to the A.F.L. for a charter.

Both the office workers and the tenant farmers made it clear that they are firm believers in the principles of industrial unionism, that is to say, those principles upon which the C.I.O. was founded. But in both

## SOCIALIST APPEAL

## What Lies Behind Stalin Bid For Agreement With Hitler? IN THIS Diplomatic Circles Of All Capitalist Countries Are

Now Considering A Possible Moscow - Berlin Axis; What Does It Mean To Workers Of The World?

In recent months, the newspa- state and an imperialist state, and would thereby render more pers have printed a good deal con- including a Fascist one, are in difficult a rapprochement between cerning secret negotiations be general permissible, and if so, Moscow and London. The presence ween Berlin and Moscow. It has just under what conditions,--- of liberals in the "People's Front" been rumored that a political and this question — in its abstract signifies a direct and an immeeven a military agreement in the form-has lost all meaning today. diate censorship exercised by imguise of an economic treaty is in In question is not a worker's perialism over the actions of the preparation. It is difficult to state, in general, but a degener- Labour Party. Under the cover of judge as yet, just what is correct ated and putrifying workers' such a censorship Stalin would be in these communications. At all state. The nature of an agreement, able to render all the necessary events, there are quite unmistak- its aims and its limits, depend services to British imperialism, able symptoms which testify to directly upon those who conclude STALIN TRADES THE

the fact that some sort of nego- such an agreement. Lenin's gov- WORKERS' MOVEMENT tiations have been and are going ernment might have been com-The fundamental trait of Stalon. In any case, the outcome of pelled in Brest-Litovsk to conclude in's international policy in recent these secret negotiations, at the a temporary agreement with Ho-years has been this: that he present stage, depends, not upon henzollern-in order to save the trades in the working class move-Stalin's loyalty to the principles revolution. Stalin's government is ment just as he trades in oil, of democracy nor upon Hitler's capable of entering into agree- manganese and other goods. In fealty to the banner of "anti-ments only in the interests of the this statement there is not an Marxism" but rather upon the ruling Kremlin clique and only to jota of exaggeration. Stalin looks international conjuncture. An the detriment of the interests of upon the sections of the Comintern agreement between Stalin and Hit- the international working class in various countries and upon the ler, if attained—and there is The agreements between the liberating struggle of the opnothing impossible in that, could Kremlin and the "democracies" pressed nations as so much small astonish only the most hopeless meant for the respective sections change in deals with imperialist simpletons from among all the of the Communist International powers. varieties of democratic "Fronts" the renunciation of the class When he requires the aid of

and pacifist "Leagues." struggle, the strangulation of France, he subjects the French revolutionary organizations, the proletariat to the Radical bour-A FACTOR IN

INTERNATIONAL POLITICS support of social patriotism and, geoisie. When he has to support We shall not dwell here on the in consequence, the destruction of China against Japan, he subjects question of how probable is an the Spanish revolution and sabo- the Chinese proletariat to the agreement between Stalin and tage of the class struggle of the Kuomintang. What would he do Hitler, or, to put it more correctly, French proletariat.

between Hitler and Stalin in the KREMLIN CLIQUE immediate future. This question CRUSHES WORKERS

would require a detailed analysis The agreement with Chiang-assistance to strangle the German of the international situation in Kai-Shek signified the immediate Communist party. The insignifiall its possible variants. But liquidation of the revolutionary cant state in which the latter even if this were done, the answer peasant movement, the renuncia- finds itself has moreover been aswould still have to be rigidly tion by the Communist party of sured by its entire preceding polqualified, inasmuch as the players its last vestiges of independence icy. But it is very likely that Stalthemselves could hardly state to- and the official replacement of in would agree to cut off all day with complete certainty just Marxism by Sun-Yat-Senism. The subsidies for illegal work in Gerwhere the play will lead them. semi-agreement with Poland sig- many. This is one of the most But even before the rapproche- nified the destruction of the Po- minor concessions that he would ment between Moscow and Berlin lish Communist Party and the an- have to make and he would be has been factually attained, it has nihilation of its leadership. Every quite willing to make it.

