

# WAR THREAT ISSUED BY ENGLAND

## Senators Quibble While Poor Starve

Seek Ways to Cut Relief and W.P.A. Still Further in Order to Swell Fund for War Preparations

### ADMINISTRATION WHIP DISCLOSES AIMS

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)  
WASHINGTON, D. C., April 9.—The shameful role of the Roosevelt Administration in slashing appropriations for W.P.A. and diverting the funds to the war machine, became still more obvious during debate in the Senate yesterday and Friday.

Senator Barkley, Roosevelt whip in the Senate, attempted to swing all the New Deal Senators behind the \$100,000,000 appropriation bill which came up from the House of Representatives, instead of fighting for the \$150,000,000 appropriation demanded publicly by demagogue President Roosevelt.

This agreement with the reactionary "economy-minded" Senators strikingly clarified the President's maneuver of asking for a sum larger than that granted by Congress in order to appear as the champion of the poor. Senator Barkley is well trained to carry out the President's wishes and his attempt to line up New Deal votes for the "economy" measure shows exactly where the President really stands—back of the war machine and against the unemployed.

Not "Another Cent"  
Senator Carter Glass, arch-reactionary, lined up immediately with New Dealer Barkley and demanded that not "another cent" be given to W.P.A.

Publicly, President Roosevelt declared at Warm Springs, Georgia, that unless the full \$150,000,000 supplemental relief appropriation is granted, it will be necessary to drop 400,000 workers from the W.P.A. rolls by the end of June. He has already declared that even his full estimate of what is needed for W.P.A. does not take into consideration the 850,000 unemployed workers certified by Roosevelt relief bureaucrats as in dire need of W.P.A. jobs. (Socialist Appeal, March 21). But under cover, the President apparently instructed Barkley to accept the estimate of the "economy-minded" Senate group.

Senator Borah characterized the \$50,000,000 slash as follows: "No one need talk to me about economy. When there is no sign of economy at Washington except where distressed men and women are asking for food and shelter."

#### People Starve

Senator Norris declared that "there is something more involved than the \$50,000,000 difference. There also is something more involved than balancing the budget. It is a question of helping suffering men, women and children."

"We vote through battleships that cost \$100,000,000 each," asserted Senator Lundberg, "but we quibble over \$50,000,000 while people starve."

It has been Barkley's tactic in fighting the small group who advocate appropriating the full \$150,000,000 to call the vote on the measure before mass pressure against Congress can develop on a nation-wide basis. The advocates of the full \$150,000,000 have succeeded nevertheless in postponing the vote until Monday.

Circles close to the Administration report that Barkley has been considerably embarrassed by the task imposed upon him of agreeing with the "economy-minded" group. If the Roosevelt administration really wished to vote funds to the unemployed, it could do so without the slightest trouble. But Roosevelt's war plans demand that every possible cent, no matter what the human suffering involved, be dumped into the war machine.

"Economy-minded" Senators, greatly encouraged by Senator Barkley's position, hoped to cut relief appropriations still more.

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## Baruch and H. Stimson Push FDR War Plans

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)  
WASHINGTON—In the name of "Caucasian civilization," Hoover's Secretary of State, Henry L. Stimson, called for legislation giving the President complete and unlimited discretionary powers to use economic sanctions against any nation.

Stimson's proposals came at the carefully-staged opening of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee hearings on proposed revisions of neutrality legislation. That he, a leading Republican, was invited to open the hearings by the committee chairman, Roosevelt's spokesman, Key Pittman, was taken here to be a public demonstration of Republican-Democratic unity against the anti-war forces.

Stimson's support for Roosevelt's war policy, expressed as a "private citizen" in even more pointed terms than those employed by the administration, followed by declarations the next day for the administration's revisions of neutrality legislation by Bernard Baruch, Wall Street financier, constitute an expression of the "sacred union" of Republicans, Democrats and Wall Street on the war question.

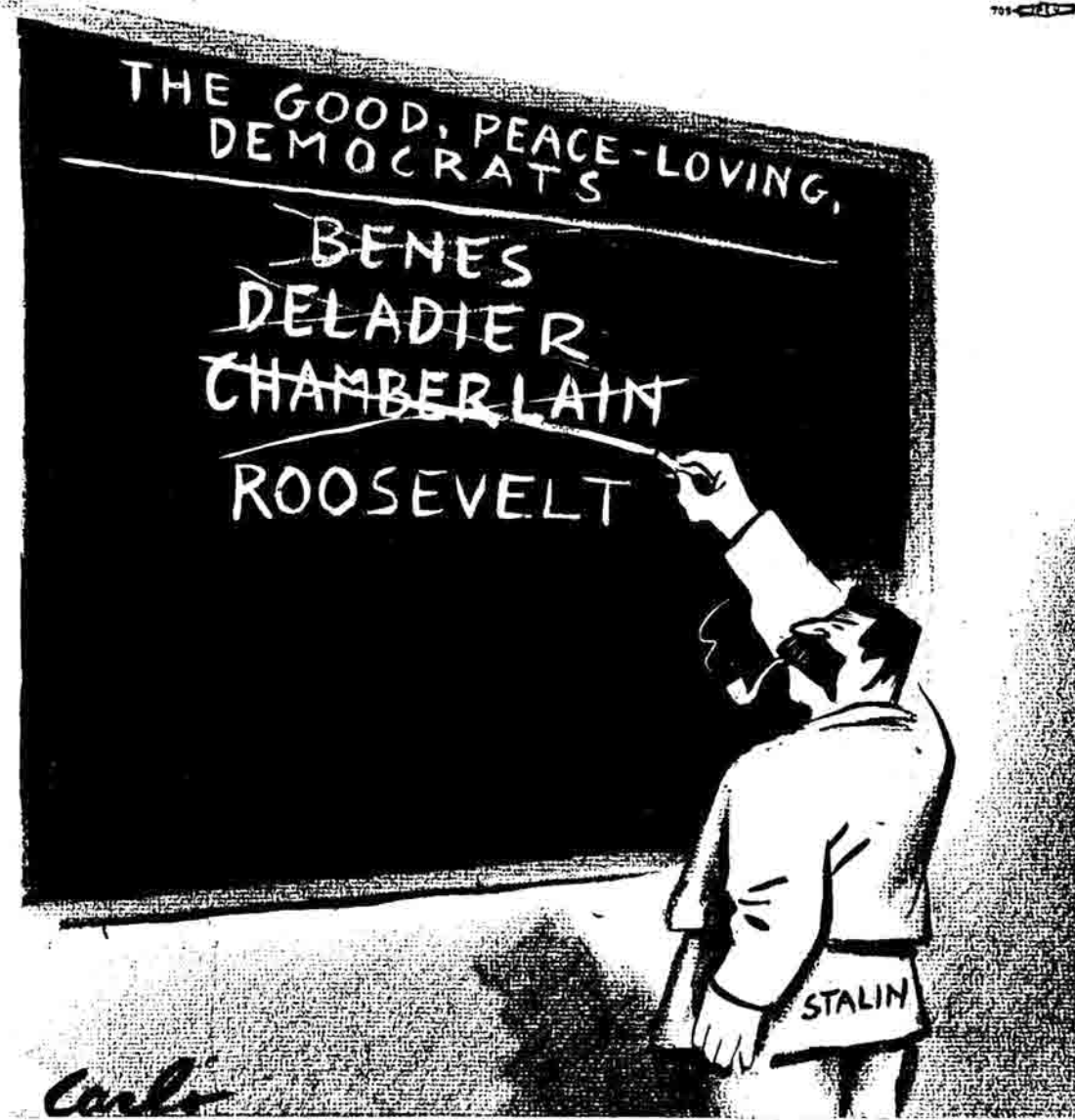
"Caucasian Civilization"  
Stimson's reference to "our present Caucasian civilization" in his prepared statement was not further defined, but it was widely commented on in Washington circles afterward.

There is a difference of opinion among Roosevelt foreign policy supporters on the type of propaganda best suited to secure public support. The "left wing" New Dealers advocate a "holy war for democracy" atmosphere—like the Communist Party's support of the administration's war moves.

Stimson More Frank  
The Big Business advocates of the Roosevelt policy, however, while recognizing the usefulness of the "democracy" talk in lining up the workers, are fearful of its effect on the small businessmen and farmers, who have traditionally

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## Three Down, One to Go!



## Court Attacks Menace Labor's Right to Live and Fight

AN EDITORIAL

Determined to protect the interests of the employing class to the bitter end, the courts have swung into action. In the last few weeks three different judicial tribunals have delivered powerful blows at organized labor.

The decision by the U. S. Supreme Court in the Fansteel case, the instructions of the U. S. District Court in the Apex case and the judgment of the California District Court of Appeals in the Howard case mean that the judicial servants of the bosses have once again come through for their masters.

It is an old story in the history of the class struggle. When the bosses see that their representatives in the legislatures are unable, because of the pressure of the masses on these representatives, to stem the progress of the working class they turn to judges who, in most instances, feel no need to respond to any pressure exerted by the working class.

When the legislative and executive bodies are compelled to make concessions to the working class, the capitalists run to the judiciary to have these concessions destroyed by judicial interpretation.

It is necessary for the workers to understand clearly the significance of these latest decisions. And then to take proper measures to show both the courts and their masters that the progress of organized labor cannot be stopped by decrees or decisions.

The Fansteel case took the heart out of the Wagner Labor Act. Whatever benefits the workers achieved through that act were almost completely destroyed by the decision in that case. The judges gave the bosses the right to discharge any workers for any alleged illegal act no matter how slight and insignificant that act may be.

A worker on strike should step upon the premises of the boss, he can be fired with loss of his rights under the Wagner Act.

In the Apex case the judge went a step further so that in addition to having the right

to discharge the workers on strike, the boss has the right to sue and collect damages from the union on the alleged ground that the strike interfered with interstate commerce.