become a factor in international agreement of the Kremlin clique THE FEBRUARY 20 politics, for all the diplomatic cen- with a foreign bourgeoisie is im- ANTI-NAZI DEMONSTRATION ters of Europe and the world are mediately directed against the One should also assume that the now taking this possibility into proletariat of that country with noisy, hysterical and hollow camaccount. Let us, too, briefly con- which the agreement is made, as paign against Fascism which the well as against the proletariat of Comintern has been conducting sider this possibility. the U.S.S.R. The Bonapartist for the last few years will be slyly AN AGREEMENT WITH SLAVEHOLDERS

An agreement with an imperial- vive except by weakening, demorist nation-regardless of whether alizing, and crushing the proletar- American section mobilized conit is fascist or democratic-is an iat everywhere within its reach. agreement with slave-owners and COMINTERN POLICY exploiters. A temporary agree- IN GREAT BRITAIN

to participate in the counter-demurse, be rendered compulsory is nowadays conducting agitation onstration which had nation-wide by circumstances. It is impossible in favor of creating a "People's repercussions, and did everything to state once and for all time that Front" with the participation of in their power to minimize its imagreements with imperialists are the liberals. At first glance such a portance, thereby giving aid to impermissible under all and any policy appears to be absolutely inthe American followers of Hitler. conditions, just as it is impossible comprehensible. The Labour Par- What is there behind this truly to tell a trade union that it has ty represents a mighty organizatreacherous policy? Is it only conno right under any conditions to tion. One could easily understand servative stupidity and hatred of conclude a compromise with the an urge on the part of the socialthe Fourth International? Or is boss. "Irreconcilability" of such patriotic Comintern to draw closer there also something new, for nature would be sheerly verbal. to it. But the liberals represent an example, the latest instruction So long as the workers' state utterly compromised and politifrom Moscow-recommending to remains isolated episodic agree- cally second-rate force. Moreover Messrs. "Anti-Fascists" that they ments with the imperialists to one they are split into several groups. muzzle themselves so as not to extent or another are inevitable. In the struggle to maintain their interfere with the negotiations But we must clearly understand influence the Labourites naturally MARCOW that the question reduces itself reject any idea of a bloc with the diplomats? This supposition is by to profiting from the antagonisms liberals, so as not to infect themno means far-fetched. The next between two gangs of imperialist selves with a gangrenous poison. few weeks will bring their veripowers, and nothing more. There They are defending themselves fication. cannot even be talk of disguising rather energetically-by means of WHAT THE AGREEMENT such agreements by means of expulsions—against the idea of a WOULD MEAN common idealistic slogans, for "People's Front." We can state one thing with example, the common "defense of WHY INCLUDE democracy,"-slogans which in-LIBERAL SHADOWS? certainty. The agreement between Stalin and Hitler would essenvolve nothing but the most infa-Why then doesn't the Comintern tially alter nothing in the countermous deceit of the workers. It is confine itself to fighting for a colrevolutionary function of the essential that the workers in cap- laboration with the Labourites? Kremlin oligarchy. It would only italist countries be not bound in Why does it instead invariably deserve to lay bare this function, their class-struggle against their mand the inclusion of the liberal own bourgeoisie by the empiric shadows of the past into the make it stand out more glaringly and hasten the collapse of illuagreements entered into by the united front? The crux of the sions and falsifications. Our poworker's state. This fundamental matter lies in this, that the polrule was rigorously observed dur- icy of the Labour party is far litical task does not consist in ing the first period of the exist- too radical for the Kremlin. An "saving" Stalin from the embraces

 $\equiv$  CORNER By Max Shachtman

Tuesday, March 28, 1939

When they cannot conveniently find anything else to say against "Trotskyism," the amateur wits among our opponents in the labor movement try to make merry over our international organization. It does not, you see, have a million members in its ranks; it does not have a powerful and well-financed apparatus; and it does not always function with that perfect unanimity displayed, let us say, by a Stalinist Con-

Now, all this is true. But it is no less true that our International, which has suffered for more than ten years from a double-barrelled persecution such as no section of the labor movement has ever experienced, has nevertheless succeeded in preserving and extending the only revolutionary organization functioning in the world today. It is simply a statement of fact when we say that the banner of the Fourth International is now unfurled in almost two-score countries, and on every continent of the globe. The Third International has no banner; its sections are able to wave only the pay-checks of the Kremlin bureaucracy or their respective national capitalist flags. As for the Second International, the only banner its sections have in common is the white flag of surrender.