And now comes the California District Court of Appeals with a decision that threatens the very basis of the trade union movement. The court in granting an injunction prohibiting peaceful picketing, did so on the theory that it is illegal for a union to attempt to get a closed shop.

Should the American workers abide by the three decisions mentioned above they would practically be thrown back to the early period when they first began to organize and struggle for their elementary rights. And that is absolutely out of the question. The workers are determined to go forward and they should not permit anything or anybody to bar their way.

What is to be done? Shall the workers attempt to elect new judges? Yes if that means trying to elect judges on a Labor party ticket. But that is not enough, especially since in the Federal Court the judges are appointed for life.

What is necessary is a militant struggle against these decisions in court and out of court. If it is necessary to violate an injunction there should be no hesitation to do so. If it is necessary to disregard a decision it should be disregarded.

To wage a successful struggle against these decisions it is necessary to have labor unity. Both the A.F.L. and C.I.O. are involved and should be interested in the struggle.

A united militant struggle against the courts and their decisions is the only thing that will bring successful results.

against the judgment and not for paying it.

The sit-down strike must still remain in the arsenal of weapons used by the workers—courts or no courts. Legal or illegal the closed shop is something that the workers must insist on.

If the workers use their power intelligently and forcefully no decisions of any court will be able to stop their progress.

## Mobilization Day Draft Plans Are All Prepared

By HAL DRAPER

The draft is all prepared. We refer to the draft of men's lives for the battlefields of Europe.

The War Department reports that "if hostilities should start tomorrow 300,000 trained soldiers could be put into the field immediately. Thirty days later we would hope to have available a force of 500,000. At the end of four months we would expect 1,230,000 men to be in uniform and under arms." (Assistant Secretary of War Johnson in the Coast Artillery Journal.)

Behind the backs of the people, the draft machinery has been set up and oiled.

Over a year and a half ago, while Roosevelt was "hating war" in speeches, Colonel Sanford Jarman made a speech to the National Guard Association (reported in the Army and Navy Journal). He undertook to rejoice the hearts of the assembled doves of peace with an account of the War Department plans for "selective service," which is the War Department euphemism for the draft.

New Deal Efficiency  
"The plans for selective service are complete," he said.

The Committee (special committee of seven representing the army, navy and marine corps—H.D.J.) has prepared the draft of a selective service law to submit to Congress if the emergency shall arise; it has prepared regulations to carry the proposed law into effect; it has the necessary forms for printing ready. It has reduced the problem of printing 50,000,000 copies from

## Albanian Seizure Is Pretext for Action

Try to Whip Up War Spirit Although Country Was Sold Years Ago to Italy by British Secret Agreement with Mussolini

### ENGLISH AND ITALIAN NAVIES MOVE

The sparks of war came closer to the European powder barrel when Mussolini, chief bandit of Italian fascism, acting in apparent concert with his axis-ally, Hitler, virtually completed the forcible annexation of Albania, without bothering too much to offer a pretext for the armed invasion and the bombing and shooting of the resisting population.

Rival imperialists with headquarters in London and Paris

were concerned over the seizure of Albania being only one step in the direction of Italian occupation of the Greek island of Corfu, which is off the southern tip of Albania. The taking of the island would give Italy a dominant position not only in the Adriatic but also in the Mediterranean Sea.

British Threaten War  
Reports were current that the Earl of Perth, British Ambassador to Rome, had advised the Italians that Britain would "consider any attempt to seize Corfu as a casus belli" (cause for war). Also, that the British Cabinet is supposed to have decided to "offer to guarantee the independence of Greece and Turkey" much in the same way as it has already acted with regard to Poland.

At the same time, emergency fleet movements of the British navy were observed all along the Mediterranean—which is British imperialism's life-line to her colonial empire in the East. Similarly, important troop and naval movements were reported in Italy's Dodecanese Islands, which lie off the southwest coast of Asia Minor, that is, within striking distance of Greece, which is also being approached through Albania, on the northwest, by the Italian troops of occupation.

Found War Drums  
The seizure of Albania, carried out with the utmost cynicism, again offered the "Great Democracies" an occasion for pious outbursts of indignation, accompanied by heavy pounding on the war drums.

The most vigorous measures are being employed to whip up a pro-war spirit among the masses, for the purpose of justifying in their eyes the colossal armaments expenditures which come out of their hides, and of preparing their minds, which are still filled with suspicion of the "democratic" as well as the fascist war-mongers, so that they will plunge readily into the slaughter.

The classic role played in the last war by "poor little Belgium" is now being worked with Little Czechoslovakia one day, Little Memel the next day, and Little Albania as the latest star.

The capitalist press very carefully hides the fact that even before the military invasion of Albania, that country enjoyed as little independence as it did democracy. It was brutally ruled by a small gang of tyrants, headed by the former mountain bandit, "King" Zog. He held power only by grace of Mussolini, who had complete economic and political control of the tiny, oppressed land.

England Sold Albania  
Moreover, the British imperialist hypocrites, who are now dripping with tears over Albania's "loss of independence," in the hope of arousing support for their coming war to protect England's world-wide loot from rival gangsters, take care to remain silent about the fact that they themselves literally handed Albania over to Mussolini years ago in a cynical deal for which Il Duce promised to keep hands off Ethiopia.

The Anglo-French war with the Berlin-Rome axis has as much to do with democracy, the independence of small nations, and the freedom of nationalities—as it has with the theory of relativity. The millioned-masses are being plunged into a new world bloodbath in order to determine which crew of imperialist pirates is to be boss of the world.

Last October there took place a regional conference of army, navy, marine and National Guard officers of the Midwest, the first regional conference of the kind. The New York Times reported: "Army officers rehearsed on paper today the national set-up of a civilian-operated selective service act, and estimated that it would cost between \$6,000,000

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## Akron YPSL Campaign Goes on Despite Arrests

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

AKRON, Ohio, April 10.—Akron branch of the Young People's Socialist League (Fourth International) this week prepared to extend its fight for jobs for youth after blasting a police attempt to suppress the organization.

The cases of five Y.P.S.L. members arrested for distributing leaflets at a high school were continued until April 15, when they will be defended in court by Eldon Young, lawyer for the Toledo A.F. of L. and C.I.O. and member of the Board of Education of that city. Formal charge is trespassing.

A packed court-room heard the judge continue the case after Burr McCloskey, Y.P.S.L. Organizer and defendant, spoke for the defendants. The spectators later gathered around the five Yipsels at the entrance to the police station where The Challenge and pamphlets were sold.

Investigation Collapses  
An open investigation of Y.P.S.L. activities in high schools collapsed when Police Prosecutor James Alperet withered under the fire of the Yipsels, who announced they were investigating him, the Chamber of Commerce, school system and, particularly, J. Ray Stine, principal who instigated the arrests.

Refusing to attend a star-chamber session called by the police to determine "the backers" of the organization, the defendants announced they would "speak to the working class and at the proper place."

"We refuse to recognize the authority of the police to grill us in secret sessions," an open letter to the prosecutor declared.

#### Backs Down

After blustering about a "red probe" and threatening to sup-

press the Y.P.S.L. Alperet backed down and said "I don't want to be placed in the position of persecuting these five members of the organization."

He later stated "I'll gladly furnish them a soap box for their talks. But they can't distribute leaflets on school property as long as there is a law against it."

The Y.P.S.L. will fight the charges and stand upon its democratic rights to distribute literature. Support has been solicited in the labor movement for aid in establishing its defense fund.

#### Wide Notice

The importance of this case to organized labor is being stressed. The right of unions to distribute their literature has been interfered with on repeated occasions in Akron.

The case has attracted wide notice in the labor movement, and the publicity has brought the Y.P.S.L. and Socialist Workers Party to the attention of many militants.

The campaign for jobs for youth is being intensified, and is being linked with the current W.P.A. layoffs.



## In the Trade Unions

By B. J. WIDICK

One of the powerful men behind the scenes in the deadlocked negotiations between the C.I.O. and the A.F. of L. is Bill Hutcheson, czar of the Carpenters union. He is one of the main obstacles to labor unity as leader of the die-hard clique of reactionary craft unionists controlling the A.F. of L.

### Expelled 75,000

His hatred of industrial unionism was revealed most clearly in the minutes of the 1936 Carpenters convention. Here it was that Hutcheson threw out 75,000 timber workers because they wanted to become full-fledged members of the Carpenters union and because they endorsed the principles of the C.I.O.

Hutcheson gave them the privilege of paying dues in the Carpenters union but when they wanted to be represented at the convention, that was asking too much. And when the representatives of the timber workers objected, Hutcheson's right-hand men told them an economic boycott against timber firms employing the recalcitrant unionists would result.

Is it a wonder that in 1937 the timberworkers joined the C.I.O.? The bloody battle in the lumber camps last year between the C.I.O. and the A.F. of L. had its origin in the ruthless, dictatorial methods of Hutcheson in the 1936 convention.

Hutcheson is a Republican. His open alliance with the notorious Dupont-sponsored Liberty league was one of the scandals of the 1936 presidential election. He had an inside track on the post of Secretary of Labor if Al Landon had won. Republican strategists in Washington are counting heavily on Hutcheson to swing a labor vote for them in the 1940 presidential elections, and a unified labor movement would make this more difficult. It is not at all excluded that Hutcheson would pull out of the A.F. of L. if it makes peace with the C.I.O.

Like all other labor bureaucrats and politicians in Washington he is playing for much higher stakes than only a dominant position in the union movement. Hutcheson visualizes himself as the fair-haired boy of a Republican regime in 1940, somewhat in the position that John L. Lewis once occupied with the Roosevelt regime.

And in Washington where only two subjects are on everyone's mind—war and the 1940 elections—many authoritative observers feel that Hutcheson has a fair chance of achieving his aims.

Speaking of war, Hutcheson's attitude was defined back in 1918 when he arbitrarily called off a strike of carpenters in the East Coast shipyards at President Wilson's request. A membership demand for a vote on the question was tossed into the wastebasket.

### A Fine Start

It was in New York in 1915 that Hutcheson, just elected president of the Brotherhood, gave his first major demonstration as a "business unionist." Some 17,000 carpenters voted to fight for a fifty-cent daily wage increase. Negotiations succeeded in bringing this increase to 14,000 of them. A strike was called a few months later to extend the agreement to the other 3,000 men.

Just before the strike, Hutcheson demanded that it be called off. His order was disregarded. So he came to the city and signed an agreement with the employers that invalidated the fifty-cent increase for the 14,000 who had already won it! Naturally the rank and file rejected the contract by a vote of over 11,000 to 100. Hutcheson retaliated by expelling 65 locals with 17,000 members, and aided the employers to hire scabs on the jobs. Incidentally, in subsequent court action the employers testified that this service cost them \$85,000!

However, the court action forced Hutcheson to reinstate the locals which had won the strike despite his scabbing! He is a dangerous foe of labor unity. Let there be no mistake about it.

# Stimson, Baruch Support F.D.R. War Line

## 'Caucasian Culture' To Be War Cry

(Continued from Page 1)  
been isolationists, and Southern industrialists who are not primarily interested in foreign trade and investments. Stimson's reference to "Caucasian civilization"—i.e., the white man's civilization—and his numerous emphases on America's "national interests" were designed to further the latter conception of the type of propaganda deemed to be necessary.

To the question put by Farmer-Labor Senator Shipstead, "how this country could punish an aggressor without going to war," Stimson was evasive, but finally said that "the aggressor will be so busy he won't be able to attack us."

Stimson went even further than the Pittman bill, which permits sale of munitions in war-time, or the Thomas amendment to it which empowers the president with Congressional consent to name one of the warring groups as the aggressor and sell munitions only to the other side. Stimson was for permitting the president to do so without Congressional consent.

Stimson's "Ideals" To provide "idealistic" justification for his proposal, Stimson declared that "Caucasian civilization" has been "based upon the foundation stone that every state recognizes and respects the independent sovereignty of every other state" and that "it is in our Western Hemisphere that that principle and practice has reached its fullest flower of consummation."

Yankee imperialism's lack of respect for the sovereignty of Cuba, Nicaragua, Porto Rico and all Latin America, in fact, is presumably justified by Stimson on the basis that these are not part of "Caucasian civilization."

Baruch Fathered Bill The next speaker at the hearings was Bernard Baruch, Wall Street financier, chairman of the War Industries Board during the last war, and the proud father of the Pittman bill, whose so-called "cash-and-carry" method of selling munitions in war-time was first proposed by Baruch at the 1937 neutrality hearings.

At that time, however, anti-war sentiment was so strong that it failed to carry. The main purpose of the present hearings is to put over the Pittman bill now.

With unctuous hypocrisy Baruch repeatedly declared himself against sentimental leanings toward one or the other side in existing quarrels, but when pressed by isolationist questioners, whether the proposed legislation was neutral, Baruch declared cynically, "There ain't no such animal as neutrality."

Evidently by arrangement, at the outset of the hearing, Chairman Pittman asked Baruch whether he would like to put into the record any comment on "rumors" that he was trying to lead the United States into war because he was interested in the munitions business or because he was an international banker or had investments in Latin America. Baruch took the opportunity to read into the record a formal denial.

Although Baruch's policy led in the same general direction as Stimson's, both being designed to facilitate Roosevelt's pro-Anglo-French orientation, Baruch was frank enough to say that "Sanctions are acts of war."

Baruch went beyond the Pittman bill, calling for permitting American ships to carry contraband of war anywhere in wartime.

### Y. P. S. L. SCHOOL CHANGES SCHEDULE

Note: There has been a change in the schedule of classes of the Karl Liebknecht School of the Y.P.S.L. The new schedule is as follows and is effective this Saturday, April 15:

12:30 to 1:30 P.M.—Elements of Marxism—E. ERBER

1:30 to 2:30 P.M.—Organizational Problems—M. S. MILLER

2:30 to 3:30 P.M.—Three Revolutions—F. MORROW

The classes are being held at 51 East 7th Street (basement), New York City, the headquarters of the Sedoff Unit of Y.P.S.L.



BERNARD BARUCH

## SENATORS SEEK NEW WAYS TO CUT WPA FUND

(Continued from Page 1)  
protests from the unemployed, mass demonstrations and picket lines do not compel Roosevelt to reverse his agreement with the "economy" group, they will go forward with their plans to slash to the very bottom.

W.P.A. Inquiry In the House, Representatives Taylor and Woodrum, long dubbed "Lord High Executioners" of W.P.A. by fellow Congressmen, have asked for \$25,000 for an "inquiry" into the W.P.A. set up. Woodrum, who has been absolutely relentless in his fight against W.P.A. and relief under the banner of cutting its "waste and inefficiency," is expected to head the inquiry.

Behind closed doors he expects to conduct his inquiry along the following lines: (1) An inquiry into costs and methods of W.P.A. construction projects. (2) An inquiry into the writers and theater projects. (3) An inquiry into budgetary and administrative accounts. (4) Inquiry into the "glaring examples" of alleged "waste and inefficiency."

Protest Vital Barkley has shown where Roosevelt really stands. Only the militant protest of the unemployed themselves can change this stand. If they are to save themselves from starvation, demonstrations and picket lines must express their resentment before every W.P.A. headquarters in the country. The only language the President and Congress understand is the language of the picket line.

## The Generals Have Already Worked Out Mobilization Day's Draft Plans

(Continued from Page 1)  
and 100,000,000 to mobilize 300,000 men in the first month of a war. . . . State election machinery would be utilized for the registration of citizens in war-time and the possible induction of 9,000,000 or 10,000,000 able-bodied fighting men."

The War Department sees no irony in the use of election machinery for the draft registration. Newton D. Baker, Wilson's War Secretary, who conceived the idea in 1917, thought it was a brilliant stroke to sweeten the pill of conscription. "Just like going to vote, you see. . . . Presumably the Negroes in the South should be enthusiastic about the prospect of getting into a poll-booth at last."

Nobody Safe According to the War Department's plans, all men between 18 and 45 will be subject to the draft. But don't be relieved if you're over 45—you will be required to register anyway. Why? Well, in the third year of the World War, Germany drafted all men 17-60 for "auxiliary service." and the Roosevelt Junkers are not missing any tricks.

Perhaps the reason was given by the President of the British Institute of Chemical Engineers when he said: "A middle-aged man can drive a tank as well as anybody. In the next war the oldest people should drive the fastest mechanized units. Graybeards should constitute the storm troops. . . . Science has made war a much more suitable occupation for middle-aged people than it was in 1914."

There will be no exemptions from this draft. There will only

## Who Is Bernard Baruch, Give Cold Reception To Martin

Record of War Profiteer Exposed; Traded Worker Soldiers' for Personal Gain

By NAT LEVINE

During the last three decades Bernard Baruch has acted for the leaders of American finance and industry as their special contact man with the government and as a semi-official public relations counsel.

A promoter for the Guggenheim Copper interests and a Wall Street speculator in his own right, Baruch's rise to financial eminence goes back to the last war when as Chairman of the War Industries Board of National Defense Council, he worked hand in glove with the largest and most powerful corporations in the United States. Although Baruch owned no stocks in companies that filled the government's war needs or conducted stock operations for his own account, the associations he established in 1917 and 1918 have proved of immense personal profit to him.

### SCANDALOUS RECORD OF KNAVERY

Baruch's activities as Chairman of the War Industries Board under the Wilson administration, as made public by a Congressional Committee which investigated profits made during the war, is a scandalous record of knavery, collusion and, according to this same Committee, of downright "treason."

The special Congressional Committee, known as the Graham Committee, held Baruch individually responsible for the outrageous profiteering that took place.

### DIVIDE UP GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS

Through Baruch as its chairman, the War Industries Board had the power to extend government contracts and make purchases for it. In view of the fact that the Board was a part of the National Defense Council, in which sat the various chairmen of America's most powerful corporations, the government's business was naturally divided up among them, while the prices which they had the power to fix were eventually paid by the government—to them.

According to a report made by Representative Graham on July 7, 1919, these men secretly and illegally worked out the details of the President's war program months before the actual declaration of war. But that their little scheme for profits proved itself a complete success was revealed by Baruch himself who on November 14, 1918, made public a report which revealed that at a joint meeting of the War Industries Board and the Iron and Steel Institute two days after the signing of the Armistice, the

underlings of the Schwab Corporation in the Board were so satisfied with "government supervision" that they urged its continuation "for the present as highly desirable!"

MAGNATES MAKE HUGE PROFIT The Graham investigation adequately proved how well the War Industries Board "cooperated" with the magnates to the latter's huge profit. For example: In March 1917 the copper producers, represented by Guggenheim, agreed to furnish the government for a twelve months' period with 45,510,000 pounds of copper at 16 2/3 cents a pound.

Guggenheim claimed that his quotation was an average price over a ten year period. Yet, according to a report by the Utah Copper Company to its stockholders, copper could have been furnished to the government at 5 1/2 cents a pound and loaded on cars free of charge.

Notwithstanding this enormous profiteering by the Guggenheim interests, Mr. Baruch, on behalf of the government, fulsomely praised the copper magnate for his patriotism.

NATIONAL SCANDAL DUE TO BARUCH The Graham Committee further established that \$116,194,974 were spent by the government on a giant nitrates construction program, as proposed by the War Industries Board.

Although this staggering sum was spent by the government, no nitrates were produced prior to the Armistice, thereby contributing nothing towards the winning of the war.