### A Very Quiet Funeral

There is of course the Lovestone "International." More accurately, there was-for it is now at an end. And it would be hard to imagine a quieter funeral, so few are the mourners at its bier and so nonchalant the gravediggers. The announcement of the burial is made in the current issue of the Workers Age, and since it is a family affair in Potter's Field there is not even a request for flowers.

Although the death seems to have occurred in the bright daylight of December 19, 1938, there were evidently so many more important trifles to take care of that Lovestone didn't get around to making the announcement until three months later. In the intervening period Lovestone was so busy clinging to Homer Martin's heels, from which he has just been unceremoniously kicked away, that the corpse of his "International" was allowed to lie around without even public notice of its demise.

We learn now that last December 19, Lovestone's National Committee wrote a letter to the German Brandlerites (C.P.O.) which, in effect, called the whole thing off. The reasons seem to be the mistaken "organizational methods" employed by Brandler in dealing with his own dissidents, and a dispute over the attitude of the International Communist Opposition (the Lovestone-Brandler organization) towards the British Independent Labour Party. Brandler appears to favor support to his own tiny "left wing" in the I.L.P.; Lovestone piously opposes 'boring from within."

"If you are so ready to reject such people as Fenner Brockway as revolutionary socialists, where will you ever find the people with and through whom a new revolutionary International could possibly be built? Our attitude is quite different. Our experience with Fenner and others like him (it is not a case of Brockway personally) convinces us that it is here we must look for the cadres of the future."

### Painting Broadway Red

The mental picture of Lovestone making a revolutionary Marxist out of old Fenner Brockway by buttering his joints and stroking his locks, surpasses anything you can find in the comic strips. The real bosses of the I.L.P. are its incorrigible Parliamentarians, like Maxton. The party proposes, but Maxton disposes. He flouts the wordy "radical" decisions of the party with impunity, and doesn't hesitate to blackmail the membership into submission to his private policy by threats about what the party would be without the blessings of his presence Brockway's role in the past few years has been that of mediator between the Maxtonians and the militant I.L.P. membership-what's left of it. That is. he is the chain that binds the rank and file to Maxton's wagon. And Lovestone's whole policy in England centers around constructing a "revolutionary International" with this incurable centrist. When he gets through with Brockway-or rather, when Brockway is through with him!-his recent experience in trying to make a militant labor leader out of Homer Martin, and by the same methods, will look like a model success Lovestone launches his inspiring campaign . . . by breaking with Brandler. "We have already notified you of our proposal to dissolve the LC.O. altogether and to have the constituent elements join with the constituent elements of the London Bureau into a new International Center."

gang in the Kremlin cannot sur-squelched. It is noteworthy that on February 20th when our siderable masses of workers to fight against the American Nazis, the Stalinists refused point-blank



in the event of an agreement with Hitler? Hitler, to be sure, does not particularly require Stalin's

the ravenous war beast.

And while these Washington representatives of the present ruling class shovel out funds by the billion in order to bomb cities, shoot down women and children, desolate whole nations in defense of their profits, they haggle among themselves over the possible repercussions still further reductions in the meager appropriations for the unemployed would bring about.

That the very person whom they now deny a meal, and a bed to sleep in will later die on a bayonet in defense of their profits does not move them in the least. "He's a sucker," they say among themselves. "So he fights and dies for the company stockholders. So what? If he's fool enough to do it, there's no one to blame but himself."