Furthermore, the Committee's report reads that "there was no national necessity at any time which required the War Department to embark upon a vast building program for the construction of nitrates." The Graham Committee charged that this national scandal was "directly traceable to Mr. Baruch."

NO SHELLS REACHED LINES The greatest scandal revealed by the Graham Committee was the placement by Mr. Baruch with the Bethlehem Steel Company of 1,786 contracts totalling over a billion dollars for the manufacture of shells. The report officially declares that, "None of these shells ever reached our firing lines."

In the words of John Kenneth Turner in his book *Shall It Be Again*, "not only did Wall Street promote the war, but Wall Street directed the war in nearly all its phases outside the purely military and naval operations."

Before the draft comes to stay, the workers and farmers of America have still to speak.

## Give Cold Reception To Martin

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

SOUTH BEND, Ind., Apr. 7.—Homer Martin came to town last night to start his long-ruled invasion of the ranks of the auto workers in South Bend. He hired the Palais Royale Ballroom, which doesn't rent for a widow's mite. He was scheduled to speak at 8:30 p.m. but shortly after eight a crowd of close to 500 were in the hall, the overwhelming majority of them loyal members of the United Auto Workers. Delegates just returned from the Cleveland convention spoke briefly from the platform on the results of the convention.

At 8:30 they left the platform to Martin. Immediately he tried to speak he was booed so loudly that he could not be heard. Leaders of the U.A.W. then told Martin that he would not be permitted to speak in the hall, but that if he came down to the Union Hall, he would be given time to present his story. But Martin did not see fit to do this. For close to an hour Martin stood on the platform, repeatedly trying to speak, but the audience was determined that he should not, and continuously booed him, sang songs, and shouted "go back to Detroit," "go back to Henry," "we want no rats in South Bend." Martin was continuously bombarded with shouts of "Heil Hitler" and the Nazi salute.

Martin tried showmanship: one of his supporters stood with an American flag which Martin saluted, but this made no impression on the workers, who continued booing. Martin then decided to try a meeting in the basement hall of the Hotel Lasalle, in the hopes he could keep C.I.O. supporters out, but the crowd followed him to the hotel and packed the lobbies. Finally the hotel management called the police, three or four showed up and after a few minutes it was announced that the hotel would not allow a meeting. The crowd left the hotel.

While the Stalinists undoubtedly inspired the action, it represented a genuine feeling on the part of the rank and file against efforts to disrupt the U.A.W., and blasts Martin's statements that he could get a majority to vote for him in an impartial referendum, for it was evident that far less than 100 of those in the hall were Martin supporters.

### STALINISTS FACE LIBEL CHARGE IN SUIT BY S.T.F.U.

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)  
MEMPHIS, Tenn.—Two officials of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union have filed a suit charging libel and asking \$150,000 damages against the Daily Worker, official organ of the Communist Party.

John R. Butler, president of the union and H. L. Mitchell, executive secretary-treasurer, charge they were libelled by articles published in the Daily Worker by Al Murphy, a Memphis correspondent, which claimed that Butler "has been working in the interests of the rich planters against the evicted sharecroppers" and that "relief money and supplies collected to aid the Missouri sharecroppers were used by Butler and Mitchell for factional purposes."

Butler and Mitchell, in their charges, declare that these and other statements made by Murphy in the Daily Worker are "wholly false and untrue" and were published with the intent and purpose of bringing disgrace upon the union, which has a membership of 35,000 tenant farmers, sharecroppers and field hands in the South, because the Stalinists were unable to foist their reactionary policies upon the union.

### ANNOUNCEMENTS

PENNY PARTY! Another rip-roaring swing fest Saturday, April 15, 8:30 P.M. Lower East Side Headquarters, 163 Norfolk Street, HOT music—games—songs—refreshments. Subscription: 21c.

TWO COMRADES would like a room in Rockaway for the summer. Call—Academy 4-6885.

AT LONG LAST! Norman (Sol) Thomas, Jr. will imitate Norman (Abe) Thomas, Sr., imitating Norman Thomas! Saturday, April 22nd—Jamaica Labor Center—50 Beaver Road. Auspices of Jamaica Y. P. S. L.—Admission 15c—151st St. & 94 Ave.

Swing with the John Brown Unit of the Y.P.S.L.—Saturday, April 15, 3130 Brighton



### WATCH FOR PRIZE WINNERS

The next issue of the Appeal will announce the final results of our subscription campaign in addition to the names of those Branches winning the prizes we have offered. Look for these names in your next Appeal.

In the meanwhile, your branch still has a few days to finish up its quota with a last minute rush!

### THE MAY DAY APPEAL

Our editorial staff is hard at work planning the special 8-page May Day issue of the Appeal.

We hope your branch is working as hard on the May Day Appeal as our staff is.

Plan for the following:

(1) Send in your May Day

Branch greeting; send in collection lists from progressive trade union groups, friends and sympathizers of the Appeal.

(2) Place your extra bundle order now. Remember that the deadline for extra bundle orders is on Saturday, April 22nd. Many branches have still to be heard from on the above two matters.

### BRANCHES TAKE NOTICE:

Your regular Appeal statement is now in the mail. Many branches have been falling behind in their payments on bundle orders and we must warn them that they must act now to clear their balance up.

We can issue the May Day special Appeal only if there is a sharp increase in our income. Branches! Send in payments right now!

## ON THE WAY TO THE TRENCHES

The U. S. War Department appealed on April 5 to ex-soldiers to join a new enlisted reserve as "minute men" who will be ready for immediate service. Members of this special reserve corps will receive \$24 a year, but will not drill. Enlistments, said General Malin Craig, are being speeded up.

Construction on a 6,000 ton mine-layer to be known as the Terror will soon start at the Navy's Philadelphia yard. The Terror, which is the first ship built especially for its purpose, mine layers are usually made out of old ships) will carry five-inch guns. The Terror will be used to lay mine traps which will blow up any ships coming in contact.

Forty nine destroyers, built during the last World War, are being reconditioned at the Navy's destroyer base in San Diego. \$1,000,000 is being expended on the reconditioning job. The destroyers will be equipped with triple torpedo tubes and five-inch guns.

Miles H. Milbank, administrator of Puerto Rico, has announced that Puerto Rico will include in "her" program of rural development the production of materials of strategic war value, such as alcohol, camphor, nitric acid, hemp, jute and palm oil. The War Department's commodities division will supervise production.

Ask the profiteers, they know. The men who stand to lose, or gain financially by the

outbreak of war (their lives are of course perfectly safe) are not influenced by sentiment or propaganda—only by hard, cold, undeniable facts. And these hard, cold facts have evidently convinced the war-risk insurance underwriters that the time is ripe to raise their rates. Insurance underwriters are the great gamblers of capitalism; they take and place bets, with proper odds given, on the likelihood of a certain series of events occurring. The crew that handles the bets on war-risk is most concerned over the "possible imminence of a European outbreak," according to the N. Y. Times on April 6. They are especially worried because they expect the war to break out without any formal declaration. As one underwriter put it, their first knowledge of the war is likely to come "in the form of bombs dropping upon London."

At a meeting of the French Defense Council on April 9, it was decided to speed military preparations along the Mediterranean coast-line of France, in expectation of conflict with Italy. What these measures consist of has not been made public. The whole French national machinery was kept working during the Easter week-end which is ordinarily a holiday period.

An army display at the 71st Regiment Armory in New York on April 10, will feature the latest methods of protection against gas attacks. Spectators will also have an opportunity to see the latest chemicals for gas attacks.

## California Judges Aim at Outlawing Closed Shop

(Continued from Page 1)  
Los Angeles meat company for the purpose of inducing its butcher workmen to join the union.

If these decisions stand, they mean that injunctions will be issued in any strike which may be defined by the judges as a strike for a closed shop.

The appeals court justified its union-smashing decision on two grounds:

1. "The freedom of individual choice is a substantial right to be protected by injunction." This "principle" is even broader than its application against the closed shop, for it would justify issuance of an injunction to prevent strikers from picketing on the grounds that they were interfering with the "freedom of choice" of the strikebreakers.

This "principle" was felt by the judges to be insufficient, evidently. And with good reason. For it is a long-established rule of law that legally justified actions of a union cannot be enjoined merely because they interfere with the claimed rights of others.

Outlawing Peaceful Picketing The judges therefore resorted to a judge-made rule, invented in the 1880's, which denied that peaceful picketing is legal. According to this rule, peaceful picketing is legal only when the object of the picketing is justifiable—i.e., if the judges approve the union's demands!

7 St.—Apt. 4K. Refreshments, entertainment, etc.

ALLENTOWN, PA. FASCISM AND THE AMERICAN SCENE, including a report on Madison Square Counter-Demonstration by Max Shachtman, Auspices of the Socialist Workers Party, Friday, April 14, 1939 at 8 P.M. Hotel Allen. Admission 25 Cents.

Having got this far, the judges proceeded to find that the object of the picketing was illegal.

2. How could the judges define the closed-shop contract, in use everywhere, as illegal? By the simple device of interpreting the existing labor law so as to construe it as outlawing a closed shop union contract.

And for this purpose they used Section 921 of the 1933 Labor Code, which was written under union pressure for the purpose of outlawing yellow dog contracts which forced workers into a company union!

"Types" of Unions By dishonestly assuming that a labor union is "one type of labor organization" and a company is another type, the judges were able to say:

"It is manifest the statute went far beyond that (outlawing the yellow-dog contract) when it denounced a contract requiring employees to join some specific labor organization."

"It may be doubted whether it would not have been subject to the constitutional objection of discrimination if it had been made to apply to one type of labor organization."

In plain English, this is notice by the California judges that they will nullify the will of the people if the Legislature now seeks to clarify the previous law by expressly outlawing company-union yellow-dog contracts! This vicious decision was made possible, in part, by the fact that the cases in question involved jurisdictional squabbles between the A.F.L. and C.I.O., so that the court could embellish its anti-union decisions with indignant comment on the harm done by jurisdictional fights.



# In the World of Labor

By Paul G. Stevens

## Fruits of the Popular Front in France

Readers of the *Appeal* are acquainted with some of the results of the People's Front policy in France on the living conditions of the workers and the life of the labor movement. They already know that the institution of the sixty-hour week in place of the forty-hour week achieved by the June 1936 strike wave is practically a fact; that the unemployed are to be regimented for forced labor in the best style of the Fascist countries; that the militants who took the general strike order of last November seriously are filling the jails of Daladier's "democracy."

New fruits of this rotten and treacherous policy are coming to light every day, however. On March 1, 1939, the government issued a decree affecting the shop delegate system (the system of grievance committees established in June 1936). The decree sharply restricts the rights of the workers in the shops to elect delegates of their own choice, withdraws the right to recall an incompetent or renegade delegate and practically gives the bosses a free hand to dictate the election by ordering that "the chief of an establishment or his representative shall always have access to the voting place"—that is, the right to intimidate the voters. Not only have the Stalinists, socialists and trade union bureaucrats not taken any measures to fight the decree, but their press does not even see fit to denounce it.

For the first time in French labor history, we learn from Paris dispatches, the trade union movement is not to order the traditional May Day strike.

But, more indicative even than these political set-backs are the declining figures of trade union membership. In the Paris region alone, the "Union des Syndicats" or Central Labor Union, controlled completely by the Stalinists, reports that the membership there declined, in the period between September 1938 to December 1938, by more than 200,000. The workers are voting against the Popular Front with their feet.

Only a drastic push by the revolutionists organized in the minority movement in the trade unions known as the "Class Struggle Circles" (Cercles Lutte de Classe) can rout the French workers and prevent the ruin of the People's Front from becoming a defeat for labor.

This movement is supported, and in many instances led, by Fourth Internationalist members of the P.O.I. (Internationalist Workers Party) and the P.S.O.P. (Socialist Workers and Peasants Party). Their immediate objective is the creation of a network of factory committees to take the initiative wherever it is impossible to get the regular trade union organization to act.

## An Admission of Bankruptcy From the Anarchists Themselves

To Marxists, the role of the C.N.T. (anarchist trade union body) and the F.A.I. (anarchist political organization) in the course of the Spanish civil war has from the first confirmed the bankruptcy of anarchism. If a theoretical analysis of the petty-bourgeois character of this movement could only convince hundreds, the actions of the Spanish anarchist organizations clearly demonstrated to millions the uselessness of anarchist doctrine as a weapon of working class struggle.

To the very last, the C.N.T. and F.A.I. leaders pursued the old reformist policy of hanging on to the coat-tails of the capitalist politicians and to the People's Front which supported them. Their continued collaboration justified every atrocity committed by the Stalinist G.P.U. gang in Spain. When the "Loyalist" bourgeoisie in order to finally make peace with Franco, used the Stalinists as scape goats and shot down the rank and file Communist party members in cold blood in Madrid and Valencia, the anarchists condoned that action too. As is well-known, Val and Marin of the C.N.T. served as official members of the Mija-Casado "Defense Council" which arranged for the final burial of the People's Front and the capitulation to Franco.

Revolt, an anarchist organ published in England, prints the declarations of the "Defense Council" and concludes its editorial comment as follows:

"Having to choose between a Negrin (who, they claim, still worked with the Stalinists—P.G.S.) and a Besteiro (who worked with Mija) the Spanish anarchists have chosen the latter in order to shorten a useless war. This is the lamentable situation, the result of having allowed the Stalinists for the past two years to crush the revolution and lose the war."

If there has ever been a more patent declaration of political bankruptcy, it has still to come to our attention.

## On the Line . . . with Bill Morgan

Once there was a poor farmer who owned but two thin cows. And in order to prevent his belly button from becoming permanently attached to his backbone, the poor farmer had to sell whatever milk he could squeeze from the thin beasts to the Big City Milk Company.

One frosty morning, after milking both cows, the farmer saw he had only half the usual amount of milk necessary to meet the contract with the Company. And so on the way to the City he stopped beside a pretty little brook which bubbled and sang with endless quarts of nice fresh water. He quickly scooped up enough water to fill the contract and continued on his journey.

Now it happened that two small frogs had been caught and poured into the can where it was very dark and where there was no place to sit down.

## Frogs Hold a Conference

After swimming frantically in circles and after making every effort to climb the slippery sides of the can, the poor frogs huddled together and held a conference.

"We are doomed," cried one, "there is no escape from this awful prison. We may as well face the fact and not waste our time or prolong the agony . . ." With these words he slowly sank beneath the dark swirling waves of milk.

The remaining frog, however, decided to make one more effort to save himself. He continued to swim about, "Round and round he swam—faster and faster. Soon his breath came in gasps. He gasped and he kicked—he kicked and he gasped. 'Round and 'round . . ."

When the farmer reached the Big City Milk Company and removed the cover of the can what do you suppose he saw? Why there was the second little frog, a big smile on his foolish little face, sitting on top of a large chunk of bright yellow butter! He had kicked so much and so hard that he had churned the milk into a floating mass of fine butter and when the lid was off he immediately hopped out and away to his home in the brook . . .

"You see," said the farmer after he had figured out what had happened, "no matter how terrible things look—no matter how dark the future appears—no matter how tough the situation, if a fellow just keeps on kicking as hard as he can without any letup—he will find a way out."

## Who Are Our Enemies

That story is as old as the hills but it is just as good today as when my grandfather first heard it in 1886 during the May Day Parade for the eight hour day. Today on every side the enemies of the working class are all ganging up in the hope of striking a death blow to the trade unions just as they were in 1886. From all sides the blows come and while the heat is turned on let every worker look about and see who his enemies are—and mark them well for future reference.

On the one hand we have the boss courts. See the Roosevelt-appointed justices on the Supreme Court hand down a decision outlawing the right of workers to sit down on the job when they are refused decent wages and conditions. And see the quick follow-up by a Federal judge in Philadelphia in the Apex Hosiery Company case. A judgement amounting to \$711,932 is awarded to the company in payment for alleged damages to the plant during a sit-down strike. The jury had decided that \$237,301 was enough although the Company has asked for more than a million dollars. The judge tripled the jury's figure and holds the American Federation of Hosiery Workers liable for the payment of this gigantic sum of money. Using the Sherman Anti-Trust Act as a basis of his decision against the union the

Judge did not mention a word about the thousands of Big Business Trusts which today bleed the workers and farmers by price-fixing.

## Awful Kindhearted of the Judge

And to top it off the Judge explains that with the company's consent the individual members of Branch 1 of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers will not be held accountable for the debt. No, the union must pay. But who the hell is the union if not the membership? But the Judge knows his onions. Hold the union officials responsible, says he—that is one way of smashing the union. Another is to force the officials to raise the money by taxing the membership. That will also do its share to create division in the ranks which will break the union's power.

And then there is another ace in the hole for the bosses. Recalling the international storm aroused over the Danbury Hatters case when the courts forced the workers to sell their homes and other belongings and to pay a part of their wages every year to settle a judgment brought against them by the bosses, this Judge in Philadelphia is forcing the union to collect the dough in order to throw the blame on the labor movement.

This case must be fought to the end by labor and not one cent must be turned over to the bosses. This blackmail must be fought by a renewal of the militant struggles which built the great industrial unions and established the union in every mass-production industry in the country.

## An End to Academic Discussion!

And see Roosevelt. His huge tears which flowed so freely on the question of the two billion for mere incidentals like airplanes for N.Y.A. youth and guns for the C.C.C. boys—those tears were entirely absent on the question of funds to keep the unemployed at work on the W.P.A. One million workers are being sacrificed for the sake of the Sixty Families' taxes and the Sixty Families' investments in other countries.

Then there are the rising fascist movements which grow bolder with every blow delivered at the working class. These will be increasingly used by the bosses and now, before they grow strong, the workers must take the job of dealing in the proper way with them. Some misguided fascists can be reasoned with. Some can be isolated. But there must be an end to academic discussion before we reach the concentration camp.

## We Must Keep on Kicking

And last but far from least are the Stalinists. These filthy agents of the boss and the boss government are breaking all records in the race to lead the working class to the slaughter for "democracy". While they ruin every union they get hold of by first killing every democratic procedure and substituting their local brand of phoney Moscow Trials and gangsterism, they yell to hell heaven about "democracy" and the need to save poor little Belgians and Czechoslovaks. They brand all honest workers as "fascists"—no one who objects to their smelly deals and racketeering escapes their pointing finger. And here too, the workers of America have a job to do. Driving the G.P.U. out of the trade unions and all workers' organizations is necessary if any gains are to be made against the National Manufacturers Association.

Kick. Kick hard. Keep kicking. It is the only answer. And if we all kick together, in unison, we will win. If we stop kicking our enemies will start kicking us all the harder. We can churn up a nice lump of butter if we kick long enough. And we won't have to spit it nine different ways if we kick the right people.

## Why Doesn't the C. P. Expel Gen. Miaja?

Why hasn't General Jose Miaja been expelled from the Communist Party of Spain?

Why is this infamous traitor still tolerated in the ranks of the party which elevated him to the position of member of its Central Committee?

Revolutionists without stain or reproach are not only expelled from the Communist Party in the Soviet Union but murdered in the cellars of the G.P.U. Their places are taken by the Miajas.

We have proved by incontrovertible documents that Miaja was a C.P. member and leader. He threw open the gates of Madrid to Franco's hordes. Since then the Stalinists have openly condemned him. BUT—

They haven't said a word about his membership in their party. On that, they have maintained a significant silence.

Why? Why do they cover up the truth? Why don't they at least announce his expulsion from their ranks?

## Mental Blizzard Befogs N. Y. Pacifist Meeting

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

NEW YORK—That there is no interest in a "middle way" between war-mongering and revolutionary struggle against war was demonstrated when the "Keep America Out of War Congress" could only marshal 300 people in a colorless, poorly attended meeting in Manhattan Center on April 6 to commemorate the 56 Congressmen who in 1917 voted against this country's entrance into the war.

Although the "Keep America Out of War Congress" has a public program, each of the six speakers who addressed the meeting presented his own private panacea for maintaining American neutrality. The individual programs of the speakers ranged from acclaim for Neville Chamberlain and support of the Monroe Doctrine to a militantly organized campaign of postcard pressure on Congress.

The chief guest speaker of the evening, the Republican Congressman Knutson, invited for having voted against war in 1917 but who in the meantime has become a thorough reactionary, as Minnesota labor can testify, declared that he believed not only in "military defense of our shores" but also in defense of "the principles of the Monroe Doctrine."

## JOBLESS STAGE A NEW KIND OF EASTER PARADE

(Special to Socialist Appeal)

NEW YORK—A new and sensational note in popular spring styles for well-dressed ladies and gentlemen was introduced here this Easter Sunday during the traditional fashion parade up swank Fifth Avenue when 75 members of the Unemployed and Project Workers Union wearing the ragged and ill-fitting clothes which the relief and W.P.A. budgets provide and carrying banners demanding work for all at trade union wages and "All War Funds to the Unemployed!" appeared and joined the annual show-off of the "400" society parasites.

Hand Out Leaflets

Marching two-by-two, the unemployed and W.P.A. workers slowly proceeded up the Avenue handing out a leaflet explaining the plight of the millions of unemployed and the firing of hundreds of thousands of W.P.A. workers at the expense of Roosevelt's four billion dollar war budget. And the well-groomed bosses in their new and expensive finery were shocked.

One over-upholstered big shot in a top hat was heard to say, "They ought to be sent back where they came from!" while his wife who wore a hat which probably cost a month's rent in any tenement flat, declared, "How awfully disgraceful! They have no respect for Sunday!"

## Police Surprised

The police were taken by complete surprise—and without their usual "orders" they stood with open mouths as the workers marched from 43rd Street to 52nd Street, past all the huge churches and the expensive shops where abundant fine clothes were on display. At 52nd Street, however, a gang of plainclothesmen, on duty to protect all the flashy jewelry and furs of the parasites coming from church, arrived and forced the unemployed off the Avenue.

The parade then continued around the Rockefeller Center where thousands of visitors viewed the marching workers and their banners. More than a score of police and detectives escorted the parade to Broadway where again thousands of people were made aware of the determination of the U.P.W.U. to fight for jobs and clothing for the unemployed of New York.

ples of the Monroe Doctrine, i.e., military defense of the entire Western hemisphere.

Mr. Knutson supported the people's referendum on war, "save in times of threatened or actual invasion," when he would favor the suspension of the referendum on war and declare for the dispatch of troops to troubled areas anywhere in the Western hemisphere.

## Hokey for Chamberlain

"I want to take this opportunity to acclaim Neville Chamberlain as one of the greatest apostles of peace in this century," said Congressman Knutson. "His name will become more and more lustrous with the passing of time and after the people shall have had an opportunity to evaluate his great accomplishment for the preservation of peace."

Following Mr. Knutson's eulogy of the British Prime Minister, Norman Thomas arose to differ with him, pointing out that "Chamberlain first, last and always has only the interests of the British Empire at heart." The embarrassing episode between Thomas and Knutson is the latest commentary on the confusion within the "Keep America Out of War Congress."

McAlister Coleman, the chairman, adequately summed up the program and the organization when he said at the opening of the meeting, "I was born in the blizzard of 1888 and have been wandering around in a blizzard ever since."

## A Mid-Western Story

# THE AMERICAN WAY

By CARL O'SHEA

It was a question of taking the miserable house or of being without a roof over their heads—so Mrs. William Jacques and her five little children moved into the place at 903 Girard Avenue, in the center of the Minneapolis slums.

All the other houses that the welfare board had suggested were not available. "We don't take relievers," or "There's too many children," was what the landlords told Mrs. Jacques. The Jacques had been ousted from their previous house because the welfare board wouldn't pay the rent when it fell due.

The Jacques moved to Girard Avenue on Friday. It was not the sort of place that gave much room for a person's soul to develop. By Edgar Guest's standards, it was more of a home than a house, because it had sure seen "a heap o' livin'." Garbage was strewn around the hard-packed dirt surrounding the place. The neighbors on either side were junk peddlers and huge piles of discarded doo-dads towered to the roof.

## Home, Sweet Home

Almost everybody in the neighborhood was on relief and most of them kept chickens, in the pitiful faith they could make a few extra pennies from eggs to buy decent food for the kids. In the Jacques home, the paper was off the walls, the accumulated filth of fifty years was caked on the floor, the basement stairs had long ago been used for kindling, and the basement itself was half-flooded with a dirty liquor.

On Saturday and Sunday the family got along all right. Mrs. Jacques, a blond severe-faced young woman, slept in one room with her six-month-old daughter. The other four kids slept in the second room. There was Billy, 6, Jacqueline, 4, Eugene, 3, and Jimmy, 1½. Shortly after midnight Sunday it happened. Mrs. Jacques was awakened by screams from the other room. She rushed in and turned on the lights. Little Jimmy was crying, holding his right hand up

# Social Democrats Insist on Capitulation by S. P.

Norman Thomas and His Colleagues Seek a Face-Saving Device in Negotiations for Unity with Lee and O Neal Who Demand Full Public and Unconditional Surrender

Life is no bed of roses for the Socialist Party representatives who have been negotiating for unity with the right-wing Social Democratic Federation, to judge from the documents made public by Algernon Lee, spokesman for the latter, in the latest issue of the New Leader.

It appears that in the course of the initial conferences between the two organizations substantial agreement was reached on "a draft statement on socialist purposes and the relations between socialism and democracy."

## Statement a Victory for Right Wing

This statement was essentially a declaration of the discredited ideas of the right-wing social democrats who broke away from the S. P. after the Detroit and Cleveland conventions at which the "Militants" established their control of the party.

There was no particular difficulty in coming to an agreement, since the S. P. negotiating committee is dominated entirely by conservatives like Norman Thomas and Harry Laidler, anxious to restore their political fortunes by unity with another insolvent.

However, the Socialist Party's national committee is still harried by self-styled "left wingers" like Tyler and Co., who worry it like a toothless dog. They have been contemptuously excluded from all negotiations. At the committee's recent meeting in Chicago, they were, however, allowed to instruct the negotiators to present some "additional points" to the Social Democratic Federation. These points are a diluted solution of the already water-logged "radicalism" of Tyler and Zam. With a vexed heart, Thomas and Laidler, who opposed the "additional points," were nevertheless obliged to present them to their prospective partners of the S. D. F.

## S.D.F. Rejects New "Points"

The reply of the latter's national committee was not only prompt, but far more principled, as it were, than either Thomas or Tyler. The "additional points" called timidly for opposition to capitalist wars and to capitalist politics—an

obvious concession to the remaining militants of the S. P. The answer of the S.D.F. committee, which makes no bones about its pro-war and pro-capitalist political position, characterizes the "points" as "altogether unacceptable even as a basis for further discussion."

"These views and policies are as emphatically rejected by the S.D.F. in 1939 as they were in 1934 or 1936."

"We find an unexplainable contradiction between the acceptance by our N.E.C. of the 'statement on purpose and democracy,' the New Deal and its significance for socialism, the socialist work in the trade unions, as an adequate contribution to a basis for unity" and the "additional points" which followed. . . .

## Conceptions "Fundamentally Different"

"The contradiction to which we refer is between fundamentally different conceptions of socialist thought and action. . . ."

"The S.D.F. . . . does not at all desire an organizational merger with elements who hold basically different views. Such a pseudo-unity would merely revive the dissension between organized factions which characterized the S. P. from Detroit on."

"It is of course your function and not ours to determine which of the two conceptions the S.P. really holds, or whether it is still divided on the subject. Until we are apprised of this it would seem to us futile to go on with joint conferences."

Sneaking under the wire won't be permitted by the S.D.F.—it demands public, complete and unconditional capitulation! It has its "principled position" and it is on that basis that it will allow unity, not on any other.

One can have some respect for people who take such a stand. But how can kind words be said for the S.P. leaders? They'd like to eat their cakes, give it away, and have it too. They're dying for unity. They know that it can be realized only on the program of the S.D.F., they know also that a good half of their own members already accept that program, and yet they horse around with

two-for-a-penny tricks, theatrical gestures, unprincipled maneuvers, and all the other devices of second-rate provincial politicians. They do not hesitate to swallow their pride, their program and their past—but they insist on saving their faces.

The social democrats, hopeless reformists though they are, have at least made their position as plain and categorical as any ultimatum can be. They're ready to do business with Thomas, Laidler and Hoan, but they have no time to waste with such pseudo-radicals as Zam. It's up to the S.P. now, they say.

The only choice that the earnest socialist militant can make now is not between one or another combination of capitulators, but between both of them and the straightforward revolutionary position.

## MERGOTT STRIKE STRONG DESPITE AFL AID TO CO.

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

NEWARK, N. J.—Despite the combined efforts of the company management and the A.F.L. to smash the strike, the strike organized by Lodge No. 2023, Steel Workers Organizing Committee, C.I.O., against the J. E. Merriott Co. is still going strong after seven weeks. Called in protest against the firing of ten workers in the lacquering and plating departments and one shop steward, the strikers are determined to fight on until victorious.

National prominence was given the strike when the Merriott management, acting on the basis of the Supreme Court's decision outlawing sitdown strikes, last month fired 300 members of Lodge No. 2023 in an attempt to break the strike.

Lodge No. 2023 had had a working agreement with the company covering recognition, hours, wages and working conditions won in September 1937 after a ten-week strike. In March, 1938 the company, which manufactures pocket-book frames and metal novelties, signed another contract with the S.W.O.C. local after the latter had beaten the company union in an N.L.R.B. election.

With the time near for the signing of a new contract, the management called in two A.F.L. organizers who issued a Federal union charter, No. 21920, to the Merriott company union. When the S.W.O.C. called a strike on Feb. 23, the A.F.L. company union ordered its members to work.

The S.W.O.C. has published an open letter addressed to all members of the A.F.L. asking them to take action against the viciously disruptive tactics of the two A.F.L. leaders which are jeopardizing the unity of the labor movement.

Police, as usual, have been doing their dirtiest to break the strike—assisting scabs to enter the plant, arresting strikers on false charges, and so forth. An injunction has been handed down by the Chancery Court which prohibits any striker from attempting to persuade scabs not to enter the plant.

# SOCIETY NOTES

## Two Gala Parties At Waldorf

NEW YORK CITY.—The Waldorf-Astoria will be the setting for two gala events ushering in the "Little Season"—which always occurs simultaneously with the coming of Easter Sunday.

In the Sert Room, Miss Cobina Wright, Jr., will start a return engagement on the occasion of the reopening of the handsome room for the Spring and Summer season.

In the Grand Ballroom of the Waldorf, proud mothers, fathers, enthusiastic friends and a flock of debutantes will attend the 93rd annual production of Harvard's famous undergraduate dramatic society, the Hasty Pudding Club.

Many entertaining at dinner or supper parties in the Sert Room will attend the performance, either before or after the prandial events.

## Another Victory For Congress

FORT LEE, N. J.—The impending slashes of W.P.A. rolls did not bring happiness to the home of Lester Ruark, 29-year-old W.P.A. worker.

When police answered the call of a W.P.A. foreman who went to Ruark's home to investigate his absence from work and smelled gas, they found all the gas jets were turned on in the kitchen. Ruark was dead with the body of his 6-year-old son clutched in his arms.

Last Tuesday Ruark had told police that his wife, Marie, 24, had disappeared on March 29. Police sent the bodies of Lester Ruark and the son he took with him to death to a Fort Lee morgue to await claimants. If no one appears, they will be buried in pauper graves.



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**EMANUEL GARRETT** **JOSEPH HANSEN**  
Business Manager:  
**S. STANLEY**

FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST  
WORKERS PARTY FOR:

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

## Kinks In The Cotton

Consider the business of growing and selling cotton and see if any sense can be made out of it. Page the defenders of the capitalist order and let them try to explain.

The Roosevelt brain trust wizards who were going to solve our economic problems and at the same time preserve the capitalist system intact are giving themselves and everybody else a headache with their schemes to solve a problem which cannot be solved under the present system.

In order to keep up the price of cotton, the Roosevelt magicians decided first to cut the amount of cotton planted and to pay the cotton grower for not planting cotton. That didn't help, so they then hit upon the plan of lending the growers approximately nine cents for every pound of cotton, the cotton being collateral for the loan.

Eleven million pounds were put in hock with the government. For a while the price was kept up, so well in fact that the foreign market disappeared almost completely. Now there is another huge surplus and the price is down again.

To dispose of the surplus, to regain the foreign market and to get the government out of the mess, Roosevelt proposes a subsidy for exporting cotton. This conflicts with the Hull trade policies.

Some Congressmen, not satisfied with the Roosevelt scheme, insist upon letting the growers take back the stored cotton at five cents a pound—the government to suffer a huge loss. Under this scheme the cotton growers must promise to cut their acreage still more.

Meanwhile there are hundreds of thousands of workers, their wives and children, who are in dire need of garments. Tens of thousands of workers are being dismissed from W.P.A. thus cutting down still further the market for cotton.

When will this vicious circle come to an end?

Only when we put into practice the simple idea that cotton should be produced for the use of the people instead of for the profit of plantation owners. And that will be done by the workers when they decide to take over all the industries of the nation, abolish this crazy system, and establish socialism.

## Curb Them at Home

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee is now busily engaged in removing one more small pebble in the path of Roosevelt's well-lubricated war machine. That pebble is the present neutrality legislation which does not hand over to Roosevelt all the "discretionary" powers he wishes in the matter of labelling "aggressors," instituting economic boycotts, and declaring war without the consent of the American people.

As first step in revising the present neutrality legislation the Committee is conducting public hearings and inviting various "witnesses" to point out what the Roosevelt Administration holds to be the defects in the legislation.

First witness was Henry L. Stimson. The American people should remember this spokesman of big finance without difficulty. He was Secretary of State under President Herbert Hoover. He has been an untiring and vigorous

opponent of any and all popular referendums which would permit the American people to decide for themselves whether they want to enter the path of world war.

Stimson has always advocated a "positive policy" on the part of American imperialism, the building of huge armies, the launching of military intervention in Asia and Europe whenever American imperialist interests are threatened. In the Committee hearing he again stated these views.

The *Daily Worker* applauded Secretary Stimson. Like the Wall Street financiers, the *Daily Worker* editors believe that the American people should be sent abroad to die on foreign battlefields in defense of American imperialism and—incidentally—in defense of the Stalin regime in Russia. Stimson's statements naturally tasted like sweet honey on the bristling tongues of the *Daily Worker* editorial staff.

Stimson and the *Daily Worker* denounce the "war mongers" most vehemently. We too are against the war mongers. The first step in fighting the REAL war mongers, we suggest, is the establishment of a few curbs right here at home.

That is why the war-mongering *Daily Worker* and the war-mongering ex-Secretary to President Herbert Hoover are so bitterly opposed to a curb on the war mongers in the form of a popular referendum on war.

They want to send the American workers to die on foreign battlefields and they will leave nothing undone to accomplish that end.

## German Gold

Mr. "Augur," who enjoys the reputation of being semi-official spokesman for the British government, asserts in an article dated April 6 that one of the factors which has changed Prime Minister Chamberlain from a "gullible" protagonist of "appeasement in Europe" to the "starkly determined leader of a movement to resist Herr Hitler by force if necessary" is—the Irish bombings.

Chamberlain's Cabinet, according to Augur, has discovered a "precise indication of a direct connection" between Hitler gold and the Irish revolutionaries who have been planting bombs throughout England in an attempt to free Ireland from British oppression.

Naturally Augur does not bother to offer the slightest proof in support of this slander of the brave Irish youths who have gone to prison shouting defiance of Great Britain. Augur accuses without facts or proofs in the traditional manner of a paid liar in the propaganda department of an "honest and upright" capitalist democracy. He is busily engaged in carrying out propaganda job No. 1—smearing revolutionary tendencies inside the nation with the black hues of the foreign "enemy."

Augur is very voluble about German gold financing Irish bombers. He is not so voluble—quite understandably—about Britain's ruthless bombings of women and children in Palestine and India. These gruesome and indefensible mass murders are all financed directly and precisely by British gold. Only direct and precise recipients of this same British gold are silent about that.

## Behind Barbed Wire

Harry Hopkins, Secretary of Commerce, and Roosevelt's ace appeaser of big business, has on his payroll as right hand adviser in carrying out the practical steps of big business appeasement, General Robert Wood.

Last week at the Young Men's Supper Club in Boston, the General expressed his beliefs on American youth and its place in the American capitalist democracy. "It might not be a bad idea to imitate one thing in the totalitarian states," stated the General, "and to FORCE every youth to give six months or a year of his life to the state, either in labor service or military service or both. Of course, the cry of regimentation would be raised, but I am convinced it would be a fine thing for our youth."

The New Deal's idea of the exact place for American youth thus becomes more clearly expressed as war approaches closer. American youth will be sacrificed as a burnt offering to appease big business, and the place selected by New Deal democracy for the sacrifice is either a forced labor camp like Hitler's, fenced off with barbed wire, or a rat-infested trench behind a razor-sharp, needle-pointed bayonet on a slimy battlefield.

If Roosevelt has his way, big business will be appeased and youth will end its days under the whip in a forced labor camp or suffer a foul death defending capitalist profits.

American youth can respond to this prospect in only one way—by openly and courageously taking for themselves the program of Socialism in America. Only revolution, the overthrow of the capitalist class, and the complete smashing of all the ancient bone-bags, who think youth is a commodity to be bought and sold for cannon fodder, can open up a new and bright future for the youth of America.

Ireland Recalls Anniversary  
Of Easter Week Insurrection

The Tradition of James Connolly, the Great Marxian  
Revolutionist, Who Led the Uprising Against Britain  
In Dublin, Still Lives in the Hearts of the People

By BILL MORGAN

Easter Week! Red Easter! With these magic words on their lips thousands of Irish patriots and revolutionists are this week—amid the bursting of bombs—celebrating the twenty-third anniversary of the 1916 Uprising—the Uprising, which in the middle of the Great War, set free the forces of revolution throughout the world and marked a new chapter in the 700-year-old struggle of the Irish people to free themselves from the most powerful and most ruthless landlord in the world—Great Britain.

There have been many attempts to explain the revolution which took place in Ireland in 1916. All give different reasons. To some it was a romantic adventure of a few poets, while others claim it was a "putsch" engineered by desperate terrorists—and still others claim that it was a plot hatched by German Generals to break the military front of the Allies.

These explanations are not only false but reactionary. Any study of the many attempts of the Irish people to wrest national independence will reveal the development of the movement and will make clear as day the real significance of Easter Week.

Every effort of the Irish people to break the chains of British Imperialism can be translated in terms of their direct economic and political relationships. While Ireland was merely an agrarian country the main question was that of Home Rule. And many efforts to win Home Rule were made. Under O'Connell the people were led to believe that through purely legislative efforts Home Rule such as Scotland or Canada could be won. When these methods failed and the people were ready to fight, O'Connell abandoned his leadership.

Then there arose the Young Irelanders. They advocated revolutionary tactics. They adopted military drill and uniforms and their paper, "The Nation," urged resistance to Britain and made no secret of their belief that freedom could be won only by force of arms.

During the famine of 1848 when people were dying by the thousands, although there was enough food to feed them, the Young Irelanders worked untiringly to save the people. They called on the people to keep the food in the country. The British then began to crack down on them. Their leaders were shot and driven from Ireland. Their ranks were thinned by the famine. John Mitchell, their leader, was arrested and sent to Van Diemen's land for life.

In 1848 there was an attempted insurrection. In the midst of famine and persecution, with people dying daily on the roadsides, Smith O'Brien in Tipperary rallied the remaining Young Irelanders and began the fight. But again Britain was prepared. The leaders were arrested and four of them sentenced to be hanged, drawn and quartered; but this sentence was later commuted to life imprisonment.

FENIANS WORKED  
FOR A REPUBLIC

After this there came the Fenians. They too prepared to establish an Irish Republic. James Stephens was the chief organizer. The Fenians grew by leaps and bounds. Even the English Army and Navy were honeycombed with this new revolutionary movement. A revolt was planned to take place during February 1867. It was postponed because of certain organizational difficulties but word did not reach all sections. Kerry rose in arms and was isolated. Later the uprising took place as originally planned. But the isolation of Kerry and the arrest of many leaders in Kerry, plus the lack of arms and the heaviest snow storm in Ireland's history—all combined to crush the attempt.

The Fenians continued to be a force, however, and in 1913 they once again organized their ranks. This time, in the Irish Volunteers, they trained the youth of Ireland to prepare for the revolt which was inevitable. John Redmond was their leader.

At the same time, in Dublin, the great strike of 1913 led by Larkin and Connolly made clear the necessity of workers' defense guards. Under the leadership of James Connolly and Captain White the workers armed themselves and trained for military service. They went a step further than the Fenians, however. They had learned the lessons of the Dublin strike and realized that mere Home Rule would not solve the problems of wages, hours and conditions. Connolly had long before realized that Irish bosses and English bosses were not any different. He knew that not only national independence but a workers' republic would answer the pressing demands of the new Irish working class. It had been the Irish bosses like Murphy in Dublin and the reformers like the right wing of the Fenians who were afraid of this bold step. Connolly became a Marxist and openly advocated socialism for Ireland.

When the World War began, the Irish leaders knew their chance was drawing near. The reformers began to break under the pressure of British demands for troops to fight for "democracy" and John Redmond split the movement by recruiting soldiers for England. Connolly stood firmly against the war. He openly denounced the imperialist powers and when the Second International collapsed and advocated support of the war, Connolly denounced the fake "socialists" and called upon the Irish workers to make ready for revolution. He planned a revolt which he hoped would start the masses of Europe on the road to revolution and socialism.

"NEITHER KING NOR KAISER"

The Uprising was organized and led by Connolly. He had to argue continually with the leaders of the Volunteers and push them to act in agreement with the Irish Citizen Army—the workers' defense guards of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union. He was not afraid of being called a German spy. Over the entrance to Liberty Hall, the headquarters of the union, there hung a huge banner—"We Serve Neither King nor Kaiser!" and he let this speak for itself.

On the appointed day—Easter Tuesday—the notice for full mobilization was countermanded. Eoin MacNeill of the Irish Volunteers backed down—he thought the time was not ripe and that lack of arms from Germany would doom the attempt. But word did not reach all the sections in time and Dublin, under the command of James Connolly, proceeded to carry out the plan.

Less than 2,000 men took up arms in Dublin. Some say only 1,200. For six days and nights they held their posts against a powerful and brutal British Army. The story of their bravery and courage is history never to be forgotten by revolutionists the world over. They withstood heavy bombardments of artillery, even when their positions were burning to the ground. They held off a force twenty or thirty times their number. Men, women and youngsters fought with a fury that impressed the world. And when it was over the re-

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## Their Government

By James Burnham

The present session of Congress is giving us a new, and very revealing chance to test out the theory of Labor's Non-Partisan League, John L. Lewis and the Stalinists as to how labor should intervene in politics. The results of the test are just the same as followed before in the history of this country and in the thousands of examples that could be drawn from other nations.

The advance of the L.N.P.L. policy over the older "reward your friends and punish your enemies" theory made famous by Gompers is to be found in the effort to build up an independent political organization comprising primarily workers and especially organized workers. At the same time, however, much of the Gompers theory has in other respects been retained.

The leadership of L.N.P.L. has resisted and fought any attempt to transform the League into a fully independent political party, that is, into a Labor party. They have restricted it, on the whole, to a labor appendage to the New Deal.

The tactic of L.N.P.L. has been to throw organized labor support to candidates on old party tickets who are held to be "progressive" and "friends of labor." This has usually, though not always, meant supporting the candidates of the Roosevelt wing of the Democratic party.

Such candidates are not, of course, labor candidates. They are capitalist candidates, running as representatives of and on the ticket of a capitalist party, a boss party. The tactic of L.N.P.L. means, therefore, the organizing of labor support for certain selected boss candidates.

## Ingratitude's Sharp Tooth

The L.N.P.L. tactic is advertised by the League's officials as the only "realistic" method of labor politics. How, then, does it work out, from the point of view of the interests of labor? Let us judge it by results.

The results were clear enough long before the present year started. In 1936, the tactic led to support for Martin Davey in his campaign for the governorship of Ohio. The tactic was "successful" and Davey was elected. He rewarded labor, a few months later, by calling out his troops to smash the Little Steel strike.

Exactly the same thing happened in Iowa. Kraschel was elected governor with the help of L.N.P.L., and last year proved his friendship for labor by smashing the Maytag strike.

These sobering experiences did not, however, discourage the realistic officials who direct the destinies of L.N.P.L. Last November they went right ahead with the same theory and the same tactic.

In Illinois, for example, they swung labor behind Scott Lucas, the bright young Roosevelt candidate for the Senatorship. Victory! Lucas was elected by a big majority, and took his seat in the august Senate chamber.

From that day until this, Lucas has in debate and vote lined up on the most reactionary side of every measure that has come before Congress. In his very first month, he played an important role in keeping the W.P.A. deficiency appropriation down to \$725,000,000. Needless to say, he is a prominent member of the economy bloc whenever it is a question of cutting off funds that might benefit labor or the unemployed.

An even more impressive example is that of Alben W. Barkley, Senator from Kentucky. Barkley is leader of the Democratic party's forces in the Senate. He is Roosevelt's own man, and got the post of leader only through Roosevelt's insistence. He was up for election last Fall, and was dutifully given L.N.P.L. support. He won hands down.

Last week it was Barkley himself, in person, who arranged the deal in the Senate Appropriations Committee whereby the \$100,000,000 figure for W.P.A.—the figure that means starvation for hundreds of thousands of persons—was reported out to the floor of the Senate.

## How Can Such Things Be?

Is there some mystery here? Why are "labor's friends" always stabbing labor in the back? Is everybody nowadays a "traitor"?

No, there is no mystery. The explanation of these incidents—and they could be multiplied indefinitely—is simple: in politics, class interests come first. In fair weather, when things are going smoothly, everybody can be friendly. Promises are cheap enough. But when the situation gets hot, when class lines are drawn sharp by a strike or a war or a revolution or a showdown between business appeasement and adequate relief, then a politician has got to fall into step with the class which he represents. This does not make him a traitor; he would be a traitor if he did anything else.

These "friends of labor" are political representatives of boss parties and through those parties of the boss class. It doesn't make any difference who supports them at the polls or how much they promise. In every crucial issue they are and have got to be loyal to their class. And being loyal to their own class, the boss class, means striking blows at labor.

They are not traitors to labor. The traitors to labor are the Lewises and Browders who tell labor to support these representatives of the enemy, and hide from the workers the results which follow and will always follow from this tactic.

Labor will advance its own interests in politics only when it forges its own party. The only real labor representatives in politics will be those from labor's own party and labor's own ranks.

Labor Looks Through  
The Press

By Arthur Hopkins

Untold hardship will result from the reduction in W.P.A. workers scheduled to be made the first week in April. W.P.A. administrators of seven states agreed at a conference in St. Paul. But it won't be untold, with the Socialist Workers Party on the job.

Department of Commerce figures for 1937 recently released, show that Minnesota's industries employed 89,925 workers who received \$107,393,009 in wages for producing goods valued at \$937,462,797. Figures for 1935 show that 76,241 workers employed in Minnesota industry got \$77,974,350 for producing goods valued at \$746,350,564. Thus, in 1935 the workers got one-tenth the value of their product, while in 1937 they got one-ninth—an improvement of one and one-ninth percent. Evidently trade unionism doesn't quite answer all the problems of the workers; we have got to have a revolutionary party which will get rid of the exploitation.

## WORKERS' FORUM

S.W.P. IS ONLY  
CHALLENGING FORCE

Editor:  
I wonder if you could send me literature concerning your party.

Although I was born and brought up in comfortable circumstances I have long been troubled by what is known as a social conscience. In my high-school days I believed in the Socialist Party, but recent years have shown that it contained several weaknesses.

It seems to me that your group is the only challenging force to any system of exploitation. The Moscow Trials have

shown how utterly corrupt and insincere the so-called communists are. To think that they didn't lift a finger against that crazy Bund meeting! Furious with indignation I went there myself and words cannot describe how inspiring it was to see your party there, protesting against this organized band of German butchers. I will never forget the speech of one of your members, called, I believe, Mr. Burnham. In that tense sidwack atmosphere his words rang out like a trumpet call.

Sincerely yours,  
MILDRED SH.

New York