Billions upon billions of dollars, a mighty torrent of money taken from the workers, money stolen from the cupboards of the needy, wasted for war by these \$10,000 a year Congressmen. For the unemployed, a kick in the stomach. That's preliminary training for life in the army a little later. If the unemployed take it meekly, without saying anything, they deserve it don't they?

Congress has its hands on unlimited funds. It can use those funds for any purpose it thinks necessary. But only DEMONSTRATIONS will convince these stockholders' watch dogs that it is necessary to feed people who are starving.

All war funds to the unemployed!

## The Plumbers Strike

The Socialist Appeal greets with enthusiasm the splendid struggle of Plumbers and Gasfitters Local No. 463 of Manhattan and the Bronx for the six-hour day and retention of the present wage rate.

This strike, brought about by a revolt of the membership against an attempt of the Master Plumbers with the assent of the International leadership to put over the 7-hour day and a 10% pay reduction, is but one indication of the rising temper of building trades workers against years of unemployment and chiselling on working conditions and wages.

Local No. 463 has elected a strike committee, secured strike headquarters, elected publicity, picket and other committees; picketing by the membership is carried on throughout the city and they have issued the first number of a strike bulletin. Remember this is the Plumbers union.

Building Trades Workers generally are reported to be in solidarity with the Plumbers. Pickets were enthusiastically greeted everywhere. Members of Local No. 1 Plumbers and Gas Fitters of Brooklyn and Queens, despite the fact that they have an agree-

cases, the workers, who constitute the progressive element in their fields, found that the anti-democratic union leadership made the proper functioning of the union impossible. No union can function, certainly not militantly, under the stultifying whip of bureaucracy and class-collaporation which are the chief features of Communist Party union policy.

Those militants who flocked to the C.I.O. with the sincere hope of forging mighty mass unions have before them an object lesson. Unless the C.I.O., and those principles which it stood for at its founding, are to be completely lost, it is absolutely necessary to rid the unions of Stalinist influence. And that can best be accomplished by uniting in progressive group's which can pit organized resistance against Stalinist domination and policies. Where the structure of the union, or the control of the Stalinists, rules out the democratic expression of membership will, there is a union doomed to death.

A union cannot possibly function for the best interests of its membership if it is dominated by a clique which thinks in terms of its own reactionary, factional necessities. In such a case, progressive unionists are forced to seek a path which will free them from the blight of Stalinism. The sharecroppers, who returned to an independent status, and the office workers who returned to the A.F.L., acted in accord with that necessity.

## **Curbing the Press**

One of the "glorious principles of democracy" which we will presently be asked to "defend" with our lives, is freedom of the press. We are told that one of the features distinguishing a democratic nation from a dictatorial nation is the freedom which is granted the press in the democratic nation.

If all this is true, then France can be wiped from the list of the democracies. She has moved over into the company of those nations which supposedly have a monopoly on destruction of liberty and human rights.

As a direct result of the decree powers handed over to Daladier last week, a whole series of laws muzzling the press are now being formulated. These laws ostensibly are in the interests of "national defense"but an idea of their true nature can be gained from the fact that among other things they will prohibit criticism of Hitler, Mussolini, or any other head of a government no matter how inhuman and brutal he may be. So far as the workers' press of France is concerned, these laws will completely suppress and muzzle it if they do not immediately wipe it out of existence.

alliance between the Communists of Hitler but in overthrowing both ence of the Soviet republic. However, the question of wheth- and the Labourites might assume of them. LT. er agreements between a worker's some shade of anti-imperialism

**Canada 4th Internationalists Begin** Publication of "Socialist Action"

Another weapon for the build- times are ripe for socialism," says dian C.P. scribblers did admit the ing of the Fourth International the Program. And in a lucid dis- size and the importance of the movement has just been forged cussion of the situation in Canada demonstration. Some time later, with the formation in Canada of it lays down a course of action the "Clarionites" got the real the Socialist Workers League as which the revolutionary militants line-that the New York C. P. had an independent organization, and must follow to achieve socialism. sabotaged the demonstration. In In addition to the Program, the their next report, therefore, the the publication of its paper, "Sofirst issue of "Action" publishes great anti-Nazi demonstration cialist Action." The Canadian Trotskyist moveamong others, an article on the ganized by Trotskyite members of ment which entered the Canadian Commonwealth Federation two mine barons' assault against the the Socialist Workers Party," years ago begins its independent living standards of the poor, and while "2,000 police struggle to existence at a crucial moment in an article on the popular front in keep order among the thousands Canada. Particularly interesting, of spectators who crowded the world history. Huge possibilities however, for American readers is streets." ie before it.

an article on the "Daily Clarion's" We greet our brother section The mere fact that it was able (Stalinist sheet) handling of the and publication with the warmest to publish a printed paper immediately upon its organization be- Feb. 20 anti-Nazi demonstration. comradeship. Our hands are tokens great prospects. Already, Before they received the line locked with their's for the building of a gigantic edifice of revoit has had a demonstration of from Browder's headquarters in future successes in store for it New York, the Canadian scribes, lutionary action on the American with the adhesion to its ranks of reporting the news as they had continent.

Carl Hichin who was formerly read it in the papers, hailed the Forward to a weekly "Socialist one of the most important jour-action of the thousands of anti-Action nalists of the Canadian Commu- Nazis who had surrounded Madi-

nist Party. (See Appeal, March son Square Garden. To be sure, 14, 1939). they didn't get the whole story

Program of Action straight. In accord with their The publication of "Socialist own imaginings, and "cousinlitional! Action" is an especially signal ness," the demonstration was redeed. In its eight pages, "Action" ported as a protest "at the dese presents to the Canadian working- cration of Washington's memory." class a Program of Action based Well, we know that that's quite on the principles and lessons of a long way from the truth. But, revolutionary socialism. "The in this first statement, the Cana- POSTER SHOP

March 6, 1939

The old-time Lovestoneite may well say: "This is movement. Since he will not get it from Lovestope

M. N. Roy, the "Indian section," is now a 100% Stalinist, without recognition from Stalin. David Wijnkoop, the "Dutch section," is now a 100% Stalinist, with recognition from Stalin. The whole Czech section went to the Second International years ago. Willi Schlamm, the "Austrian section," turned democratic patriot. The Swedish section turned social-democratic and is all but affiliated with the Second International. The Alsatian section, Huber and Co., is pure Alsatian nationalist and withdrew from the I.C.O. The hopedfor French section-Party of Proletarian Unity-just didn't materialize. The Swiss section-in Schaffhausen-is finished. The Mexican section-vanished years ago. In Latin America, nothing. In Africa, nothing. In Asia, nothing. In Australia, nothing.

Left in the I.C.O.? Lovestone plus Brandler. Now even that's at an end. What Lovestone couldn't accomplish with Brandler, Thalheimer, Hais, Roy, Samuelson and colleagues, he is starting all over again to accomplish with Brockway, Maxton, Gorkin . . . and Balabanova.

We would send condolences to him on the recent death if the coolness with which he takes the loss didn't show that he has no use for them

We would wish him luck on his new enterprise if we didn't realize that not even Lovestone-he will pardon us the mangling of an old adage—can make a silk purse out of the London Bureau.

Says social leader Elsa Maxwell: "So utterly and irrevocably dead is the art of conversation in what Mr. Paul (Cholly Knickerbocker) nicknamed 'Cafe Society,' that I make it a point to have two orchestras at my parties because the twelve minute rest which the musicians' union insists on is sufficiently long to kill any party. Nobody wants to listen to anyone for twelve minutes in Cafe Society; and, if the truth were known, almost nobody in Cafe Society is able to talk

Long live the Socialist Workers League of Canada! Long live the Fourth Interna-

**AT YOUR SERVICE!** THE APPEAL

## A Balance-Sheet of Lovestoneism

where I came in!" He might also ask for an analytical balance-sheet of almost ten years of existence of the Lovestone-Brandler International, which was not, praise the Lord, as sectarian as the Trotskyist world (silence is golden), here it is in brief: