



Jobs Not Guns: **ALL OUT TO COLUMBUS** CIRCLE, MAY DAY, 2 P. M. **Socialist Appeal**

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Demonstrate on May Day To Protest Against Boss War

MAY DAY MANIFESTO OF S. W. P.

TO THE WORKERS OF THE UNITED STATES:

May Day, 1939, finds the American workers in a position where it is necessary for them seriously and resolutely to prepare for the mighty struggles that are to come.

Everywhere in the world, the people tremble under the dark shadow of the new world war. The war lords of every great power including the United States pour tens of billions of dollars into their military machines, and make ready to drive tens of millions of their subjects into horrible death on the battlefields.

In the United States, reaction has grown bolder month by month. The courts, backed by the police, are smashing at the rights of labor. Unemployment increases once again to staggering proportions. An onslaught is directed against the relief system, and hundreds of thousands of families are tossed aside into starvation and misery.

THE PERVERSION OF MAY DAY

Through a tradition of two generations, May Day has been dedicated to the international solidarity of labor and to the struggle of the labor movement for a better world.

In the present black reaction, the tradition of May Day is itself perverted and destroyed. In Germany, the unspeakable Nazi tyrant, having broken all of labor's own organizations, cynically uses May Day to drive the workers, between ranks of armed storm troopers, into a parade in his honor. In the Soviet Union, the workers who in November 1917 gloriously marched to victory are now lashed within the straightjacket of the G.P.U., and are compelled to march through the streets on May Day to shout made-to-order slogans of praise and dedication to the butcher of the Kremlin. In France, the treacherous leaders of the official labor movement have this year cancelled the May Day general strike through which the French workers have for decades shown their determination to be free.

In the United States, the largest May Day demonstrations, under the control of the Stalinists and the labor bureaucrats, are this year being used not to advance the rights and hopes of labor but to prostrate labor before the government which is smashing relief and to line up labor under the chauvinist slogans of the coming war.

LABOR MUST FIGHT

Let the workers determine to fight and they can easily halt the tide of reaction. The masters, fascist or "democratic"; their lackeys, the Stalinists, the social-democrats, the labor bureaucrats, can all be swept away by a mighty surge of the working class.

Squarely upon the labor movement rests all hope for the future. Within labor's potential army are gathered the tens and hundreds of millions who do the work of the world. Labor's hands run the machines whereby mankind lives, drive the trains and trucks and airplanes, till the soil, draw the minerals from the rich earth.

The decision and the responsibility is labor's. If labor gathers together its own strength, heals its own internal divisions, casts off its treacherous misleaders, becomes conscious of its own mighty destiny, no power of reaction can stand against it.

140 Tulsa Oil Strikers Framed by Company

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

TULSA, Okla.—In a desperate effort to break the four-month strike of the Mid-Continent Petroleum workers, company officials framed charges through a county grand jury against 140 members of the Oil Workers Union (I.O.).

The grand jury which brought indictments of "conspiracy," "incitement to riot," "seizure of private property," etc., consisted mainly of officials of oil companies here.

The witnesses before the jury were confined to company stooges. Not a single striker or union official was called to testify!

The basis on which the unionists were indicted was the first day of the strike when they made preparations to shut

down the plant after notifying the company. If the men had walked out without taking care of the boilers and other equipment, serious damage would have resulted and charges of "sabotage" hurled at them.

Fear Unionization Wave

This strike has been bitterly fought by the oil companies because they fear a wave of unionization in those oil fields.

Use of tear gas, hiring of strike-breakers, and use of the National Guard has featured the anti-union drive.

Unable to win by those methods, the company is trying a judicial frame-up. Since the company owns the city political machine body and soul, the indictments were hardly a surprise to the unionists.

To be victorious in the great forthcoming struggles we must know what and how to fight.

AGAINST THE WAR

Roosevelt, Hitler, Chamberlain, Daladier, Mussolini, have completed their gigantic plot. They are now prepared to begin again the struggle for the re-division of the world, the battle to decide which of the powers shall have first choice in exploiting and oppressing the great masses of mankind.

THIS WAR IS NOT LABOR'S WAR. Labor's war, in EVERY country, is AGAINST the war-makers, against Roosevelt as well as Hitler, Chamberlain as well as Mussolini.

Within every great power, THE MAIN ENEMY OF THE WORKERS IS IN THEIR OWN COUNTRY. Against that enemy must labor's blows be first directed, not against the brother-workers and farmers of other lands.

NO SUPPORT, NOT A PENNY, NOT A MAN, TO THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT IN ITS WAR!

FOR A POPULAR REFERENDUM BEFORE DECLARATION OF OR ENTRY INTO ANY WAR! Why do Roosevelt and his fellow war-makers fear the voice of the people? Give the right to vote to all those over 18! Old enough to fight—old enough to vote!

NO SECRET DIPLOMACY! The people have a right to know what is being prepared for them. Why are the diplomatic negotiations conducted behind locked doors? What military commitments are being made behind the backs of the people? Let the truth be known!

ALL WAR FUNDS TO THE UNEMPLOYED! Billions of dollars are being poured into the war machine, to be used to murder workers for the sake of profits, while unemployed are thrown on to the streets. BREAD, NOT BATTLESHIPS!

DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS OF LABOR

During the past year, a rapidly growing attack, led by the courts and joined by all the agencies of government, has been launched against the rights of labor. The Supreme Court, the courts on the West Coast, in Pennsylvania and Illinois and New York, Congress and the administration are combining with the police and Hague and the "Associated Farmers" to curtail the right of assembly, obstruct union organization, eliminate the closed shop, illegalize the sit-down, limit or forbid the right to strike.

The war mobilization plans of the government include regulations which will prevent labor from exercising any civil rights whatever except the right to die and to work inhuman hours under slave conditions.

AGAINST THE ATTACK BY THE COURTS ON THE DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS OF LABOR!

FOR THE FREE AND UNHAMPED RIGHTS TO ASSEMBLY, FREE SPEECH, UNION ORGANIZATION, PICKETING, CLOSED SHOP, SIT-DOWN!

JOBS AND A LIVING WAGE

After six years of the New Deal, the economic depression and crisis are in no way improved. At least 13,000,000 unemployed and their families are outside of private industry. Millions more are on part-time or getting starvation wages. The great bulk of the youth are turned out of school with no chances of ever getting jobs. At 40 or less a man is judged too "old" to work.

THIRTY DOLLARS — THIRTY HOURS! The great tradition of May Day, which started in this country, was built up in the victorious battle for the eight hour day. The time has come for the labor movement to protect itself by carrying through on a nation-wide scale the struggle for the six hour day, thirty hour week. FOR THE THIRTY HOUR MAXIMUM WEEK THROUGHOUT PRIVATE INDUSTRY AND PUBLIC WORKS!

According to the government's own figures, the present wage level is only about half that needed for adequate health. FOR A THIRTY DOLLAR MINIMUM WEEKLY WAGE FOR EVERY WORKER, EMPLOYED OR UNEMPLOYED!

OPEN ALL IDLE FACTORIES AND OPERATE THEM UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL! While millions are out of work, and tens of millions need clothes and food and goods of all kinds, thousands of factories are closed or operating only a small fraction of the time.

(Continued on Page 3)

CONSCRIPT BRITAIN'S WORKERS

"Appeasement" Deal
Again Rumored
In Europe

THIS WEEK CRITICAL

Conscription of the British working class for war was decided upon in London this week.

Simultaneously the British began cautiously sounding out the possibility of some kind of modified repetition of the Munich deal which will postpone the outbreak of war sufficiently to enable them to complete their chain of European alliances.

Not Much Choice

In this and in this alone was there some chance of a postponement this week of the armed showdown that has been so agonizingly imminent for months.

This did not offer the peoples of the world much of a choice, for if the war is postponed, it cannot be for long.

While superficially events seemed to hinge on Hitler's speech this Friday, actually the key to the next act in the tragedy lay in the extremely complicated diplomatic moves made by the opposing camps in the mad scramble for allies. One of these moves was the sudden return of the British ambassador to Berlin, an action which set the European rumor factories buzzing with reports of a fresh deal à la Munich.

Practical Reasons

Any British move in such a direction would be motivated, however, by some very real and practical considerations. The attempt to form a bloc for immediate war through re-vamping alliances throughout Europe has hit a number of very sizeable snags.

1. The Russians have replied to the British proposal of a mutual guarantee with a plan for a rigid and sweeping military pact that would be directed not only at Germany but at Japan as well. It was also clear that the Russians, fearing a fresh Chamberlain-Daladier double-cross, wanted to make sure that they would not be left holding the bag in any showdown.

2. This was a way of putting the British on the spot and at the same time enabling Moscow to keep its skirts clear for the continuing possibility of a minimum agreement with Hitler which would pit Germany and Italy against Britain and France with Russia sitting pretty on the sidelines in the first stages of the war. The British were obviously unenthusiastic and the parleys were lagging.

Balkan Barrier

2. The axis diplomats raised a new barrier in the path of the Anglo-French bloc by swinging Yugoslavia into their orbit. With the prospect of a southeastern and Balkan bloc composed of Hungary, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, the Rome-Berlin axis placed Rumania and Greece in a cruel dilemma and could boast by and large of nullifying the effect of the British guarantees to those two countries. Turkey, on its part, was waiting to see what the Russians could do and meanwhile sat tight. The Rumanian (Continued on Page 7)

Socialist Workers Party Stands for---

A POLICY OF MILITANT WORKERS' STRUGGLE AGAINST THE BOSSES

—not cringing in the anterooms of Roosevelt, LaGuardia, and all the lackeys of the bosses who say they are "pro-labor" but knife labor in the back every time the bosses need it.

A POLICY OF ACTIVE, AGGRESSIVE ACTION AGAINST THE AMERICAN FASCISTS THROUGH WORKERS' DEFENSE GUARDS

—not empty pleas to the strike-breaking police and government authorities or futile literary campaigns.

A POLICY OF FIGHTING THE WAR-MONGERS

—not betraying the interests of the American working youth by supporting the bosses and Roosevelt in their preparations to hurl this country into a new slaughter-fest for markets and profits.

A POLICY OF INDEPENDENT WORKERS POLITICAL ACTION THROUGH A LABOR PARTY

—not trailing helplessly in the tow of the boss parties and tying the workers to the capitalist band wagons.

A POLICY OF FIGHTING MILITANTLY FOR EXPANDED RELIEF AND PUBLIC WORKS FOR THE UNEMPLOYED

—not supinely lying down in the face of the New Deal offensive against the meager benefits given like charity to the 15,000,000 unemployed.

A POLICY OF UNITING THE WORKERS OF THIS COUNTRY AND OF THE WHOLE WORLD TO BRING ABOUT THE END OF THE BOSS SYSTEM AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A WORLD SOCIALIST COMMONWEALTH OF PEACE AND PLENTY FOR ALL.

SAILORS VOTE STRIKE TO BAR HIRING HALLS

Hopkins' Pledge to
S.U.P. Leader Broken
By Government

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

SAN FRANCISCO—A general membership meeting of the Sailors Union of the Pacific here today, April 20, voted for a coast-wide tie-up if that is needed, to put an end to the U.S. Maritime Commission attempts to hire sailors outside the union hiring halls.

When Harry Hopkins, Secretary of Commerce, last week finally answered the demands put to him by the S.U.P., and gave his written pledge that the shipping commissioners of the Bureau of Inspection under him would cease running sink-halls, it looked like a successful end to the long fight of the Sailors Union against governmental hiring halls.

But scarcely was Hopkins' written pledge in the hands of the sailors when Admiral Land, Roosevelt-appointed head of the U.S. Maritime Commission—a body independent of the Department of Commerce—announced that the Maritime Commission would continue attempting to man its ships with men supplied from outside the hiring halls.

What is more, Admiral Land said that Hopkins' subordinates, the shipping commissioners, would continue to supply the Maritime Commission with lists of sailors.

As soon as Admiral Land's position became known, a general S.U.P. membership meeting was called, with all ships' crews and stand-by men ordered to drop work and attend. The nine hundred who attended voted unanimously to accept the resolution introduced and passed by the S.U.P. meeting held simultaneously in Seattle with Harry Lundeborg, union secretary-treasurer, speaking.

Picket lines will be thrown around the Maritime Commission docks when the ships come in. If that doesn't stop them, the entire coast will be tied up.

In the Trade Unions

By B. J. WIDICK

War-time brings with it a swift and never-ending rise in prices that shoots the worker's cost of living sky high and makes his good union contract of today seem like an anchor to a low wage tomorrow.

During the world war, for example, the worker's cost of living rose 70 per cent!

Since this actually meant a real wage cut of great proportions it is easy to understand why there were 4,233 strikes in 1917 and 3,181 in 1918, with one-third of them being called to gain higher wages.

Over 80 per cent of the strikes were caused by purely economic causes (i.e., wages, hours and working conditions) while those called for union recognition, etc., were a very minor proportion.

The largest number of these war-time strikes occurred in the leading industrial areas—New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Illinois.

Possibilities Neglected

Here, indeed, was a perfect setting for a nation-wide union organization campaign that could have built the A.F.L. into a really powerful body.

Even without a carefully planned national campaign the A.F.L. grew from 2,072,702 in 1916 to 2,726,478 in 1918 and the seething unrest that swept the working class of the world in post war days reflected itself, among other ways, by the growth of the A.F.L. to 3,260,068 in 1919.

But the oil and steel industries were neglected to a great extent. Only 4,000 oil workers were enrolled in the A.F.L. while the Iron, Steel and Tin Workers union had an official membership of 19,700. Of course, the Machinists' union in somewhat the same field grew from 100,900 to 254,600 in this period.

Not until the development of the C.I.O. was the mass production industrial worker in the key industries given a chance to join a union.

Properly utilized, the economic conditions during and after war-time could have been the lever to lift up the American union and working class movements to new heights of power, strength and progress.

SAME PROBLEMS

Likewise, the facts of the strike struggles in war-time show that tomorrow union militants will have to face these problems, despite all efforts of the government war boards to settle grievances, etc. through arbitration or rulings. The class struggle cannot be legislated out of existence.

The job of building and maintaining a good progressive union does not stop with declaration of war. It becomes more difficult, in some respects, but in others, such as in the mood of the workers after the first flush of patriotism is over, conditions are not so difficult.

A study of the record of A.F.L. and C.I.O. top leaders (then in the A.F.L.) during the first world war shows that nothing can be expected from them in behalf of militant struggle for unionism in war-time, they all supported the imperialist slaughter.

The cowardice of these leaders was recently revealed again in the debate of the military appropriations bill where amendments to assure union rates of pay on government contracts were thrown into the waste basket.

John L. Lewis and the C.I.O. leaders and William Green and his A.F.L. clique were very silent after the manufacturers' lobby, aided by the Army and Navy lobbies, killed the section of the bill that might have given labor a few rights.

Time magazine put the whole question nicely in speaking of labor during war-time: "Leaders of the C.I.O. and A.F.L. know much but wisely say little of the lot of labor in war."

The misery of the unemployed will be even greater, if that is conceivable, than it is now, and all that has been said

Minn. Enacts Vicious Union Busting Laws

Reactionary Legislature Aims at Outlawing Strikes and All Union Activity

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
MINNEAPOLIS, April.—Minnesota's reactionary legislature adjourned at 4 A.M. April 19 after playfully covering the big clock in the chambers so that they could evade the twelve o'clock adjournment time and conclude what Governor Stassen called their "fine work" in passing legislation of a "progressive nature."

One fine example of this "progressive" legislation is the Vance-Myre Bill which is going to "make for industrial peace" in the state. This bill is the most reactionary piece of labor legislation, bar none, which has ever been passed in any state in the union. Some of the most important provisions are:

1. Appointment of a labor conciliator, by Stassen, for a period of four years, at a salary of \$4,500. With such a salary it is not hard to figure on which side this so-called "conciliator" will be.

2. Every union is required to give ten days notice, written, before negotiations with an employer, and before strikes. This gives the employers sufficient time to prepare to break the strike and undermine the union.

3. In industries "of public interest"—and this is a sweeping clause—in which a dispute occurs, Stassen can appoint a commission of three to investigate. This commission can take thirty days to file its report, during which time the union marks time.

4. It is an unfair labor practice for any union to institute a strike if the calling of such strike is in violation of a union agreement, and if the employer is complying in good faith with the agreement. Presumably the conciliator will decide whether the employer is complying in good faith with the contract.

5. It is unlawful for a union to strike in violation of the "waiting" period.

6. The sit-down strike is unlawful.

Picketing Limited

7. It is unlawful for a worker to join a picket line, unless the majority of the persons engaged in picketing are employees of said place. The bill of course doesn't place any such limitation on the bosses. If one boss is being struck, all other bosses can pitch in and help him, as is the custom.

8. It is unlawful for more than one person to picket each single entrance of any plant where no strike is in progress.

9. It is unlawful to interfere with a vehicle or a driver when either is a party to a strike. The bill says the bosses can bring in a thousand fink trucks to break a strike—and it's unlawful for the union to interfere in any way.

10. It is unlawful for any union organizer "to attempt to compel anyone to join or refrain from joining any labor organization against his will."

11. It shall be unlawful . . .

YIPSELS ARRESTED FOR DISTRIBUTING ANTI-WAR 'BILLS

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
SAN FRANCISCO, April 20.—Three members of the Young People's Socialist League (4th International), including Myra Tanner, a member of the Y.P.S.L. National Council, were arrested today for selling the Challenge of Youth and distributing anti-war leaflets in front of San Francisco Junior College. Released on bail, the three await arraignment on charges of failing to move on when ordered.

Inside the school building students were being informed that the best path to "peace and democracy" is through an elaborate armaments program. Outside police, who had been summoned to prevent the leaflet distribution, arrested the Yipseles who insisted upon their democratic right to present their point of view.

An editorial which appeared in the school paper set forth its war position in these words: "Bigger and better jails should be built to accommodate the conscientious objectors 'who don't want war.' Hence the action taken against the Yipsel anti-war militants."

Thomas "Socialists" Gain Control of U.P.W.U. by Unprincipled Tactics

The City convention of the Unemployed and Project Workers Union of New York was held on April 15 and 16 and there are some very important—as well as interesting—side-lights on this important event. It would be well for workers in unemployed organizations everywhere to see just how the convention progressed because increasing numbers of workers will be called upon to rebuild the unemployed movement which grew up and gained many concessions for the workers only to be wrecked by the Stalinists and the fakers out to carve a career for themselves over the backs of the rank and file.

There were two main groups in this convention—the Norman Thomas "socialists" and the progressives composed of independent workers who rallied around the militant program presented by the delegates who are members of the Socialist Workers Party.

Thomasite Majority
It happened that the Norman Thomas "socialists" had a majority at the convention. It was up to this majority to set the pace, so to speak, to take the lead in building a firm, militant union which would go ahead and do the job abandoned by the Stalinists whose policy of rule or ruin had wrecked the Workers Alliance. The Progressives, representing more than one third of the

delegates, were anxious to co-operate and were prepared to do all in their power to make the U.P.W.U. a real, determined, and effective weapon in the fight for jobs and higher relief.

The Progressives came into the convention with a real program. Motions and resolutions on all the main questions were drawn up and presented by the Progressives. "All War Funds to the Unemployed!" was the leading slogan of this program which also voiced the opinion that the idle factories should be taken over by the unemployed and run by the workers on a co-operative basis, that unity between the A.F.L. and C.I.O. and the Railroad Brotherhoods was important for the etc., etc.

The Norman Thomas "socialists" could find little to object to in this program. They future of the labor movement, had voted for it at a conference held several months ago in Philadelphia where a new national organization was discussed by delegates from many independent unemployed organizations in the East. It was a program which would build the U.P.W.U. into a fighting organization.

Rule or Ruin
However, and this is indicative of the "Socialists," there was practically no difference of opinion on program—except on the question of "Open the

Democrats.
The reason why some Republicans, at this particular time, are capable of telling the truth—at least in part—is because they are on the outside trying to get in. They defend the interests of the capitalist class but they also have factional interests. They want their party to win against the Democrats and these factional interests at times permit them to tell the truth.

It is the old story of two thieves falling out and telling the truth about each other. Opposed to the Roosevelt administration are many groups, reactionary, liberal and revolutionary. All of these groups point to the mistakes of Roosevelt and at times they attack him on the same ground but for different and opposite reasons.

The Republicans, the Coughlinites and the reactionary Democrats may attack Roosevelt as a war-monger and point out certain things that he does as evidence of that fact in the same way that revolutionary socialists do.

But that coincidence is purely accidental. The Republicans, the Coughlinites, the conservative Democrats and the New Dealers belong to the same camp, all defending the capitalist order. They may quarrel among themselves and because of group rivalries tell the truth about one another.

Using the Truth . . . For What?

Party Wants Action, Olson Junks Stalinists

Ousts Stalinist Job-Holders in S.R.A.; Drive Against Unemployed Gains Momentum

By NORMAN MINI
(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
SACRAMENTO, April 19.—Today the liberal administration of Governor Olson plunged headlong into its first major activity—a drastic cut in the relief rolls.

In a curt announcement that a new "economy" policy was being introduced State Relief Administrator Dewey Anderson stated that 34,000 would be cut off relief within a few days. He further declared that, in spite of the increased relief burden caused by W.P.A. layoffs, more thousands would soon be forced to "look elsewhere for aid" because of rigid enforcement of eligibility requirements.

This cynical and brutal blow to the unemployed did not come unexpectedly. As previously reported in the Appeal, a crisis has been impending in the relief administration since Olson's entrance into office. For several months conservative members of the State Legislature have been carrying on a relentless campaign against

the unemployed. Sensational charges were made that the Communist Party and the Workers Alliance were dominating the relief set-up and a sweeping investigation was demanded. After a brief resistance Olson yielded and removed from office William J. Plunkert, Deputy Relief Administrator, against whom the main charges of "subversive activity" and "communism" had been directed.

Olson Surrenders
Unsatisfied by this concession the legislative majority then demanded a complete purge of the relief apparatus and a reduction in relief expenditures. A combination of Republicans and conservative Democrats cooperated in these maneuvers, completely tying up the passage of the State Budget until Olson "surrendered" to their demands.

Along with this open activity in the Legislature the conservative forces were carrying on an equally important battle for complete control of the Democratic Party itself. Their bitter obstinacy in this fight is due mainly to the fact that they have been largely unsuccessful in obtaining political patronage under the Olson Administration which was elected mainly through a loose coalition of Labor's Non-Partisan League, followers of the Thirty-Thurs-Pension Plan and the Communist Party. As the best organized and cleverest maneuvering force in this combination the Stalinists succeeded in capturing the juiciest patronage plum—the State Relief Administration.

Turn on Stalinists
Thus the Communist party has become the target for extremely violent undercover attacks within the "Democratic Front." Moreover, because of their loud-mouthed shouting about "humanizing relief" during the election campaign the Stalinists became liabilities to Olson when his task changed from vote-catching to the more sober duty of balancing the budget and assuring a normal "economy" regime to the California bosses.

Olson's sudden move to purge the S.R.A. apparatus and to cut relief, then, is more than a simple, brutal attack upon the unemployed. It is an attempt not only to appease the demands of the reactionary State Legislature but to begin the complete elimination of the Communist party from influence within the Democratic party.

Desert C. P.
And although the "People's World" is making frenzied attempts to cover up the fact, everyone of the C. P. followers—from Harry Bridges down to the most confused "liberal" in Hollywood or Carmel—fully realizes that Governor Olson has deliberately kicked the "progressive forces" squarely in the face. This act will undoubtedly be the signal for many of the nondescript army of middle class social climbers—labor bureaucrats, petty politicians, small-time reformers and second rate movie actors—who have clustered around the C. P. and the Harry Bridges machine to begin a mass desertion to the corridors of the "conservative" Democratic faction which will now offer greater possibilities of advancement.

revolutionary situation. Confusion worse confounded! It will remain for the progressives to carry on the fight to insert this slogan into the program of the U.P.W.U. and to make every effort to really build and strengthen the union before the "Socialist" slate of incompetent and self-seeking Rourke stooges run the union into the ground.

Unprincipled Tactics
And there are other incidents which show up the unprincipled tactics of the new "leadership" of the U.P.W.U. Neil Harrison, the well-known anti-Trotskyist was used as the S.P. stooge to lead the fight against the Progressives. And Harry Sheppard, who but recently resigned from the Union on the grounds that if he were to remain he would have to



FLASH!! This issue of the SOCIALIST APPEAL—the voice of fighting labor in America—has been issued in the largest number of copies we have ever printed! This splendid achievement has been due to the work of our branches and literature-agents and is based entirely upon extra orders they have placed for the 8-page May Day APPEAL.

We want to address a word to those thousands of workers who are today seeing the Appeal for perhaps the first time. We hope you will enjoy reading this issue and are sure you will find much material and information that will be of interest to you.

Most of all, we want to impress upon you that the Socialist Appeal is the fight paper of a militant workers' party—the Socialist Workers Party. This is the paper that is leading the struggle against the war plans of the Roosevelt government, that is fighting hardest for la-

bor's demands, that is striving to organize the workers for the creation of their own, socialist government. The Appeal is the paper that has taken up where the former Communists quit and became the agents of the boss class and the war mongers. In a word, the Socialist Appeal is the voice of revolutionary socialism in America.

We want to take this opportunity to urge our new readers to become regular subscribers. If you think that this paper has something to say about your problems and those of the working class, then the only thing to do is to get it regularly!

The subscription rate is \$1.00 for six months; \$2.00 per year. In the boroughs of Manhattan and the Bronx of New York City only the subscription rate is \$1.50 for six months; \$3.00 per year.

Join the growing ranks of the Appeal Army by subscribing now!

NEW YORK LOCAL MAY DAY PLANS COMPLETED

The New York organization of the Socialist Workers Party has announced that all preparations have been completed for the May first celebration for the May first celebration.

Thousands of leaflets have been distributed as well as a general Party May Day Manifesto. Plans are under way for the distribution of thousands of copies of the special May Day Edition of the Socialist Appeal.

The main theme of the demonstration will be the struggle against war. Roosevelt and Old Stinson, New Deal and Old Deal, the corrupt Stalinist party, all have joined hands to dope up America's working men and women in order to plunge them into a new world war, a new wholesale massacre of the masses of American labor," says a Party statement.

The statement continues, "We say that the war that America's 60 families are organizing is a fraud and a sham. It is an imperialist war just like the last world war. We say to the 60 families: Your agents and deputies in congress right now are cutting W.P.A. and throwing thousands of unemployed into the streets. Your agents in the courts are harassing and destroying the unions and labor organizations. Your agents in the war depart-

ment have already drawn up the blue print for establishing a dictatorship right here in the United States as soon as the war is declared."

Fighting Slogans
The Party May Day slogans call for: "A Referendum on War: Let the people of the United States vote on the proposition of War," "Bread not Bullets: All War Funds to the Unemployed," "Smash Hitlerism and Fascism in the United States: Organize Workers' Defense Guards," "Fight Unemployment in the United States: For the Six Hour Day, the Thirty Hour Week with no Reduction in Pay."

The Socialist Workers Party believes that there are thousands of militant workers in New York City, who finally understanding the wholesale manner in which the workers have been betrayed by the Stalinists will be ready to join in a militant, class struggle celebration on May first. These workers will not be willing to march in the Stalinist star-spangled celebration with its patriotic flag-waving and kow-towing to Roosevelt.

Join with the Socialist Workers Party at Columbus Circle May first at 2 P.M. Speakers: Max Shachtman, E. R. McKinney, Bill Morgan and Nathan Gould.

HOOLIGAN ATTACKS ON S.W.P. SPEAKER

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
NEW YORK—At the regular Friday meeting of the Brownsville branch of the Socialist Workers Party, members of the C. P. appeared and attempted by constant heckling and interruption to prevent the speakers from reaching an audience of 250 workers with the anti-war message of the 4th International. In an effort to eliminate these professional disrupters comrade Harry Milton, recently returned from his long service to the workers of Spain, approached the Stalinists and asked them to wait for the question period if there was anything they wished to say. As a reward for this plea a group of Stalinists surrounded comrade Milton, one of them hitting him from behind, broke his glasses and inflicted a serious injury to his eye.

The workers at the meeting learned a profound lesson in the practices of the "democracy" that the Stalinists peddle in the labor movement. The Brownsville comrades have appealed for the assistance of the newly organized Workers' Defense Guards for protection of future meetings. We do not intend that the American Stalinists shall institute the system of terror and intimidation for which they are so notorious in the Soviet Union and Spain.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

GIRL WISHES ROOM in modern, quiet home or share apartment. Brooklyn preferred. Write c/o Socialist Appeal.

INTERVENTION BY F.D.R. NEAR IN COAL DISPUTE

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Intervention of President Roosevelt in the four-week coal strike involving 320,000 miners became closer with the official appointment of John R. Steelman, U.S. Department of Conciliation, as mediator between the United Mine Workers of America and the Appalachian mine operators.

A conference between the operators and miners early this week was expected to result in a further deadlock. A Federal Mediation Board would then be set up to prepare the actual entry of Roosevelt in the situation.

Bearing on Unity
Since the major point of the present strike dispute is John L. Lewis' demand for a closed shop to exclude the dual A.F.L. Progressive Miners Union, the intervention of Roosevelt will have considerable bearing on the question of unity between the C.I.O. and the A.F.L.

Should Roosevelt's intervention bring the exclusion of the A.F.L. union in one form or another, it would indicate what can be expected from the White House in connection with the unity problem.

Vanguard
Verde

Down Your Tools on May Day in Protest Demonstration Against The Slaughter Into Which the Bosses Are Preparing to Send You

In the Sacrifices of Eight Men May Day's Tradition Was Born

By CHRIS ANDREWS

When the four bloody years of the American Civil War ended, the industrial and financial capitalists of the North were in complete control of the United States. During the absence of the Southern Senators and Representatives from the Halls of Congress during the Civil War and the period of Reconstruction, the Northern bourgeoisie passed all the legislation necessary to make "legal" their dominance, and a feverish rush of development and exploitation followed. As the West was thrown open to settlement and emigration, the most valuable resources of the nation were given to the capitalist class by the Congress they controlled, amid scenes of outrageous and open graft.

The rapid industrial development that followed, with alternating "prosperity" and severe crises, was accompanied by militant and violent fights of the working masses, industrial and agricultural, to defend themselves against exploitation. Due to their sporadic and unorganized character they were consistently defeated. Particularly bloody upheavals followed the depression of 1873. A general strike broke out among the railroad workers, resisting wage cuts. Several hundreds of railwaymen were killed in conflicts with the army troops—widespread rioting terrified the American bourgeoisie who had so recently watched with fear and hate the death struggles of the Paris Commune.

In general, the railwaymen were defeated. Nevertheless, the working class continued its battle, stamping on the pages of American history the mark of the class struggle and the class character of our society.

EIGHT HOURS A MAJOR DEMAND

One of the workers' demands was the eight hour day. At the present time the greater part of this country's 40 to 50 million workers have not yet achieved this.

Back in the 1830's when the working day was fourteen, fifteen hours and up, the first 8 hour proposal was called "preposterous." Yet its very audacity, and what it meant for them in terms of a fuller, richer life, rallied the workers around it. Agitation continued throughout the country; Grand Eight Hour Leagues existed in the middle years of the century; finally on Oct. 7, 1884, a group of trade unions (that later became the American Federation of Labor) passed a resolution at Chicago declaring that after May 1, 1886 "eight hours shall constitute a legal day's labor." The 2 years intervening were to be the period of preparation for the clash; on that first May Day, the workers were to strike for their demand and continue until it was won.

The working class was ready and willing for the fight. As always in time of social upheaval, they poured into organizations that they vaguely felt represented the interests of labor. As the small A.F.L. was not available to most of them, they joined the Knights of Labor, an amorphous, conservative organization, by the tens of thousands, terrifying the conservative leadership which considered the eight hour demand "revolutionary."

In July 1885 the Knights of Labor had 104,066 members. As the date of the May 1 strike drew near, the workers gathered their strength, and the membership swelled to over 700,000. The workers were ready.

But the bureaucrats were not. Powderly, conservative head, attempted to stop the enrollment of new members and on March 13 had issued secret orders to local leaders to withdraw from active participation in the strike. This fact, discovered by the workers later, helped to kill the Knights of Labor in the following years, and benefited the A.F.L. which played a more militant role.

STRIKES SPREAD OVER NATION

During these years political working class radicalism had not been unknown in the United States and Karl Marx had written for Horace Greeley's *N. Y. Tribune*. In 1872 Marx had made New York the headquarters of the First International. Class conscious emigrants fleeing from the brutal oppression in Europe, found themselves faced with the same capitalist exploitation in the United States and did not shrink from the challenge but renewed the fight. Most active were the

anarchists and syndicalists, particularly in the rising industrial city of Chicago.

Strikes and labor actions here were unusually violent. The Chicago police were notorious for their brutality, and against them it had been necessary for the workers to organize workingmen's defense guards, to protect their meetings, and particularly their "democratic right" to vote at the polls for working class candidates. A Socialist who was elected as Alderman was illegally kept from his office by the Democratic City Council; the incident was typical of class relations.

When that first May Day dawned, approximately 350,000 workers flung themselves into the strike action, and of these, 150,000 won their demand immediately. The remainder continued on strike—industrial activity was tied up throughout the nation. In New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Louisville, St. Louis, Milwaukee, Baltimore and many smaller cities and towns.

In Chicago 45,000 won their demand at once—40,000 others struck and several days later 80,000 were out. Excited meetings and parades were held—speeches were made in "Bohemian, Polish, German, and English." The anarchists were active; they had some 2,000 members in the city, and influenced the majority of the strikers, giving the demonstration a bold and courageous class character, frightening certain sections of the businessmen into the early concessions.

MEETING PROTESTS POLICE ATTACK

On May 3, scabs and strikers broke into fist fighting at the McCormick Reaper plant, where there was a three months old walkout and the police used the opportunity to attack the workers with their guns. Four strikers were killed, numerous others severely wounded.

A fiery pamphlet calling the workers to "Revenge! Workingmen, to Arms!!!" was distributed throughout the city; and a protest meeting called for the next night in Haymarket Square. During the next day the police kept attacking with great brutality all gatherings of workers.

At the meeting August Spies, and other leaders of the strikers addressed the gathering. There was no disorder; oncoming rain cut short the proceedings and the Mayor of Chicago, who had attended the meeting, went home shortly before it was to close, stopping in at the nearby police precinct to report that there was no danger of violence. A few minutes after he left the station, a police lieutenant led a detachment of 180 police to smash the rest of the meeting. As they came to the crowd to attack it, ordering it to disperse, a bomb was thrown, 73 policemen were injured; 7 ultimately died. The police fired back indiscriminately and a scene of terror and slaughter followed, as the unarmed citizens ran.

No one knows to this day who threw the bomb—there is a large body of evidence pointing to a police provocateur who fled Chicago. The truth will not be known until the workers themselves open the closed archives of the capitalist class. But to any worker who has ever been in a strike, the recital of the simple facts of the case shows clearly a typical police maneuver to provoke violence in order to frame the strike leaders and smash the strike.

"THESE FELLOWS ARE GOING TO HANG"

The capitalist courts indicted August Spies, Michael Schwab, Samuel Fielden, Albert R. Parsons, Adolph Fischer, George Engel, Louis Lingg, and Oscar Neebe. All these men were anarchist and syndicalist leaders, writers, and editors. No attempt was ever made to prove that any one of these men threw the bomb—it was brutally clear from the beginning that they were on trial for their political beliefs.

The police had all except Parsons whom they could not find. On the day of the opening of the trial, as the proceedings began, he marched into the courtroom to sit in the dock with his comrades, and to go to a glorious death with them.

The trial is a classic example for the workers of what capitalist "justice" is. The Judge displayed continuous partiality and hatred against the defendants; he appointed a special agent to select a special panel of jurors, so stacked that when the defence had used

(Continued from Page 1)

The owners complain that they cannot operate "profitably." Very well! If they can't run them, let someone else who can. Open them up, with the aid of government funds, and operate them under the control of the workers!

W.P.A. JOBS AT TRADE UNION WAGES FOR ALL UNEMPLOYED! With 13,000,000 out of work, the government replies by slashing the already pitifully small WPA rolls. Let the labor movement answer with the demand for jobs for all! Every man has the right to a job at decent wages. If private industry won't provide them, then we must force the government to do so.

A TWENTY BILLION DOLLAR PUBLIC WORKS PROGRAM! There is plenty of money when it comes to armaments or bailing out bankrupt corporations. There is plenty more in the coffers of the sixty families. Let it be used for a gigantic program of public works, featuring low-rent housing for workers, for the third of the nation which now lives under conditions not fit for human beings.

THIRTY DOLLAR WEEKLY OLD AGE AND DISABILITY PENSIONS! The aged, who have given the best of their lives to the profit-makers, the injured and sick, have a right to something better than diseased meat and discarded bread crusts. Jobs for all who can work and pensions for those who cannot!

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST FASCISM

The last six months have seen the rapid rise of pre-fascist and fascist movements within the United States. The fascists who would throw us into concentration camps, smash the organizations of labor, fasten on this country the totalitarian rule of the rubber hose, do not live in Berlin or Rome or Tokyo but right here at home. Here

up all their privileges of refusing jurors who were hostile, the jury as finally composed had on it a relative of one of the police casualties.

It was proved that the Judge's agent stated "I am managing this case, and know what I am about. These fellows are going to be hanged as certain as death."

THE SENTENCED SPEAK TO THE WORLD

The capitalist press howled for their lives. The word "Bolshevik" did not exist. They called them "Communards" after the men and women of the Paris Commune, and denounced them as foreigners.

Governor Altgeld of Illinois, in a later investigation when the martyrs were dead, had this to say of the trial. "It is further shown that much of the evidence given at the trial was a pure fabrication; that some of the prominent police officials . . . terrorized ignorant men by throwing them into prison and threatening them with torture if they refused to swear to anything desired."

Seven were sentenced to be hanged; Neebe to 15 years. The lawless speeches of these workingclass leaders lasted 3 days, and were addressed beyond the courtroom to the workers of the whole world.

Said Spies, "Now, these are my ideas. They constitute a part of myself. I cannot divest myself of them, nor would I, if I could. And if you think that you can crush out these ideas that are gaining ground more and more every day, if you think you can crush them by sending us to the gallows . . . I say, if death is the penalty for proclaiming the truth, then I will proudly and defiantly pay the 'costly price! Call your hangman!"

All the prisoners showed the same high courage and the same contempt for the class which held them in its power.

The sentences of 2 were commuted to life imprisonment. Twenty-one year old Lingg took his own life. Spies, Engel, Parsons, and Fischer went to the scaffold shouting defiance.

The strike was broken. But the workers remembered and still remember the men of Haymarket. The boss class strangled its victims in spite of the protests of the workers. Then, years later, it tried to cover over the crime by releasing the three survivors when Governor Altgeld's investigation proved that the trial was a frame-up. But nothing has been forgotten.

Every May Day the martyrs are remembered in the hearts of the workers throughout the globe. In all nations, in all tongues. And that day approaches of which August Spies foretold in his last words, spoken after the hangman's black hood had covered his face.

"There will be a time when our silence will be more powerful than the voices you strangle today."

Workers, speed that day!

For a Workers' World!

JOHN P. BRUCKER

Allentown, Penna.

is the enemy, and we must fight the enemy here.

Already we have found out in this country—in New York, Los Angeles, and a dozen lesser cities—what the workers of Germany and Italy too late discovered: that only the workers by their own direct action will fight the fascists. The government and the police will not fight them; on the contrary, the police protect the fascists and fight against the anti-fascist workers who wish to protest the meetings and actions of the fascists.

BUILD WORKERS DEFENSE GUARDS! Organized anti-fascist defense guards, built by the workers themselves, are the only weapon which can defend the workers and their unions and parties from the vigilante and fascist gangs.

INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY OF LABOR

May Day is the occasion when every serious worker should remember his indissoluble ties with his fellow-workers in every other nation, and should pledge himself to struggle side by side with the workers everywhere against the common enemy: against imperialism, and the whole vile system of exploitation and tyranny throughout the world.

Together, the workers of the entire world will resolve that they will not permit human civilization to be destroyed in the new gangster war. They will transform that war for blood and profit into a war of the oppressed of all nations against their oppressors. Out of the present darkness, international labor will build a new, classless society of peace, security, and freedom.

That new world is within our grasp! If we have the courage and the will, we shall gain it!

FOR THE TRIUMPH OF LABOR IN THE VICTORIOUS WORLD SOCIALIST REVOLUTION!

Every Worker Must Master the Teachings of Marx and Engels

The working class may well be proud of the fact that it brought into its ranks two such great geniuses, thinkers and fighters as the founders of the scientific socialist movement, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

When these two magnificent intellects who, though German by birth, were internationalists to the marrow of their bones, came into the labor movement, they found it based upon either a utopian foundation or a hand-to-mouth existence.

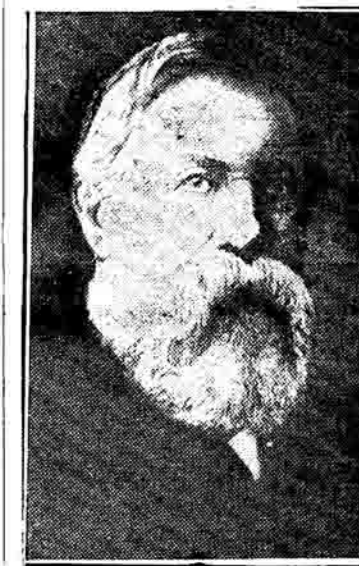
With the treasures of German philosophy, the develop-

ment of English economic thought and the labor movement, and the traditions of the French Revolutions at their disposal, Marx and Engels gave the working class its first really scientific analysis of the capitalist system of society, and put forth the principles and tactics by means of which labor, the only remaining consistently progressive class, will smash the fetters of capitalist class rule, and by establishing the classless socialist society, free humankind itself.

Their work, produced anywhere from sixty to ninety years ago, has a freshness and significance which has enabled it to remain the foundation of the international revolutionary movement down to the present day. Their analyses of contemporary society, jeered at by some, attacked violently by others, submitted to "revisions" by still others, have been confirmed over and over again in all their essentials. In Marxism, the proletariat has an invincible and unassailable doctrine.

World reaction has rightly seen in Marxism its arch-enemy. That often-buried theory of the working class continues to irk and terrify the ruling classes. Fascism is sworn to destroy it root and branch.

But so long as the capitalist system of exploitation remains, and with it the proletarian



FREDERICK ENGELS

class, the theories of Marxism cannot be exterminated—either by argument, ukase or terrorism. It is the natural product of the class struggle. It is the sharpest weapon of the revolutionary labor movement.

Master Marxism! Study it thoroughly, and apply its methods and principles in the daily struggle against the employers and reaction! That is the duty of the labor movement. If it fulfills it, it will have at its command an instrument, tempered by the genius of Marx and Engels, which will assure its triumph.

Greetings to the SOCIALIST APPEAL on May Day! On to the DAILY APPEAL!

LEON DICKMAN
ROSE FABEN
ALBERT GATES
PAUL HERRICK
MICHAEL KABNO
B. L.
M. MICHAELS

E. M.
P. Q.
V. A.
F. A.
LYDIA BEIDEL
REVA CRAINE
J. R.

TESS SAVIN
N. S.
ARNE SWABECK
SAM RICHTER
EDWARD WARD
CLAIRE ROBINSON
MAX WEINRIE

GREETINGS FROM

THE NORTH JERSEY DISTRICT

of the Socialist Workers Party
and Friends of the Appeal

252 MARKET STREET, NEWARK, N. J.

May Day, 1919—A Lesson In Workings Of Boss Democracy

By STANLEY LAUREN

The morning of May Day 1919 saw the population of Cleveland unusually tense. The war had ended only a few months before. Soldiers from the trenches had just come home. The government's huge drive for a "Victory Loan" had been going on for some time, and Cleveland had only raised \$31,000,000 of the \$81,500,000 quota set for the city with only eight more days left to complete the fund raising job. Socialist anti-war agitation had made the workers wiser and the bankers were having a difficult time squeezing the needed cash out of labor's pockets. And on top of all this the Socialist May Day parade was expected to be the largest the city had ever seen.

By 10 o'clock in the morning, thousands of Socialists and trade unionists had already mobilized at their local headquarters. They formed their ranks and proceeded to parade towards the Public Square in downtown Cleveland where a monster mass meeting was to start at noon.

RUTHENBERG LEADS PARADE

Leading the parade was C. E. Ruthenberg, at that time the Socialist candidate for Mayor of Cleveland, editor of the *Ohio Socialist*, and destined to become one of the first leaders of the Communist Party of the United States. Ruthenberg had just finished serving a year in jail for his anti-war activity.

As the parade got under way huddles of the American Legion, under the direction of local business men, began to attack marchers who carried red flags. The reactionaries used crippled war victims to lead the attack of the Socialists, with the object of winning public sentiment to their side. These crippled victims who fought for "democracy" did not realize that they gave up their limbs to raise a new batch of millionaires who were thousands of miles away from the trenches.

BUSINESS OFFICES GREET ATTACK

Trouble started simultaneously on each route as the paraders entered the downtown section. Every attack was greeted with showers of confetti from the windows of the business offices. Everything pointed to a well planned attack.

One crippled war veteran who was seated in a wheel chair in front of the Olmstead Hotel in downtown Cleveland started one of the most bloody incidents of the day. He was James Stevens who was being used all over the city by the bankers to raise money for the Victory Loan. Stevens described his own provocation very well. He said:

"The first thing I saw was the red flags. I wheeled my chair into the street as the head of the column passed, and I yelled 'Get those red flags!'. Some of the marchers laughed and jeered at me. But my comrades in uniform came running when I yelled 'Get 'em boys!'"

LEGIONAIRES BEGIN ATTACK

Immediately the reactionary Legionaires went into action. They rushed the line of march with clubs in their hands and started beating down workers. They were joined by the police who were just as vigilant at slugging the workers. Hundreds of Socialists were felled by the blows. Soldiers in army tanks raced up and down the street, clearing it of people and breaking up the parade. Only the courage of the Socialist workingmen, who though

unarmed, fought back fearlessly to defend their comrades, saved the streets of Cleveland from being further bathed in blood.

SOCIALISTS MARCH INTO SQUARE

In the meantime, the square was being filled with workers who were awaiting the rally. At 12:30 a small contingent of 200 led by Ruthenberg marched into the square. They were the only section of the parade that was able to hold their ranks together despite the attack of the soldiers and police.

Ruthenberg marched his group through the square, and mounted the speakers' platform. He was danked on both sides by a number of war veterans in uniform who carried red flags. These soldiers had learned why they went to war, and they demonstrated their hatred for the capitalist system.

POLICE CLUBS BEAT WORKERS

As soon as Ruthenberg and the radical soldiers mounted the platform they were attacked by the reactionary hoodlums. The American Legionnaires and the police started to wade into the crowd and beat their clubs over the heads of workingmen. Mounted police rode their horses through the crowds and managed to disperse the meeting. Hundreds were seriously injured.

Two workers were found dead. They were Joseph Ivany and Sam Pearlman who were shot and killed by policemen as they tried to defend themselves from hoodlum attacks. Ruthenberg and 133 other Socialist workers were arrested by police.

WOUNDED MEN IN COURT

"Almost every other man arraigned," the Cleveland Press reported, "appeared with a bandaged head or body bound up. This was the result of blows from police maces or of clubs in the hands of loyalist crowds." The soldiers were the "loyalist crowds" referred to by the Press.

That night the American Legion, not satisfied with breaking up the parade, made raids on Socialist Party headquarters in various parts of the city. The raid on the central headquarters was the most vicious. Every window, every stick of furniture, was smashed. More than a half a ton of books was destroyed and thrown into the streets. The *Ohio Socialist* press was wrecked. Two hundred Socialists were injured defending their headquarters.

CAPITALIST COURT RAIDS POLICE

At the trials of those arrested, held the following day, the police and soldiers were exonerated and hailed as heroes. Fifty-five workers were sentenced to 30 days in jail. The others were given sentences almost as harsh. But it was discovered that most of the prisoners were foreign born. The federal government was asked to deport these "Bolsheviks."

The bankers had gained their objective. The necessary hysteria for a successful Victory Loan was being worked up quite successfully. The next day the following call for the purchase of Victory Loan bonds read:

"It means a half trigger sprint from now on. A victory button is your only protection now." This meant that a worker who did not wear a button indicating that he subscribed to the Victory Loan would be the object of future attacks.

SUPPRESSION OF CIVIL LIBERTIES

Within a few days the city council was taking up the question of further suppressing the Socialists. One member proposed to make it a felony for anyone to speak on social or industrial topics in the streets of Cleveland. Another proposal was made to declare the wearing of a Socialist Party button or any button with the arm and torch insignia of the S.P. a misdemeanor.

WORKERS LEARN ABOUT DEMOCRACY

More than 50,000 workers participated in this historic May Day in Cleveland. They learned the meaning of "democracy" as the bankers defined it. They learned, on that day, what a number of them had already known before: that the word "patriotism" was merely a catch word used by business men to take away the few dollars and cents that the workers were able to save.

May Day 1919 must forever stand as the example of the "democracy" for which the capitalist "patriots" want American workingmen to fight.

May Day Greetings

from a Group of

Astoria Sympathizers

Revolutionary Greetings

from the Gum Mines

AKRON BRANCH

of the S.W.P.

A Workers' Defense Guard Is the Only Answer to the Fascists

It Alone Will Fight The Fascist Threat To Workers' Rights

COUGHLIN DUPES FOLLOWERS WHEN HE SAYS HE'S PRO-LABOR

Minneapolis Guard Has Kept That City Clear of Nazi Thugs

Workers Must Rely on Their Own Strength, Not on Boss Politicians, to Preserve Their Most Elementary Rights

In the present war situation every worker ought to keep two simple propositions in mind. First, the main enemies of democracy are not over the ocean but within these 48 states. Second, the fight against dictatorship and for democracy must begin at home.

Roosevelt and his fellow jingoists are striving to convince the American people that another war is necessary "to make the world safe for democracy."

Listen to Herbert Hoover speaking at Chicago on February 2 of this year. "A great war today . . . means democracy must temporarily surrender to dictatorship, no matter what one may call it."

It means that our country must be mobilized into practically a fascist state. . . . I speak of this not from hearsay, but as one who participated in the economic organization of the great war."

FASCIST GROUPS TAKING ROOT

The fight for democracy requires above all an exposure of the imperialist war-makers. But it also demands a struggle against other ultra-reactionary forces which in some cases for their own demagogic and reactionary reasons are at the moment in opposition to Roosevelt and Wall Street's war.

Fascist tendencies are taking root in many sections of the country. Some, like the German-American Bund, are direct branches of Nazism. But the majority, although they borrow ideas, inspiration, and even money from European sources, are home-bred and home-made products. Such fascist groupings as Roy Zachary's Silver Shirts, the Crusaders, and others led by Father Coughlin's propaganda, spring straight out of American soil, nourished by the misery of the unemployed, the discontent of the middle-classes of city and country, the plight of the farmers and a widespread disillusion with the New Deal and the old order of affairs. It is from these sources that the danger of a broad national fascist movement is to be feared.

RACE HATRED AND LABOR OPPOSITION

The main creed of these movements is anti-Semitism and opposition to organized labor, especially the C.I.O. Their aim is to smash the trade unions and curb their activities and thus keep the workers in servitude. They propose to take away the gains made by the workers in the past few years and to rob them of their rights of organization, free speech, and assembly. They are assisted in this work by the vigilante groups of the Associated Farmers and Manufacturers' Associations, by the various Citizens' Committees set up by Chambers of Commerce in the industrial areas of the Middle West, and by the hired scabs and gunmen of the great corporations.

How are the workers to protect themselves against the fascist gangsters? Experience has shown only one way. That is to form Union Defense Guards, whose task it shall be to defend labor unions meetings, and activities as well as the persons of trade-unionists from attack. Akron rubber workers, Minneapolis teamsters, and progressive trade-unionists elsewhere have already seen the necessity for such organizations, and acted accordingly. These guards ought not to be hastily improvised in the teeth of danger but prepared in advance to perform their duties when need arises.

GUARDS ARE PERMANENT PICKETS

Such Union Defense Guards will be in reality permanent pickets. Every trade-unionist knows that the bosses and their scabs would have an easy time breaking strikes if pickets were not at hand to prevent them. These fascist groups are nothing less than permanent organizations of scabs in the service of the most reactionary bosses. The workers ought to be ready to repulse them wherever they raise their heads.

HAGUE THRIVES ON PUBLICITY

The workers can rely only upon their strength and organized forces in this struggle. Is not the case of Hague "convincing demonstration of this truth? Despite several years of struggle, the Hudson County Hitler still reigns in Jersey. Various methods were employed by the C.I.O. to undermine and overthrow him, to expose his despotism by national publicity. But Hague thrived on this propaganda, turned it to his own advantage, became a hero of Big Business. Liberal congressmen made verbal threats and then turned

tail and ran. Ostentatious parades and meetings were not only broken up by Hague's police and hired mobsters but Hague beat the C.I.O. at this game by staging far larger and more impressive popular demonstrations. The injunctions granted by the courts for and against Hague have resulted only in black-badging the struggle but not in binding the Boss.

Through Farley, President Roosevelt solicited Hague's support in the 1938 elections. The promised investigation of his Department of Justice has come to nothing. Can one offend the Vice-Chairman of the Democratic National Committee with a presidential campaign in the offing? Such is the balance sheet of the campaigns against Hague which have now died down to a whisper.

ONLY ONE WAY TO OUST HAGUE

There was, and there remains, only one way to dislodge this local dictator and restore democratic rights to the people of New Jersey. A careful, patient organizing campaign by the C.I.O. unions backed up by an organized workers' guard capable of protecting meetings and resisting Hague's police and mobsters.

Anti-Semitism is the second item in the fascist stock-in-trade. Fortune Magazine's recent survey indicates that anti-Semitism is growing. The fascists are waging their fight against the workers, against all democratic and progressive ideas, under the guise of a struggle against "Judeo-Bolshevism." While the Jewish masses are becoming increasingly sensitive to this danger, they are still for the most part ignorant of the best means of combatting it. The anti-Nazi demonstrations held in Los Angeles, in New York at Madison Square Garden, in Philadelphia have shown them the way. The magnificent response of the workers of all faiths and political views to the call of the Socialist Workers Party demonstrates that more and more are beginning to understand that only direct action of this character can stop fascism from spreading.

POLICE AND COLETS PROTECT FASCISTS

These events have also shown that "liberal" politicians, the police, and the courts will, in the name of "law and order," concentrate upon defending the fascists while depriving the foes of fascism of their democratic rights. Did not LaGuardia's cops break up the counter-demonstrations around Madison Square Garden, ride down hundreds of anti-fascists, injure and arrest a dozen? And the judges completed the job by fining or jailing the militants.

Fascism thrives more than anything else upon the impotence and inertia of its opponents. The prerequisite for the rise and victory of Fascism is to make the workers believe that by relying, not upon their own organized forces but upon some external power upon the state, upon the police upon benevolent officials, upon democratic traditions, etc., that fascism can be defeated. This service is being performed today by a Popular Front of Democrats, liberals, labor leaders, Social Democrats, and Stalinists. Italy, Germany, Austria, Spain, and today France, teach that along this road lies not the defeat of Fascism but the defeat of the working masses.

THE ROAD TO VICTORY

The road to victory over fascism proceeds through direct and militant struggle against the forces of reaction. The fascist groups here are still weak. The labor movement, the progressive forces are strong. The time to crush fascism and anti-Semitism is now. The place: here in our own country. The means: Union Defense Guards and anti-fascist leagues which will shield labor from the inevitable onslaughts of the storm-troopers.

MAY DAY GREETINGS

from the

NEWARK Y.P.S.L.

In Memoriam of

Comrade Bernard Selesner

In the discussion period at a recent Socialist Workers Party forum, a young worker took the floor to pose a few questions which he hoped, apparently, would embarrass the speaker. When asked if he were a fascist—a just query in view of his general conduct during the meeting—he indignantly asserted: "No, I am not a fascist. I hate the very word fascism." He was a follower of Father Coughlin, he explained, he believed in democracy and in social justice. He also vigorously denied that his idol, Father Coughlin, favored fascism or Hitler, or American involvement in a European war.

There is no reason to believe he was not completely sincere. Nor is there any reason to believe he is alone in thinking that Father Coughlin opposes fascism and is, in fact, the stalwart champion of democracy, for the worker, the unemployed, the youth, the farmer, the small businessman. Many Coughlinites, frequently some who display crass fascist tendencies, do not themselves understand the true import of their actions.

Yet they are being purposely and systematically duped. The first step in creating fascism is to divide the working class, to smash its most militant members and organizations first. With these out of the way, it is a comparatively easy matter later, at the appropriate time, to smash all workers' organizations, all democracy, all freedom.

Democratic Talk Is Pure Demagoguery

Father Coughlin of course doesn't give a hang about democracy. His use of democratic phraseology is the purest demagoguery in an adroit effort to foist upon this country a system of government essentially identical with that now existing in Germany. Tell this to a Coughlinite, and he will denounce you in the most insulting words in his vocabulary. He will call you a communist, a Jew, or both.

But it is instructive to note what Father Coughlin himself says on this subject. Apparently, in his championing of democracy, he makes a lot of exceptions. In his Sunday radio of March 26 (re-printed in his weekly magazine "Social Justice" of April 3) he said: "If the imperial conquests by Great Britain and France and the diabolical persecutions of Soviet Russia are the outstanding examples of European democracy, then it is my opinion that the sooner that type of hypocrisy perishes from the face of the earth, the better for all mankind."

So, then, he doesn't think so much of French and British democracy. Perhaps, though, he is wholeheartedly in favor of the American brand of democracy. Well, hardly wholeheartedly. In the same radio address he waxed vitriolic against those in the United States who for the past six years have boycotted the Third Reich "in the name of democracy." The Third Reich for the past six years? But that is Nazi Germany which, his followers tell us, Father Coughlin does not admire and does not seek to emulate. Curious, isn't it—or is it—that he seems so much more concerned about the boycotting of the Nazis than about the exercise of democratic rights.

For "Blood Business" On His Own Terms

But it is a slander, we are told, to assail Father Coughlin because of his attitude toward the war being cooked up in Europe. He says he is opposed to the United States becoming involved in that war. He says he is opposed to American workers sacrificing their lives in that war.

Again, let us examine Father Coughlin's statements. Is he opposed to Americans sacrificing their lives in an imperialist war in Europe, or is he merely opposed to the United States aiding Great Britain and France—against Italy and Germany? We let Father Coughlin speak for himself. Fuminating against the "cash and carry" neutrality legislation proposed by Senator Key Pittman (which would obviously be to the detriment of the Rome-Berlin axis), he says this measure aims "definitely at putting America in the blood business not on the side of justice, but on the side of the biggest bank roll; not on the side of justified reform, but on the side of the status quo, thereby perpetuating injustice." (Signed article in the April 3 issue of Social Justice.)

He is not, he says plainly, against America going into the "blood business." If America were to enter the war to bring about "justified reforms"—that is, the seizure of more territory by Mussolini and Hitler—the radio priest would give such "blood business" his blessing. According to him, that would be acting "on the side of justice." But if America aids France and England in preventing the Fascist-Nazi grab—that is, if America is "on the side of the status quo"—such action is indefensible, is "perpetuating injustice," and must be damned. "Injustice" to whom? Obviously to Adolf Hitler and Benito Mussolini. Curious? Or is it?

Program Like that of Hitler

But, the Coughlinite will still insist, Father Coughlin is really the friend of the worker, the farmer, the small businessman, etc., etc. You have only to look at the mast head of the magazine "Social Justice" to see for yourself. Point 10 in the 16 principles printed there calls for "Labor's Right to Organize." Similarly, point 9 calls for "The Cost of Production Plus a Fair Profit for the Farmer." And points 13 and 14 demand a "Broadened Base of Taxation on the Basis of Ownership and Capacity to Pay," and "Simplification of Government and Lower Taxes."

Surely this is quite clear. This is not a fascist program, say the Coughlinite. True, there is little similarity between this program and the program of fascism-in-power. But it is decidedly reminiscent of the programs of both Hitler and Mussolini before fascism and nazism had seized the reins of government.

On labor's right to organize, workers in Italy were told by Mussolini: "Labor has nothing to fear from the fascist power. . . . Its just rights will be loyally guaranteed." Mussolini stated: "Nobody can dream of driving the working

masses back to less favorable working and living conditions than those of today."

In Germany, a Nazi spokesman assured: "We believe absolutely necessary the organization of workers into unions within the dominant capitalist system. . . . A Nazi propaganda pamphlet asserted: "It is a shameful lie to say that the National Socialists, when they have taken power, . . . will deprive the workers of their supreme weapon: the right to strike."

Workers' rights were going to be fully protected. That is what the Nazis and the Fascists said before they came to power. That is what Father Coughlin is saying today. But after they came to power, it was, as everyone knows, quite another story.

Grandiose Promises to Farmers

Similarly, with regard to the farmers. Prior to the seizure of power, both the fascists and the Nazis were talking of giving the "land directly to the peasants to be cultivated by them jointly," and even of the need of an agrarian revolution. Compared to this, what Father Coughlin offers to the farmers of this country is mild indeed. Yet after the establishment of the dictatorship?

The fascists and Nazis were likewise glib in their promises to small businessmen. These were to be protected against competition, to be assured stability and security.

And so on and so forth. Before taking power, the fascists, like Father Coughlin now, made grandiose promises to all who, ground down under the chaotic system of capitalist democracy, were seeking a way out. They were—and are—easy victims of fascist demagoguery.

What they didn't understand in Germany and in Italy, and what the duped followers of Coughlin fail to understand here, is that not a single one of these promises will be kept, and that there was not, and is not, any intention of keeping them. While on the one hand, the fascists and the Nazis—in this country, Father Coughlin—promise everything to every man, on the other hand, they carefully foster a policy calculated not to bring about the reforms of which they prate, but to strangle all opposition and install the hideous regime of full-blown fascism.

We Won't Allow Him to Get Away with It!

Father Coughlin knows that his first and foremost task is to divide the working class and exterminate its most militant elements. For this dirty work, he uses those who believe he is the champion of democracy, that he hates communists because they are wicked and godless, but that he also disapproves of fascism. Once he has used his followers to get rid of their most class-conscious fellow-workers, he will be able to use his armed guards (he hopes) to settle the score with any who protest that his promises are not being fulfilled.

The pattern is clear. It has been used before. It worked in Italy. It worked also in Germany. Why not in the United States?

If Father Coughlin is permitted to get away with turning worker against worker, smashing all militancy and all opposition to his movement, fascism will make headway in this country, just as it has elsewhere.

But, and this is a big "but," there is no reason why Father Coughlin should be permitted to get away with it. To his cry of "he's a red—smash his organization," the Coughlinite worker, and all other workers must reply, "Yes, but he is a worker, too, and his organization is a workers' organization. We do not scab in a strike, and we refuse to do the bosses' dirty work here."

It is high time the Coughlinite followers ask their leader, and themselves some of these very pertinent questions. For our part, the Socialist Workers Party will do everything in its power to organize the workers for the most vigorous and threatens to deprive them.

THESE ARE OUR ENEMIES!



Greetings from a Group of Cutters of

Local 10, I.L.G.W.U.

St. Louis, 1886: The First May Day!

St. Louis, April, 1917: Revolutionary Socialism

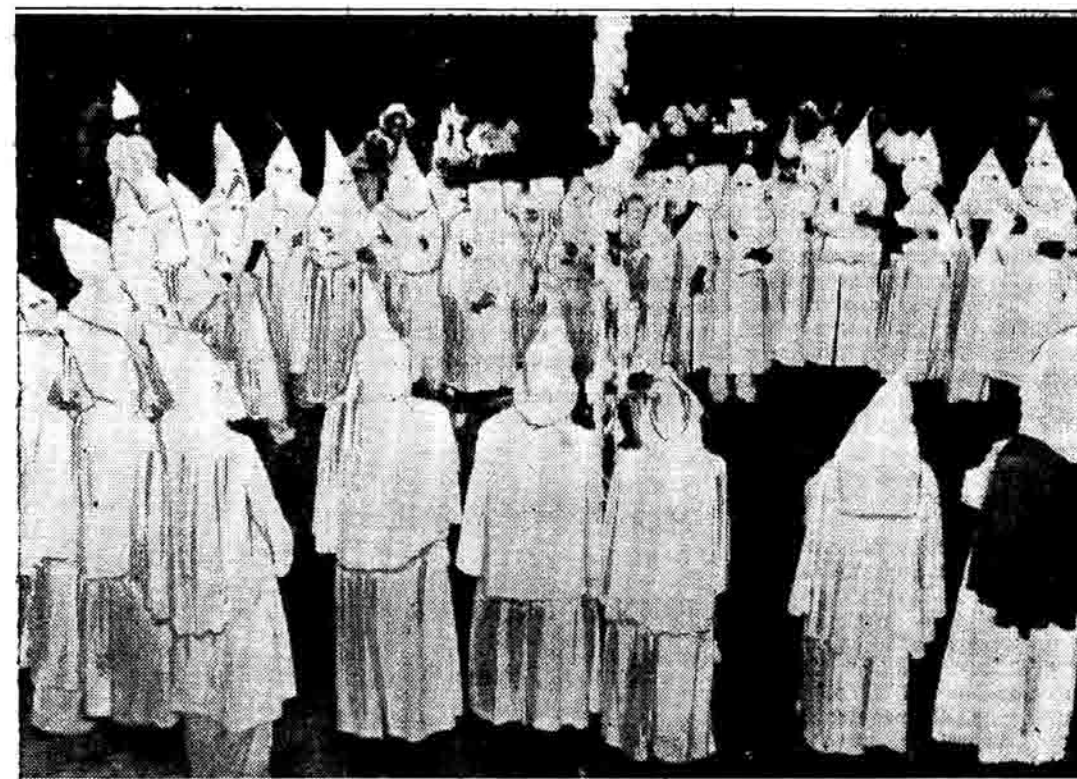
Against Imperialist War!

MAY DAY GREETINGS

LOCAL ST. LOUIS, City and County Branches

Greetings from a group of

Philadelphia comrades



picked men, the most loyal and active unionists, seasoned, resourceful, fearless, intelligent. The Captains have carefully picked their squads.

Test Mobilizations

Every man who so proudly wears the little gold badge—MIDG—is dead serious about his membership in his Union Guard. From time to time, test mobilizations have proven this.

Last November, for example, on one hour's notice, the Guard met for a trial mobilization on a vacant lot in the center of the city. Only three people knew whether the occasion was a real crisis. Three hundred men in fighting clothes poured into the vacant lot and formed ranks under direction of their Captains. It was only after short talks by the Guard leaders, followed by the announcement that it was just a test mobilization to be celebrated afterward at a local theatre, that the grimness turned to merriment.

Another bright memory in the history of the Union Guard is a big dance held the Saturday before Christmas. Trade unionists attended by the hundreds. Proceeds of the affair were placed in the Guard fund.

Drilling and Study

The Minneapolis Union Defense Guard has just recently completed a six-weeks' course of drill work, with Guard meetings three nights weekly. When hard-working men demonstrate their understanding by such activity, only comrades or "ools can say that a fitter will necessarily come to power in America. "The only thing a fascist understands is a cracked head," says the Minneapolis Guard. It is ready to the last man to increase the understanding of any fascist gang so foolhardy as to move against the union movement here.

On the last night of the six-weeks' drill course, the regular meeting was turned into a Guard party. Guardsmen heard an analysis of "Union Enemies and How to Fight Them," by V. R. Dunne.

Based on Unions

The Minneapolis Guard at the present time is composed chiefly of workers in the driving crafts with the main base in Local 544. Workers from other unions have joined, however, and are preparing themselves to form active Guard units in their own organizations. Guard leaders anticipate a steady growth of the organization.

A special feature of the Minneapolis Guard is its Intelligence Department. Guard members and their allies circulate throughout the Twin Cities and surrounding regions, and keep a sharp eye peeled for fascist literature, anti-Semitic activities, and propaganda, and the like. This is a constant vigilance and a vital part.

One can almost hear the horrified liberal, or some labor skit, exclaiming: "But all this is terrible. There is no surer way to provoke fascism etc., etc."

No Fascists Meet But there hasn't been a single Silver Shirt or Bund meeting in Minneapolis during the past six months, despite a tenseness in the class struggle locally that would have made such meetings inevitable had the Union Defense Guard not existed.

This isn't saying the fascists won't try to hold meetings here. The legislative attacks against the union movement, such as Stassen's anti-labor bill, will embolden the bosses and their agents. The next drop in the business index will bring the fascists.

When that time comes, Minneapolis will be ready. The workers of every city must prepare now so that they can say the same thing. Trade unionists everywhere who are interested in further details and act in setting up Guard units have been invited to correspond with Guard Commander, % General Drivers Union Local 544, 237 Plymouth Avenue South, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

GREETINGS to the APPEAL

A group of Food Workers in LOCAL 453

"Long Live the Fourth International!"

FIGHT FOR WORKERS' LIBERATION, NOT FOR BOSS PROFITS

Nothing is more ghastly than the cold-blooded preparations being made throughout the world to plunge millions of people into the horrors of a new international war.

Nothing is more vile than the cynicism with which the ruling classes are planning the deliberate duping of the cannon-fodder by covering up their ignoble and sordid aims with noble and idealistic catchwords.

The masters of every imperialist country count on two things for the effective carrying out of their war plans:

First, the forgetfulness of the masses, the hope that they will not recall how they were tricked into the last world slaughter by the slogans of "the war to end all wars" and the "war to make the world safe for democracy."

Second, the huge propaganda machinery which they operate—the press, the radio, the movies, the pulpit, the schools—and by means of which they din into the ears of the people, day in and day out, the lies calculated to convince the unthinking that they are to be blown to bits in a "just cause."

Since the coming war involves no small thing—the limbs, life or liberty of the masses—it would be well for everyone to reflect on the real significance of the war in which he will be called upon to fight and die.

Who Does the Fighting? (And the Dying!)

The question of who does the fighting and the dying can be and in actuality is settled only on a class basis.

Despite the alleged popularity of imperialist war nowadays, both fascist and "democratic" countries immediately resort to conscription. The fact that they do not rely upon volunteers to make up their fighting forces is itself enough to show how little confidence they have in the attractiveness of their wars.

Now, according to the conscription laws, everybody of a certain age and fitness is subject to serve in the war—rich man as well as poor. But how does it work out in practice? Except for a comparative few, workers are generally conscripted for active service. The government argues that they can usually be replaced in industry by younger people, by older folk, by women. With the industrial and financial magnates of the country, however, the case is different. They are "indispensable." These parasites cannot be replaced, it is said, in the commanding positions of factories and banks. If they are put into uniform, they are kept safely at home, and become "dollar-a-year" men.

That is why, in all modern wars, it is the workers and farmers who see active service and are killed off by the millions while, with few unimportant exceptions, the capitalist class emerges from the war not only sound in limb but even sounder in the purse.

The last World War, like the next one, is a bosses' war with working class cannon-fodder.

What Are You Going to Fight For?

How is it that in spite of all the solemn oaths sworn by the ruling class and its governments, wars nevertheless continue to break out periodically? Pledges, pacts, treaties, promises, Leagues of Nations—none of these prevent war from recurring with increasing frequency.

Why? Is it just because the capitalist rulers are evil-minded, because they like war for its own sake? No, that is not the basic reason.

The basic reason must be sought in capitalism itself. It BREEDS war as its inevitable and natural product. To live, capitalism must expand. It must find ever new sources of raw materials, markets for its products, fields for financial investment, for if it stands still, it dies.

But the world is, after all, limited in space and population and resources. Moreover, it is already divided up among half a dozen great imperial powers. Each and all of them must expand. There can be no question of one of them voluntarily handing over its colonies, its investment possibilities, its markets to a rival power. Quite the contrary. Each of them seeks—must seek—to gain control over more than it already has. Otherwise, the sources of its profits would dry up, and without profit capitalism has no meaning.

For certain periods of time this incessant conflict is "resolved" peacefully, that is, without actual resort to arms. In these periods, each imperialist power jockey for a better position. It exerts diplomatic pressure, trade pressure, financial pressure to better its economic position.

But after a time, all of them run up against a brick wall. It becomes impossible for any one of them to make another move forward by "peaceful" means. There is nothing left for them to do but decide by armed struggle who is going to be master of the world or its largest portion.

Then war breaks out!

The last World War was fought to decide whether England or Germany would be the principal economic power in the world. Millions died in order that England, France and the United States should dominate the world among them. Countries like Germany were reduced to the position of poor relations, second-class citizens in the imperialist family.

The coming World War is to be fought to decide whether Germany (and her allies) are to get back the loot stolen from her by England (and her allies), or whether Germany, in turn, like all the imperialist powers, stole from hundreds of millions of colonial and semi-colonial slaves throughout the world.

A new generation of millions must therefore die in order to determine which gang of exploiters—German or English, French or Italian, American or Japanese—is to gain most from coining profits out of the blood and sweat of the toilers of the world.

In 1919, after he had dragged the United States into the World War, President Wilson asked, in a St. Louis speech, if there was even a child who did not understand that the war was a commercial war. Twenty years later, let us hope, there will not be a child, much less an adult, who does not understand that the coming war is to be essentially the same as the war of 1914-1918.

Yes, But What About the Danger of Fascism?

—This will be a sacred war, a just war, a war to defend our hearths, our democracy from the assaults of fascism, which every decent human being detests and should be ready to fight.

Of course, of course! There never was a war for profit that wasn't dressed up to look like a war for a lofty ideal. Does anyone think that Daladier could get a single French worker to fight in a war whose openly-announced object was to keep Czechoslovakia as a vassal of French capital instead of Germany?

Could Chamberlain get a single British worker to fight in a war whose openly-announced object was to protect the profits of English bankers from the envious assaults of German bankers?

Could Roosevelt get a single American worker to fight in a war whose openly-announced object was to protect the profits of Standard Oil in China from encroachments by Japanese capitalism?

The only way to make the war even partly attractive is to deny any "base, commercial" motives and to insist that "our" aims in the war are of the purest: Defend the fatherland, protect our womanhood, defend democracy, save civilization, preserve our children, end war . . . and smash fascism.

But that's exactly how the masses were tricked into the last war. Take the German social democrats, who supported the Kaiser in his war against Russia. What were their arguments? Did they declare their love for the Kaiser, for monarchism, for Prussianism? Generally speaking, no. All they were doing, by their war support, was to defend German civilization, German progress, the German labor movement from the menace of Czarist barbarism!

Here was their argument: Germany is not perfect, by any means. But at least here the labor movement is legal

We Summon American Youth to Struggle for a New Life, Not to Find Foul Death in Fighting the Bosses' Battles

The Path
of Roosevelt
Is the Path
Not to
Peace and
Plenty But
to Suffering
and Death
and Name-
less Graves
on Distant
Fields
Drenched
with the
Blood of
Our Fellow-
Workers
of All
Countries.



There are more than 3,000,000 American boys and girls, according to the most conservative estimates, whom industry as controlled and disorganized under capitalism has doomed to permanent unemployment in the United States. These 3,000,000 youths are barred from their rightful place in society. They cannot continue school; they cannot liberate themselves from dependence upon their fathers and mothers; they cannot marry.

Thousands of them are forced into vagabondage, existing between garbage cans, begging and panhandling—shuttling back and forth on freight trains endlessly between the large centers of the country, hopeless, miserable, starving.

Thousands of them turn to a life of crime, feeling that if they have been shut out from every opportunity, refused every chance to live like human beings, scorned and harried, denied a trade, denied an education, denied jobs, then they will live the only kind of life apparently left open to them—the life of crime.

The prison population of the United States as a result is a population of youth. The age of the average inmate in the average American prison is under twenty-five.

Economic Crimes
Even more significant is the fact that at least 93% of the crimes for which American boys and girls have been imprisoned are either directly economic crimes, according to the most authoritative criminologists, or directly due to economic reasons. And one authority has placed himself on record as convinced that the remaining 7% of crimes could be ultimately shown to be due to economic reasons. In plain language this means that the majority of inmates of American prisons are inmates because they have been denied all hope of obtaining a job.

Many surveys of youth in America—their beliefs, their moods, their thoughts of the future, their chances under capitalism in the United States have been made by learned scientists who are experts at gathering statistics.

All the recent surveys show some extremely interesting and significant facts about the condition of American youth today as compared with that of a few decades ago.

No Jobs for Youth

Almost up until 1929, anyone graduating from a high school or a college, if he were endowed with just ordinary pluck, intelligence, and ambition could more or less easily find a place in industry. He could become an engineer, a doctor, an office worker, a skilled tradesman such as a plumber, carpenter, steel worker, brick mason, mechanic, or if these avenues were temporarily blocked he could always find a job as an ordinary laborer or a semiskilled worker. If he succeeded in spending enough years in school he could become a technician, a professor, or a research worker. If he had a little capital—and in those days it was not extremely difficult to borrow five hundred or a thousand dollars—he could start up a little store, a service station or garage, at least a hot dog stand. If he was long on brass and a glutton for punishment, he could make a success as a salesman.

Youth in those days had great hopes for the future, plenty of optimism; there really seemed no limit to opportunity in America if one genuinely wanted to work and had enough ambition to set his goal for something worthwhile.

Now the entire situation is completely changed. All scientific surveys of American youth today agree without exception that (1) industry has no jobs to offer the great majority of youth no matter how willing they are to work or how ambitious they are or how loyal they might be to a prospective boss. (2) American boys and girls are pessimistic about the future, they feel aimless, without a basic philosophy, gloomy, out of place, not wanted, frustrated.

Entitled to Food

Moralists are alarmed at the call "sex delinquencies" of youth—falling in love without a job that would make it possible to support a family, to marry.

Criminologists are alarmed

at the steadily lowering age level of what they call the "criminal"—the boy or girl who refuses to hang himself or die by starvation because industry won't give him a job and who turns to the first desperate avenue that looks like a way out.

There is no youth who does not feel that just as he is entitled to his share of air to breathe because he needs it, his share of water to drink because he becomes thirsty, so is he entitled to his share of food to satisfy his hunger and by that token a job.

Even the lowest, most primitive, most backward types of human society such as that in which the aborigines of Australia live would consider it beyond question that every one born into the tribe was entitled to his share of the tribal food and tribal huts in return for performing his share of the tribal work. The only kind of society which denies this most elemental of human rights despite the willingness of the individual to work is capitalist society.

Society at Fault

That is why there is a deep antagonism on the part of youth against capitalism in America. That is why every youth who has not figured out what is wrong feels gloomy, depressed, hopeless and worries about his own normality. That is why every youth who has at last discovered that it is society and not he who is at fault feels the deepest hate toward capitalism and unfailingly joins the struggle to smash capitalism and replace it with a socialist society which will give him the place that is his.

That is the reason too why the Roosevelt regime as a government representing the interests of the capitalist profiteers fears youth, and more and more attempts to throttle and stifle American youth. One of Roosevelt's right hand men has advised very deliberately that every youth in the United States should be forced to serve a term either in a labor camp or in the army—exactly the way Hitler and Mussolini treat youth under their dictatorships.

Army Pressure

For the same reason the

pressure from the United States army generals to militarize the C.C.C. camps is increasing steadily. Of course, all these agents of the capitalist class are looking forward to the coming war. They understand perfectly that the bulk of the soldiers whom they need to preserve the capitalist system and the profits this system turns over to a small useless minority of stockholders must come from the ranks of youth.

The bayonets of the army, a violent horrible death on a foreign battlefield, labor camps encircled by barbed wire—this is the future decaying capitalism offers youth. And for those who escape this miserable fate, capitalism now entering the period of its death agony, offers only hopelessness, misery, frustration, starvation in the midst of a country choked with the good things that could make life pleasant for every one.

Revolutionists Welcome

Youth's place is among the ranks of the revolutionaries who are struggling to destroy the capitalist system and replace it with socialism, among the ranks of those fighting to build a society in which all the machines, all the natural resources, all the means of production are owned by those who work and where industry is run to produce goods for the benefit of every single person who is born. In a system like this, youth would have a dominant place with unlimited opportunities and a future as bright as the present one is dark.

In the ranks of the revolutionaries in the Socialist Workers' Party and in the Young People's Socialist League, youth will find a welcome. All the boundless courage, loyalty and intelligence, all the self-sacrifice of which youth is capable—these are the very qualities needed to destroy capitalism and usher in socialism. In the Socialist Workers' Party and the Young People's Socialist League—the vanguard of the socialist revolution in the United States—the young people will find the place they are seeking.

REVOLUTIONARY
GREETINGS

ALLENTOWN BRANCH

Pennsylvania

A Group of Comrades

WPA TEACHERS UNION

LOCAL 453

American Federation of

Teachers

and powerful; so is the social-democratic party; so are the cooperatives, etc. In Russia, however, both the unions and the socialist movement are outlawed, and their leaders cruelly persecuted, imprisoned, murdered. There is no freedom of the press, of assembly, of speech, no right to organize. In a word—no democracy at all! We are, therefore, not only defending German labor, and a good deal of democracy, but by defeating the Czar in battle, we will bring freedom to the Russian masses at the end of our bayonets.

The French and English and Austrian and Italian and American social-patriots argued, substantially, the same way.

What happened in actuality? Two things:

First: during the war, even the few democratic rights permitted labor by the Kaiser were abolished in Germany. Second: when the Russian masses did overthrow the Czar, the German "freedom-bringing" bayonets were the first to be used in an effort to stab the revolution through the heart so that Czarism might be restored.

Similarly now. In the Sacred War against Fascism, labor in the "democratic" countries will be deprived of the right to strike, of the right to organize. Where its press is allowed to circulate, it will be heavily censored. Where its meetings are allowed, its speakers will be gagged. Where its organizations are unsuppressed, they will be fettered and paralyzed. As in the United States during the last war, striking workers will be deported from one state to another and put in concentration camps; its leaders will be jailed or lynched; its press prohibited.

Fascism smashes the standard of living of the workers; it compels them to work long, wearying hours at low wages. But France, which is preparing a "democratic war against

fascism," has already forced the workers off the 40-hour week, raised it to 45 hours and in war industries—and what isn't a war industry?—the work-week is already 60 hours. Tomorrow, the sky will be the limit.

Fighting "fascism" under capitalist leadership—which means merely fighting an imperialist rival—is a fraud, behind which stands the living reality of totalitarian dictatorship and serfdom for the workers in the "democracies."

Fighting "fascism" for the "independence of small nations" is another fraud, behind which stands the living reality of the small and large nations, like India, Ireland, the Philippines, Syria, Tunis and others, which were long ago deprived of their independence by the "democratic" imperialists.

Yet There IS a Just War to Fight

Fascism must nevertheless be fought, together with all forms of exploitation and oppression. And it is the workers who must do the fighting. That is absolutely correct and necessary.

But such a war cannot be fought under the leadership and control of a class which exploits the noblest sentiments of humankind for the basest imperialist purposes, which uses the slogan of "anti-fascism" merely to protect its self and power. What confidence can an intelligent worker place in the real rulers of the country—the Morgans, Rockefellers, Sloans, Fords, Girdlers, Weirs and similars—as warriors in the "struggle for democracy" and the "freedom of oppressed peoples"? Not an ounce—unless he has less sense than the child to whom Woodrow Wilson referred in 1919.

Such a war can be fought only under the leadership of

the workers themselves. They have not and cannot have imperialist motives. Their only aim can be their own liberation and the liberation of humanity.

Their enemy? HE IS RIGHT HERE! His name is capitalism. His forces are the capitalist class and its servants, in office and out. Smash capitalism—and you smash fascism, you smash war, you smash exploitation, oppression, misery, injustice!

In that war—and it is the only just war—let every worker enlist. Let him choose a leadership of his own, one that is trustworthy, one that is truly devoted to his interests and is ready to fight aggressively and consistently for them.

The class war for freedom—against the imperialist war for profit!

Under that sign, the working class can and will triumph.

Long Live Workers' India—
Free from British Rule!

A Group of Indian Workers in America

Forward to a Socialist America
TEACHERS' BRANCH OF Local NEW YORK

JOIN THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY IN THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM!

By BILL MORGAN

The most important task facing the workers of America today is the task of solving the life and death questions of food, rent, clothing, fuel and medical care. And on top of these vital problems is the coming war in which millions of men, women and children will be dragged to death and disease for the profits of the bosses and the bankers who have huge investments to protect.

These are the questions which can not be solved by any dictator or self-appointed group of well-wishers who are willing to give the workers' lives to protect their investments and their private property. These are questions which can be decided in the interests of the workers only by the workers themselves.

The Socialist Workers Party, whose aim is to establish socialism and abolish capitalism, invites workers on this historic May Day to examine the program and activity of the Trotskyists in the light of these questions.

Workers Must Judge

The workers themselves must judge which party, which program, can best carry on the fight for jobs, for peace and for a decent life for all. The workers must examine the parties and programs of the Communist Party and the Socialist Workers Party.

And on May Day the differences will stand out clearly and decisively in the slogans and banners of the two demonstrations.

The Socialist Workers Party, barely a year old, has already established a reputation as a militant and bold fighter in the interests of the working class. To very important event the S.W.P. has reacted in a serious and responsible fashion. No other party took the lead in the fight against war at a time when the "fascist aggressors" and the "peace-loving democrats" nations were preparing at Munich to plunge all humanity into an international flood-bath of destruction for a redivision of the world's resources and markets.

It remained for the Socialist Workers Party to issue, three times a week, its newspaper, the *Socialist Appeal* with a clear and sharp analysis of the situation, and with clear and militant opposition to all boss war. The Communist Party was howling for war—for support of bigger battleships and more poison gas and it was demanding that American workers be dragged into a slaughter for "democracy."

The poor old party of Norman Thomas was asleep at the switch with all the nice liberals and fakers in the Keep America Out of War Committee when every intelligent worker knows that

America cannot be isolated from the entire world when world war is on the order of the day. It was only the Socialist Workers Party which, alive to events and quick to act, took the responsibility of coming forward and exposing the trickery of the capitalists.

Anti-Band Policy

When the German American Bund in collaboration with other fascist organizations in New York, dared to insult the workers by holding a large meeting in Madison Square Garden on Feb. 20 of this year, the S.W.P. was again on the job in the interests of the labor movement and all minority groups in New York. Tens of thousands of workers rallied under the Trotskyist banner and picketed the Garden against the will of the largest assembly of police and plainclothesmen in the

history of the city.

The Communist Party, carrying out its line of patriotism and betrayal, urged the workers to remain at home and not picket the fascists. The Communist Party of Stalin and Browder called the workers who picketed the fascist meeting the "blood-brothers of Hitler"! The Norman Thomases also remained at home, weeping.

It was the Socialist Workers Party which called the workers to fight for their labor unions and for their lives against the fascists now, before the fascists grow in numbers and strength. Only the Trotskyists were there to direct the picket line and lead in the fight.

For Revolutionary Struggle

The other parties spend their time and efforts in extolling the doubtful virtues of the LaGuardias

and the Roosevelts who today are the outstanding representatives of everything rotten in capitalism. The Roosevelts and the LaGuardias give a "liberal" coloring to the national and city governments which cut relief, establish sales taxes, spend billions for war and who throw millions off relief and W.P.A. The Roosevelts and the LaGuardias, no matter how sorry they claim to be for the poor unemployed and the persecuted minorities, are the representatives of political machines controlled by industrialists and bankers. They do the dirty work of holding down the workers in the name of "liberalism" for the owners of all the private property and the banks. They are the "left covering" of the capitalists. And they must be exposed for what they are.

The Socialist Workers Party on this May Day proclaims to the world that it alone calls for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and the establishing of a Socialist America. The S.W.P. announces openly that only by the revolutionary struggle of the workers can jobs for all at trade union wages, and decent homes and complete medical care be provided for the workers of America. The S.W.P. says clearly and sharply that no united front with the bosses or their stooges will ever win anything for the workers. Our party alone accepts the relentless class struggle which makes no compromises with capitalist governments, including Roosevelt.

Immediate Demands

Our party knows and recognizes the fact that there are many im-

mediate demands which must be fought for now and which can be won if the workers prepare to wage a fearless fight. The six hour day is a burning demand and would provide work for thousand of workers in every industry. The five-day week with a minimum of \$30 per week will furnish a good start to the problem of raising the standard of living in America. The taking over of the idle factories by the unemployed, operated by workers' control, would make it clear that work must be provided or else the workers themselves are ready to take over industry as a whole. The human interests of workers in their jobs comes before the property interests of the bosses.

The Socialist Workers Party knows full well that only by a long and hard fight will the workers of America win economic and political independence. Our party urges workers to form a Labor party to support real labor policies and real labor candidates. The workers must drive out the avaricious and professional politicians from the existing labor parties. They must fight for real demands and real representation. The Communist Party and the Social Democrats make deals with the Republican politicians and they urge workers to support boss candidates. We say that only through genuine independent labor action

can a labor party be made a weapon for the workers' interests.

Powerful Ideas

Our party is small in numbers but our ideas are powerful and will spread. The party of Lenin was small but its ideas were correct and its members were tough, hardened Bolsheviks. The Socialist Workers Party holds the banner of Lenin and Trotsky. It will grow in numbers and influence.

We ask workers to examine our program and our action and judge for themselves. Shall it be the party of war-mongering and bootlicking, like the Communist Party, or shall it be the party of class struggle and revolutionary socialism—the Socialist Workers Party? There is little time to decide. The war is not far away. Every day thousands of workers are thrown off W.P.A. and relief. Every day the reaction against labor grows stronger. The Socialist Workers Party invites all honest and militant workers to join in a struggle for real security, for real peace, for Socialism!

All War Funds to the Unemployed!

For the Six Hour Day—the Five Day Week—\$30 Weekly Minimum Pay!

Against Imperialist War! Open the Idle Factories! Build Workers' Defense Guards!

Death Agony of Capitalism--A Transition Program Leading to Socialist Victory

(THE FOUNDING CONGRESS OF THE FOURTH INTERNATIONAL—WORLD PARTY OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION—PROGRAM AND RESOLUTIONS. Published by the SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY of the United States, Section of the Fourth International, 116 University Place, New York City, 25c)

The kidnapping and murder of Rudolf Klement in Paris by agents of Stalin's undercover hatchet organization, the G.P.U., warned the delegates then assembling for the conference which was to found the Fourth International that their enemies would stop at nothing to prevent the conference from being held. The utmost precautions were therefore taken and the conference convened secretly "somewhere in Switzerland" on September 3, 1938.

The resolutions of that conference together with the statutes of the Fourth International which was formed there, are now available in a booklet of 127 pages which has just come off the press.

The Death Agony of Capitalism

Besides resolutions which explain and clarify problems concerning different national sections adhering to the Fourth International, it contains resolutions on the rapidly approaching Imperialist War, on the conflict Japan is waging on China, on what is happening in the Soviet Union, a resolution on the World Role of American Imperialism, and a resolution on the Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International with particular application to the United States.

These resolutions are of utmost importance to every trade unionist and progressive interested in the labor movement. They are written and printed with an eye to ease in reading and the explanations utilize concrete examples and references to actual happenings and men in the political and trade union fields in order to make every point crystal clear.

To anyone who has wondered how to organize a workers' revolution inside the United States which would overthrow the present system of profit gouging and replace it with a system where the productive forces would be organized for the benefit of the people as a whole, the section on the Death Agony of Capitalism is particularly illuminating.

How to Smash the System

After first describing the decay of capitalism as a world-wide system, its present headlong plunge into world war and fascism, the most barbarous form of capitalism, the resolution blocks out in general the steps which must be taken in order to smash forever this system of hunger, misery, and death.

The most difficult problem to overcome, states the resolution, is the gap between the maturity of the revolutionary conditions and the immaturity of the workers and their most progressive sections (the colossal capacity of the productive system to produce as contrasted with the failure of the workers to grasp the idea that a small handful of stockholders should be ousted from their blockade of this productive system).

Main Pillars of Capitalism

For generations the capitalists and their agents have drilled misleading conceptions into the heads of the workers, such as the belief that a worker can rise out of the class of workers into the class of capitalists, the belief that it is to the workers' own good to let the capitalists take all the profit out of the goods produced by the workers, the belief that it is "justice" to let a capitalist own the factories, mines, machines, railroads, etc. All these ideas, of course, are completely wrong and of benefit to no one but a handful of stockholders, who take advantage of these false beliefs to keep the worker slaving away docilely for them.

At the same time capitalism has developed the productive system to such a high degree that it can produce unlimited, almost incredible amounts of goods of every kind and description.

But this same giant capacity to produce for the benefit of mankind, so long as it is controlled by a handful of stockholders can lead only to increasing misery, increasing unemployment, lack of opportunity for the individual, more vicious regimentation, and the most horrible wars and fascism. This seems paradoxical but anyone who has ever hunted for a job since 1929 knows that it is a truth not very difficult to grasp.

Starvation In the Midst of Plenty

The paradox of starvation in the midst of plenty is the most violent and glaring feature of capitalism in its period of old age, decline, and death agony.

Only by clearing out the stockholders who are blocking production and organizing industry under the exclusive con-

trol of the workers, can this situation be solved. The ability of the toilers to do this is beyond question. A small group of stockholders, physically shut from riotous living and mentally incompetent, cannot stand up against the united power of the millions of workers and poor farmers. The stockholders continue in power only because the toilers are divided and caught in the web of a traditional misleadership.

The resolution of the Fourth International explains 11 reasons for this carefully pointing out that the toilers have not taken over industry long ago to run it for the benefit of the people as a whole because their leaders, the Stalinists, the Social Democrats, the trade union bureaucrats are more concerned about the interests of the stockholders than the interests of the workers. As a result, these "leaders," more properly called "fakers," either through ignorance themselves or deliberate design keep the workers blinded to their true interests.

The Pathway to Plenty

But this situation grows every day more and more intolerable and the workers and poor farmers are continually turning and twisting, hunting for the pathway that will cut from their destitution to the plenty that surrounds them. It is this pathway which the resolution of the Fourth International points out.

Under the descriptive title, "program of transitional demands," that is, demands which stem from the present beliefs of the workers and their present economic condition but which in application lead inevitably to their seeing the need for a revolutionary solution, the resolution proposes a series of slogans that will have tremendous appeal to millions of the poverty-stricken.

Chief among these proposals is the demand for a Workers and Farmers government to replace the present capitalist government. For more than a century and a half the capitalists have been tricking the workers and farmers into choosing between two capitalist parties which have never had any essential difference from each other so far as the poor are concerned. No matter which party was placed in power it unfailingly has upheld the interests of the capitalists and legislated and governed against the interests of the workers and farmers. It is high time that the workers and farmers put their own representatives into power.

A Workers Program

The first step proposed in this direction is the building of a mass political party that will represent the interests of the workers.

Such a party should have as its program the following major points and struggle militantly to put them into actual practice:

A demand for a wage scale for all labor that would rise with every rise in the cost of living.

A demand for a work week that would take care of increasing unemployment by shortening the number of work hours per week (without a weekly reduction in pay) in order to give jobs to all the unemployed.

A demand for a guaranteed minimum wage that would provide everyone with a decent standard of living.

Oppose Capitalist War

Uncompromising struggle against the coming capitalist war and the demand that all war funds should be turned over immediately for the relief of the unemployed through a giant program of useful public works.

The organization of workers' guards to defend workers' organizations against scabs, thugs, armed company guards, fascists, and other anti-labor elements.

Workers' control of industry and the opening of all idle factories to be run for the benefit of the workers without having to pay a profit to stockholders.

Every one of these slogans is completely sensible and easily realizable if the workers begin demanding them and organizing in militant fashion to obtain them. But the capitalist class cannot grant these demands without signing their own death warrant. That is why they open up the road to socialist revolution.

Read the Complete Program

The complete program can by no means be presented in a short review, nor all the steps that will lead to the launching of the socialist revolution in the United States. For the more complete details given in the resolutions passed at the founding conference of the Fourth International it is necessary to read the pamphlet itself. It can be obtained from all branches of the Socialist Workers Party or by sending 25c in coin or stamps to the headquarters of the Socialist Workers Party at 116 University Place, New York City.

"Forward to Workers' Power with the Fourth International!"

BROWNSVILLE BRANCH of Local NEW YORK

"For a Powerful Fourth International In Michigan's Auto Centers!"

DETROIT and FLINT BRANCHES, S. W. P.

Revolutionary Greetings

LYNN, MASSACHUSETTS, BRANCH

and

ANTOINETTE KONIKOW UNIT, Y.P.S.L.

May Day Greetings

LOWER EAST SIDE BRANCH

New York Local

For a Workers' and Farmers' Government

In the United States

ST. PAUL BRANCH

Forward to a Daily Appeal!

NEEDLE TRADES BRANCH of Local New York

Needle Trades Branch meets Thursdays at 6:30

125 West 33rd Street, Workers Cultural Center

Open Educational Meetings Every Other Week

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Professional Restaurant

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Good Food at Reasonable Prices

GREETINGS from Sympathizers in READING, Pa.

A. Adams

J. Adams

D. Boarder

V. Boarder

M. Boarder

V. Trate

May Day Greetings

from

Philadelphia Branch

May Day Greetings

from

ROCHESTER BRANCH

Revolutionary Greetings

UPPER WEST SIDE BR.

of New York

BUILD A WORKERS AND FARMERS GOVERNMENT

IN THE UNITED STATES

MINNEAPOLIS BRANCH OF THE S.W.P.

Greetings to Socialist Appeal

CLEVELAND SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

and YOUNG PEOPLES SOCIALIST LEAGUE

5716 Euclid Avenue, Cleveland

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DOWNTOWN BRANCH of Local NEW YORK

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MAY DAY GREETINGS

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Quakertown Branch

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SOUTH BEND BRANCH

Forward to a Daily Appeal!

WASHINGTON, D. C.

BRANCH

For a Workers and Farmers Government!

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May Day Greetings

State, County and Municipal

Workers of America

—A Group of Members

May Day Greetings

from

READING BRANCH

Revolutionary Greetings

To the SOCIALIST APPEAL on May Day!

BRONX BRANCH of LOCAL NEW YORK

Forward to the Workers Revolution!

NEW HAVEN BRANCH

From the Front-Line Trenches Against Harvey Fascism

ASTORIA BRANCH of Local New York

NOTICE

We again request that no more special combination subscriptions to the APPEAL and NEW INTERNATIONAL be sent in.

Our special offer expired over one month ago and we definitely will not accept

LONG LIVE THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION!

"FORWARD TO A DAILY APPEAL!"

BOSTON BRANCH OF THE S.W.P.

In the World of Labor

By Paul G. Stevens

Brazilian Communists Move Towards 4th Internationalist Position

Some months ago, the Appeal reported on a split which had taken place between the San Paolo state organization and the Communist Party of Brazil. Arising over differences on national policy, the San Paolo opposition, contacted by Fourth Internationalists, extended the split to the Communist International on the international questions. Meantime, the Regional Committee of the organization, in its bulletin, posed the question of affiliation to the Fourth International. A lively discussion has been taking place on this subject.

One of the former leaders of the C.P., whose authority was particularly great several years ago, has written a letter to the San Paolo Committee, declaring himself in favor of affiliation to the 4th. This fact is especially significant because the comrade in question had no previous relations with the dissident movement.

In another state, Parana, in the Southern section of the country, the dissident movement in the C. P. which had, due to the imprisonment of almost all its leaders, lost all contact with the San Paolo opposition, has now spontaneously developed to the Trotskyist position. Early this year, one of the leaders of the group was released from jail. This comrade, an old communist militant, reorganized the group which unanimously decided to join the Fourth International. Their resolution was adopted without their knowing that the San Paolo organization had publicly broken with the Communist International. There had never been a Trotskyist movement in the State of Parana before. Their first contact with the Fourth International was made by a delegate whom they sent to Rio de Janeiro for that purpose.

A preliminary conference, in which the dissident groups of San Paolo and Parana, as well as the Leninist Workers Party (Brazilian Section of the 4th International) participated, was recently held. The resolutions and decisions of the conference have not yet reached us. But, from the information we have at hand, it is clear that a strong Brazilian section of the Fourth International is in the making.

Ta-Tu-Thau Barred from Elections to Colonial Council

No sooner freed from prison, where he contracted a serious illness, our comrade Ta-Tu-Thau immediately joined the campaign of the Indo-Chinese section for elections to the Colonial Council. Together with comrade Tran-van-Tach, he headed the electoral list decided upon by the party. Although the Colonial Council is in itself a meaningless institution in so far as the rights of the native population are concerned, the electoral platform and the

ballot can be utilized to gauge the sentiment of the masses.

But it seems that the French governor of Indo-China and his bosses in Paris are afraid of even such a limited utilization of the suffrage. So the governor has simply disqualified them from standing as candidates. Of course, there is no legal ground, since both Ta-Tu-Thau and Tran-van-Tach have been elected twice before as municipal councillors of Saigon and have successfully fought previous attempts to disbar them. But, apparently, the fear of a mounting vote of protest around these two famous rebel names is enough to cause the French colonial administration to make light of its own laws.

Both in Indo-China and in France, the move is being fought by our comrades and allied organizations. In Paris, a protest movement is developing, headed by the Bureau for Defense of Colonial Peoples.

Belgian Elections Mark Swing to "Moderate" Right

The general elections held in Belgium on April 2 marked a distinct turn to the so-called "moderate" right. The home-baked Fascists, the "Rex" movement of M. Degrelle, were practically wiped out as a factor in parliament. The Belgian Labor Party lost 54,000 votes and 6 seats; the Stalinists held on to their 9 seats, but lost 18,000 votes as compared with 1936. The Catholics and Liberals, who constitute the "moderate" right, gained together some 200,000 votes and 20 seats and now form the government coalition.

Our comrades of the Revolutionary Socialist Party also suffered a setback in comparison with their achievements in the municipal elections, even though they did manage to hold 5,000 votes in the Borinage and 2,000 in the Charleroi sections, the two proletarian strongholds of the party.

Generally, the elections appeared to reflect the all-pervading fear of war among the electorate. The defeat of Degrelle naturally indicates how completely unpopular Fascism has become. Fearing war, the masses apparently have not distinguished between the "national defense" policies of the reformists, the Stalinists and the old-line "liberals," except to see some advantage in the traditional attachment of the latter to such a policy.

The general desire among the working class to get whatever they can of a "realizable" protection in parliament before the war breaks out no doubt caused a good many who voted for the P.S.R. in the communal elections to vote for the Labor Party in the national elections. The P.S.R., in a post-election statement recognizes the results as symptomatic of a reactionary period and directs the attention of the Borinage and Charleroi workers to the impending struggle of the miners against the governmental attack on their conditions.

On the Line . . . with Bill Morgan

Out near Flushing, Long Island, there used to be a swamp which regularly supplied New York with great quantities of mosquitoes. This swamp remained for years a breeder of disease. After some time the city fathers transformed it into a dumping ground for the refuse and garbage collected in the nice shiny trucks which cost the city a pretty penny and sent at least three politicians to the hoosegow when the contracts were investigated.

Each morning the thousands of workers who rode on the elevated train from Flushing looked out the train windows and observed that the swamp was slowly being filled with garbage. Great heaps of garbage burned with a stench and huge clouds of grimy black smoke hung like shrouds over the smoldering fires. Something had to be done about it.

A Great Idea Is Born

Then came the idea. The idea of converting the swamp into a money making venture which would bring prosperity back to the largest city in America—the largest city in the world. New York was to be the scene of a great World's Fair, and Grover Whalen, former chief of police, was to be the organizer—the salesman who would make the Fair a success.

Immediately plans were drawn up and publicity was distributed throughout the world. It was to be the largest, the most gigantic, the most colossal, the most stupendous Fair ever held anywhere. And it certainly is that. It is called "The World of Tomorrow" and it certainly is that.

The only catch to the whole scheme is the unfortunate fact that visitors to the World of Tomorrow will have to pass through the World of Today. And the World of Today which spreads out around New York City is a far cry from the World of Tomorrow. In fact the difference is so decidedly marked that the officials of the Fair have built new highways and new routes so that visitors will see as little as possible of the World of Today. However, the observing visitor, if he looks beyond the fake scenic effects and the fancy indirect lighting, will get a view of how six million workers live and breathe in this, the largest city in the world.

Only half an hour on either side of the World of Tomorrow the visitor can observe some of the worst slums in the entire world. He can visit South Jamaica where tens of thousands of Negroes live in wooden shacks where the fear of fire is second only to the constant pain of hunger and its accompanying diseases. Where more than half the population is either on home relief or ought to be. . . . Where workers who need clothing have to picket and strike and fight against one of the most reactionary and corrupt county governments in America. Where semi-fascist gangs are used by the city officials to threaten and brow-beat any attempt to expose the graft and corruption of the government and the relief administration. Where thousands of small home owners, in debt to the Home Owners Loan Corporation, are being evicted after having made payments on small wooden frame houses for year after year.

There are—or were—more small home owners in Queens County than in any other section of the country. They are, for the most part, workers—trade union members, who

thought they could beat the landlords by buying a small home on time payments. But they learned. . . . And the visitors to the World of Tomorrow can hardly miss seeing an eviction unless they stick close to the new, sheltered highways and the indirect lighting.

An Education in Harlem

And if the visitor drives across the new Triboro Bridge, he will complete his education if he drives around in Harlem—where more than two hundred thousand Negroes live in disease-ridden fire traps which bring mighty high rents to the city's landlords. Harlem—where the hospitals and public schools are the worst in the city (and that is saying something. . . .) Harlem, where one out of every four persons are on the relief rolls and where wages are as low in proportion as rents are high. Harlem—where, after a serious outbreak of fighting and rioting came as the result of poverty and discrimination against the Negro, Mayor F. H. LaGuardia refused to make public a report on conditions drawn up by a special committee, for fear of further disturbances.

Then let the visitor, in order to get a complete and thorough picture of the World of Today which surrounds the World of Tomorrow, drive downtown through Hell's Kitchen to the Lower West Side and then to the East Side and back up again to the Triboro Bridge. Nothing is taking here. Everything is real and grim. Poverty is the theme and disease and hunger and unemployment are the side-shows. Millions of workers and their families enact this, the greatest pageant in history, every day free of charge to the visitor.

See the breadlines! See the picket lines! See the fire-traps and the hock-shops! See the children playing base ball on small crowded streets where taxi cabs and trucks drive through center field all during the game! See mothers and babies in the sunlight on the curbstones where garbage and flies wait patiently for the overworked collectors! See the biggest and most exciting drama of the age! See both the World of Tomorrow and the World of Today for the price of one!!!

Prosperity . . . Not for Workers

And remember that the millions and millions of dollars poured into the World's Fair will bring business and will perhaps return the prosperity which collapsed in 1929 (10 long years ago) to the largest city in the world. Remember that the millions and millions of dollars spent on the World of Tomorrow will be used to provide entertainment and education for the visitors.

Remember that despite the fact that the Fair tried in every way possible to avoid employing union labor, tried to safeguard the visitors from the unpleasant sights of unemployment and cold-water tenement flats, poured millions of dollars into exhibition buildings—all streamlined and air-conditioned—the Fair and its owners are only trying to restore prosperity.

And if the workers of New York cannot afford to see the wonders of the next world now on display in the former swamp, they can rest assured that they can see them when they die.

Labor Unity Is Possible Only On A Program of Class Struggle Action

Why do the Trotskyists and the Stalinists fight so constantly and violently against each other and thereby only emphasize the disunity in the ranks of the working class?

This question is often heard on the lips of workers who honestly and properly feel the need of labor unity in the struggle against the class enemy. An answer can be made which is just as honest and proper.

Unity, which is always highly desirable in the labor movement, can be of two kinds. If the workers are united on a correct line of policy and action, the unity will be progressive and bring fruitful results. If the unity is achieved along a false line of action, it can only be disastrous from every standpoint.

All the political organizations of labor call for unity. The question that everyone must answer for himself is: Unity for what purpose?

The two main immediate aims of the working class in this country are, as they must be, the struggle against the war danger and for the protection of the living standards of labor from capitalist attack.

On both fronts, the Socialist Workers Party stands on one side and the Communist Party on the other. And because each of the two organizations takes its policies with the utmost seriousness, there is no possibility of reconciling them.

The Communist Party rightly sees in "Trotskyism" its principal enemy. For the Socialist Workers Party alone stands for a consistent policy of revolutionary labor internationalism, for a militant class struggle of

the workers against the capitalist class.

The S.W.P. bases all its activities and principles on the fundamental and immediate interests of labor, both in this country and in the rest of the world.

The Communist Party, in this and all other countries, is, however, a mere auxiliary of the Foreign Office of the Soviet Union, or more exactly, of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Kremlin. The latter's struggle for self-preservation is conducted at the expense of the Soviet and world masses. The defense of that bureaucracy, which is the essential function of the Communist party leadership, therefore also conflicts with the interests of the working class.

Why? The Kremlin bureaucracy's international policy today is based on the attempt to line up a "democratic" front of such imperialist powers as the United States, England and France for the coming war with Germany and Japan. The price it is willing to pay for such a front is the subjection of the working class to the capitalist class. "If you support us," is the substance of the bureaucracy's appeal to Washington, London and Paris, "we will see to it, as we did in Spain, that private property will be protected and the labor movement kept in a state of submission to 'progressive' capital."

Therefore, for example, the Stalinist party in the United States is in the very forefront of the war-mongers. It not only urges the speediest possible de-

claration of war against the "fascist aggressors," but does all it can to whip up a pro-war spirit in the labor movement.

All its activities in the trade unions are subordinated to this policy. That is the reason why it tries to obtain a stranglehold on every labor organization and to squeeze out of it every working class militant who is or may be opposed to plunging the country into another infamous "war for democracy."

The Stalinist campaign for "unity" means, in reality, unifying the labor movement behind the war machine. It acts not only as recruiting sergeant for American imperialism—all in the interests of the Kremlin—but also as part of the machine needed to regiment, gag and fetter the working class.

To assure the American ruling class that it has nothing to fear from an alliance with Moscow, the Stalinists outdo everybody in "respectability." That is why Herbert Benjamin, Stalinist agent in the Workers Alliance, which was once a militant defender of the interests of the unemployed, will now declare that the United States is "not a capitalist country." That is why the Stalinists frown on strikes or on any other form of militant labor action in the defense of its own economic and political interests.

In effect, the whole Stalinist policy causes them to say to the capitalist class: "Don't worry about us. You have an ardent defender in us. We will see to it that you have no trouble from labor. We will ourselves take care of all 'labor

agitators' and radicals. All we ask from you is that you make a military alliance with Moscow so that the Stalin machine may continue to rule the Soviet masses unperturbed."

The Communist Party was at one time a revolutionary working class movement, with grand traditions and a glorious record. Its subservience to the Stalin gang has brought it to an unprecedented level of degeneration. It is the principal obstacle in the ranks of the labor movement to the progress of the working class.

Its intense hatred of the so-called "Trotskyists" is due entirely to its fear of our ideas and our activities. It understands only too clearly that we leave no stone unturned in our work of explaining patiently to the masses the truth about the real situation in which they find themselves. It knows that we are relentless in our exposure of the sordid aims which animate it and its policies. It knows that we will not retreat from our principles, in spite of all the slanders it hurls at us, in spite of all the blows it rains down upon our heads throughout the world.

The Socialist Workers Party does stand for the unity of the labor movement, for a real working class unity—which means a united front of labor against its enemies, the capitalist class and the capitalist government.

Such a unity alone can set the labor movement of this country on the forward road and bring it to the realization of all its great and legitimate aspirations.

Evidence at Passport Trial Points to G.P.U.

Juliet Stuart Poyntz, Whose Testimony Would Be Vital, Still Missing

By NAT LEVINE

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
NEW YORK — Although the prosecution at the passport conspiracy trial in Federal Court of Ossip Garber, Edward Blatt and Aaron Sharfin continues either to neglect or suppress the Stalinist affiliations of the three men and the various fugitive defendants, among them the Moscow imprisoned Robinson-Rubens couple, there is sufficient evidence from which can be adduced the unmistakable hand of the G.P.U. in the entire affair.

One of the most important witnesses to be heard to date was introduced by the government at last Friday's session, one Imre Klein, also known under a penname as Kenneth Huston. Klein, it was brought out, was the editor and publisher of the now defunct magazine, "Literary America" with which Adolph Arnold Rubens identified himself as an assistant-editor.

Klein testified that Rubens had approached him and offered to contribute financially to the magazine if he were made an editor. On payment of various sums, totalling \$550 in all, Klein agreed. Contracts were drawn up by Blatt, while Rubens, in order to maintain the myth that he was a writer, acquired the title of assistant editor. Klein further testified that Rubens' salary, \$50 a week, was paid by Rubens to himself. Rubens would forward the money to Klein who would then forward it back to Rubens.

Klein's History
But the history of Klein is the key to Rubens' "sudden appearance" at the magazine's office. Indeed, how is it that this publisher was able to be "bought" so easily and with such dispatch by a man who walked blithely in from the street.

Investigation of Klein has revealed a connection with Stalinism that goes back to 1931. In 1933 Klein made application for membership in the Communist Party. Ever since then he has intermittently worked with the Stalinist American League Against War and Fascism and been a close pal of Joe Pass, well known Stalinist and editor of that organization's monthly magazine, "Fight."

When last heard of, Klein, a thin, sallow, greasy-looking individual, was in Minneapolis. The appearance of Klein in Minneapolis in March 1938 coincided with the terrific Stalinist slander campaign against Local 544, the purpose of which was to try to hang the murder of Pat Corcoran on the leadership of the General Drivers Union.

Provides False Front
While in Minneapolis, Klein was frequently seen in the company of Red Kramer,

known also as Krivitsky, a Stalinist of considerable reputation both in New York and the middle west. Klein was also seen with the brother of Art Shields, the latter a writer for the Daily Worker. After the launching by drivers Local 544 of a \$500,000 libel suit against the Daily Worker and the Minnesota Stalinist organization for the latter's intended frame-up of labor militants in connection with the murder of Corcoran, Klein disappeared from the Minneapolis scene.

The thoroughgoing Stalinist background of Klein furnishes the answer to his "sudden" relations with Rubens. When it became necessary to provide Rubens with a fake front for his secret activities as a Soviet agent on American soil, Klein, then operating the Galleon Press, was swiftly requisitioned by the G.P.U. That Klein testified as a witness hostile to the defense was to cover up his own previous relations with the G.P.U.

Stalinist Connection
Also on the witness stand at both the Friday and Monday sessions of the trial were the two sisters and the mother of Ruth Marie Rubens. Her two sisters, Constance and Gladys Boerger, and her mother, Mrs. Emma Boerger, testified that in each of the five residences at which the couple lived, a secret room was kept by "Arnold" into which no one was permitted to enter. This secret room, it is now clear, served as the real office from which Rubens conducted his G.P.U. activities in this country. Mrs. Boerger testified that a person known to her only as "Bob" was frequently dispatched to Chicago and other midwest cities from the Rubens home.

Further evidence of the Stalinist tie-up of the defendants was furnished by Dorothy Teris, a one time friend of Edward Blatt. The witness testified that during her five year acquaintance with Blatt she met most of the people in his circle, among them a David Mankoff.

Mankoff, it is now revealed, is another Stalinist Party member, known to many militants in the labor and socialist movement as a C.P. hatchet man. His last activity was in association with the Stalinist sponsored Abraham Lincoln Brigade as a recruiter of American volunteers for service in Spain.

The association of Blatt with Mankoff is quite striking in that it exposes Blatt's bluff that he was duped by "certain people." These "certain people," it has turned out, were Blatt's best friends, all of whom are Stalinists. His own Stalinist background is now completely indisputable.

Poyntz Still Missing
No matter how many witnesses appear on the stand, it

Even a Duchess Must Do Something About War

Disturbed by the threat of war abroad, the Duchess of Talleyrand, the former Anna Gould, who inherited \$80,000,000 from her father, the late railroad magnate and financier, Jay Gould, will leave her Paris home which is famous the world over as the "pink marble palace."

She will retire to a safe place on a 600-acre, \$500,000 estate at Tarrytown. Workmen are busily remodeling it to suit the fastidious taste of the Duchess. The Duchess is now in her 60's. In 1895 she married Count Boni de Castellane. Divorcing him in 1906 she married his cousin, the Duke de Talleyrand who died at the age of 78 in 1937.

After forty years of swirling parties in the gay upper circles of sparkling Paris society, it is doubtful that the Countess will long remain content to rusticate among the rural scenes of her Hudson estate.

Although like all the Goulds she is noted for the bizarre effects she obtains in her dress, at present she is in deep mourning for her sister. But that hasn't stopped her from winning and dining in the fashionable restaurants of Fifth and Park Avenues.

has been demonstrated that the most important government witness is missing. That witness is Juliet Stuart Poyntz. This woman, kidnapped aboard a Soviet ship in the early part of 1938, were she to appear on the stand, would provide the most conclusive evidence of the G.P.U. origin of the ring. That she was kidnapped at a time when the Rubens case was a sensational item in the world press is in itself shattering evidence of the G.P.U.'s fright at being exposed. For Poyntz herself, a G.P.U. operative in the ring, was growing restless and discontented. Afraid that she might "talk," the G.P.U. kidnapped her not long after the Rubens case broke. Her own lawyer, who a year ago described the charge of a G.P.U. snatch as "fantastic," now agrees that Poyntz was taken to Moscow against her will.

An interesting sidelight to the present trial is the unbreakable silence maintained by "America's Most Interesting Newspaper," The Daily Worker, which specializes in reporting Spy Cases, hasn't as much as printed a comma about the entire affair. Its expert on foreign espionage, Lowell Wakefield, who at the time of the Nazi Spy trial embraced prosecutor Dunigan as "Comrade Les," has had nothing to say about Les who is now proscribing G.P.U. agents.

SOCIETY NOTES

A Judge Regrets His Leniency With the Rabble

NEW YORK CITY, April 20. —Grudgingly and after questioning her in open court about her condition, Magistrate Overton Harris today placed an expectant mother on probation for six months instead of carrying out his threat to send her to jail.

Later he expressed regret that he had not placed her behind bars as he first intended. When Mrs. Betty Biandardo, 29, came before him charged with disorderly conduct in a Home Relief station because she insisted on maintaining her rights too vigorously to please relief officials, the Magistrate said:

"Oh, you're the woman who's pregnant?"

He then disdainfully directed that a chair be brought and asked:

"By the way, when you struck the relief guard with a chair did it affect your condition?"

Christopher P. Coleman, lawyer hired by the Department of Welfare to prosecute relief cases which the Department cannot dismiss without the aid of a judge, interrupted to say that "justice" would best be served by placing Mrs. Biandardo on probation.

NEW NEW INT'L FEATURES PIVOT-TROTSKY LETTERS

Correspondence between Leon Trotsky and two of the most prominent leaders of the P.S.O.P. (Workers and Peasants Socialist Party) of France, is the principal feature of the May issue of the New Internationalist, which is to appear on the newsstands next week.

The correspondence deals with the problems of the French revolutionary movement, in particular the question of the relations between the P.S.O.P. and the Fourth International.

Other articles include the concluding section of the late Gregory Zinoviev's highly topical study of "Wars—Aggressive and Defensive"; another article on the economics of cotton farming in the United States, by Jerry Pytlak; Alpha writes on the famous "Stalin Method of Work"; Dwight Macdonald continues with his department "Reading from Left to Right."

In addition, there are several other features, including book reviews of important current political and other literature.

The Manager urges the immediate sending in of advance orders so that every branch may be assured of getting its copies. Orders and funds should be addressed to The New Internationalist, 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.

HOLLYWOOD MERRY-GO-ROUND

As any casual reader of this column may have already discovered, our relations with the Hollywood brethren are anything but cordial. The point of the matter is that we refuse to be civil towards people who, after thirty years of picture making, still operate on the theory that its forty-five million patrons are nothing but a pack of boobs.

But in defense of these millions of movie fans, we charge that Hollywood, obviously without knowing it, a long time ago perfected the three dimensional film. To describe it one would say that it was thick, flat and transparent.

For example, there is "The Story of Alexander Graham Bell," featuring those twin tennis idols, Don Ameche and Tyrone Power. Once having seen it, one leaves the theatre with the conviction that in the hands of Hollywood, the Telephone does more to distribute wind than it does to annihilate distance.

When Hollywood takes to the headlines for its material, one would think that the West Coast savants had finally got around to dealing with contemporary social issues in a serious way. But after getting a good look at "Confessions of a Nazi Spy," one can say of it that its purpose is no more profound than to give the nation a hot case of the heebie-jeebies and work it into uniform for a holy crusade against Berlin.

There was, however, a brief day when Hollywood attempted important things. That day goes back to a time when social and political stress was not as acute as it is today. Consequently, Hollywood could well afford to turn its Klieg lights on some of the evils of capitalist rapacity. No more stirring an anti-war film was ever made than "All Quiet on the Western Front," produced in the early Thirties when war was something to contemplate in retrospect. Lynching got its measure of criticism in the memorable "Fury" and boss terrorism against labor unions was courageously attacked in the equally memorable "Black Fury." But that day is now gone.

The recent announcement by Will Hays of a patriotic cycle ends a dwindling independence and marks the formal founding of a "Washington-Hollywood Axis." The "Drang Nach Annapolis" has already begun and Old Glory is getting a daily facial and manicure.

Tsar to Lenin Feature of Cleveland May Day Celebration

CLEVELAND — "Tsar to Lenin," the famous movie of the Russian Revolution, will be the feature of the May Day celebration held jointly by the S.W.P. and Y.P.S.L. of Cleveland.

Following the showing of this inspiring picture, Art Preis will speak on the subject "Will War Bring Fascism or a Socialist Revolution to America?" A Y.P.S.L. speaker will address a special appeal to the youth: "In which army will you enlist?" A program of musical entertainment and revolutionary songs will be given by a young Slovenian trio.

The celebration will be held at the Slovenian Workmen's Home, 15335 Waterloo Road on May 1 at 8:00 P.M. The public is invited; subscription 25c.

GREAT BRITAIN DRAFTS YOUTH

(Continued from Page 1)
ans, acutely conscious of their position, were desperately trying to play both ends to the middle and there was the spectacle of the Rumanian government welcoming a British trade delegation at Bucharest while dispatching a trade delegation of its own to Berlin.

War Moves Continue
In this situation it is easy to see that the British might perceive some wisdom in giving a fresh try to an "appeasement" policy in the form of some concessions to the axis. At the same time the concessions they are willing to make are actually so minor, compared to the German and Italian demands, that the attempt has far more chances of failure than success.

That is why war preparations continue without let-up and that is why Britain is driving ahead to mobilize the British workers through conscription and the French, passing rigid laws directed at press freedom and otherwise regimenting labor, are getting ready to fight.

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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

Roosevelt's Trap

On April 19, the Young Democratic Clubs of America ("youth section" of the Democratic Party) held dinners in many cities of the country. Roosevelt sent a message to these dinners which was widely interpreted as another in his long series of summons to make the Democratic Party "liberal" and "progressive", and to "purge it of reactionaries".

"Roosevelt Says Liberals Are Sole Hope for Party, Tells Others to Get Out", was the headline which the New York Times put over the story.

"This country of ours is democratic with a small 'd,'" said the President's message. "It is never, and never will be, democratic with a big 'd' except when the two words mean the same thing." "Whenever the party was democratic, it won. Whenever it offered the country an ersatz Republicanism, the people spurned the imitation and sent our party to stand in a corner. . ."

The idea that the Democratic Party is fundamentally different from the Republican Party is as dangerous and pernicious a myth as has ever been foisted on the American people.

The demagogues who try, for their own purposes, to keep this myth alive—from Roosevelt himself to John L. Lewis to Earl Browder—are liars and scoundrels.

From root to branch, the Democratic Party is a capitalist party, a boss party; that is, a party, just like the Republican Party, devoted wholeheartedly to maintaining capitalist tyranny and exploitation.

The chief base of the Democratic Party rests on the disfranchisement and oppression of the ten million Southern Negroes.

The Democratic party organization in the North is administered by bosses as corrupt as any in modern political history: Hague of New Jersey, Hines of New York, Kelly and Nash of Illinois, Crump of Tennessee, Pendergast of Missouri are only typical samples.

Just as the Republican Party, the Democratic Party is financed and basically controlled by a small clique of bankers and corporation executives selected by the Sixty Families.

At the present moment, the Democratic Party, in charge of the government of the nation, is engaged in a monstrous plot to drag the people into the most terrible war of history and is smashing relief standards to pieces.

Senator Barkley, floor leader of the Party, took the lead in cutting down relief funds. Appropriately enough, Barkley was chairman of the largest of the Young Democratic dinners to which Roosevelt's message was sent.

The Democratic Party neither wants to be nor can be "reformed". Every leopard in the world will lose its spots long before the Democratic Party changes its through-and-through reactionary politics.

The workers of the United States will get somewhere on the political arena only when they learn this lesson.

Workers cannot accomplish anything in politics by trying to "make use" of boss parties. It always turns out that the boss parties make use of the workers.

The only kind of party that can do any good for the workers is a party which the workers themselves build, which the workers own and control, which has workers' policies and workers candidates.

Any other proposal for labor politics, no matter who puts it forward, is only a lie and a trap.

None of Your Business

The main body of the United States fleet is now on its way to the Pacific. Suddenly, ten days ago, the orders were given. No explanation of any kind. When reporters questioned Naval officers and officials of the Navy Department, they were answered, it is said, with: "Sealed orders—none of your damn business."

War or peace — it is none of the people's damn business. It is none of our business whether or not we are to die by the millions. Our business is just to jump in the required direction when the sealed orders come. When or how or for whom or for what we are jumping—that, of course, is none of our business in Roosevelt's democratic war for democracy.

The movement of the fleet is one more proof of the *de facto* military alliance between Great Britain and the United States, the "wink of the eye" alliance which Arthur Crook referred to more than a year ago. No formal documents, you understand; one ally merely acts appropriately when the other gives the agreed-on wink of the eye.

The U. S. fleet in the Pacific frees the British strategic and diplomatic hand for concentration on Europe.

Who, authorized this alliance? Who decided that millions of the American people must be ready to die to aid in keeping British rule intact over Britain's five hundred millions of colonial slaves? Is it enough that the Sixty Families are agreed that this is the best method for extending their own territories and profits?

The questions are no doubt impertinent. You see, it is none of our damn business.

Twelve Dictators

With the final appointment of twelve men who will rule over England without the slightest pretense at democracy when a "national emergency" arises, the British government has placed one of the finishing touches on the military dictatorship into which it will convert itself when the war breaks.

Seven of the twelve men are members of England's notorious, labor-hating nobility, hardened, ultra-reactionary lords, who traditionally have lived by terror, violence, and murder, nobles and landlords who have bled Ireland for centuries, put whole continents to sword and flame, and hanged the progressives at home.

The system of dividing England into twelve districts and placing an absolute dictator over each one to rule with open undisguised terror like Hitler or Mussolini is a scheme of Chamberlain and his cohorts to replace the whole present system of elective government.

Not a single voter has been allowed to question it, much less cast his opinion on it in a ballot box. Now were the voters allowed to choose the dictators to fill the posts. The entire "democratic process" in England was kicked contemptuously into the ash can—Chamberlain and his cohorts did not even bother to hold a shot gun election after Hitler's fashion. After all, they are accustomed to the naked rule of steel and dynamite in the colonies and it is a simple matter to transfer the system to the home country itself.

At the same time, the Daily Mail announced that beginning June 7 the government will exercise control of all news broadcasts made by the British Broadcasting Service. This is government censorship of the radio—for the good of the people of course—exactly the system denounced by "lovers of the Western form of democratic government" in such countries as Italy and Germany, where the radio broadcasts nothing at all but dictator-written bulletins and dictator-selected music.

As if this were not in itself a complete enough imposition of naked dictatorship over the English people, Sir George Broadbridge, Conservative member of Parliament, has announced that he will ask Home Secretary Sir Samuel Hoare to appoint immediately a "press controller,"—stream-lined word for CENSOR, who will dictate what the newspapers and magazines of England may and may not print.

The right of elective government, supposedly the pillar of capitalist democracy, has vanished in England like a shadow under a strong light, and with it has gone freedom of the press, freedom of the air, and all the other rights that are supposed to distinguish "Western democracy."

Just what kind of democracy is the coming war supposed to save against what kind of dictators?

The Champions of Democracy



By FELIX MORROW

Earl Browder, generalissimo of the Communist Party, has produced a new alibi for Stalin's refusal to open the doors of the Soviet Union to the Jewish and other refugees from fascist countries.

Browder's latest explanation is best understood in the light of what has preceded it.

Our party organized a campaign to open the doors of America to the refugees. That campaign found no echo in the Communist Party. First of all because, as supporters of Roosevelt, the Stalinists would not raise a demand which he was known to be opposed to. Secondly, because they could scarcely call for opening America's doors to the refugees without illuminating the embarrassing fact that Stalin was refusing to open the doors of the Soviet Union to the refugees.

This line of the Stalinists did not go unquestioned by their own members and sympathizers. Letters poured into the Daily Worker and the Jewish Freiheit. After weeks of demands for an explanation, The Daily Worker on November 28, 1938 finally provided one, entitled "The U.S.S.R. and the Issue of Refugees," by V. J. Jerome.

The nub of Jerome's explanation was his statement that: "One must also realize that there are thousands of Jewish refugees who, though fleeing from fascist terror, are in their class status and outlook, bourgeois or petty-bourgeois and, consequently, may not wish or may not be able to adjust themselves to a Socialist economy and culture. And, of course, everybody realizes that, particularly in the present period, with the second imperialist world war already raging, the greatest vigilance must be observed against the penetration of carefully planted spies and other fascist agents."

C.P. "ANSWER" RAISES NEW QUESTIONS

When Jerome's article appeared, far from silencing the questioners, it aroused a whole new series of questions. If, after twenty years, a so-called Socialist State cannot assimilate a few hundred thousand non-proletarian elements—and we are talking about penniless Jews fleeing from fascism!—that would mean that half of humanity has nothing to hope for from Socialism.

That this alibi for Stalin was completely false was evidenced not only by the fact that the doors of the Soviet Union were not opened to the proletarian Jews seeking to flee from Hitler, but also by the ensuing

events: the doors of the Soviet Union remained closed to the Czechoslovak anti-fascists—including fleeing Communists!—and to the hundreds of thousands of proletarian Spanish fighters whose pleas, from the concentration camps of France are unheeded by the Stalinist bureaucracy.

BROWDER PRODUCES A NEW "ANSWER"

The hostile reception of Jerome's alibi by the sympathizers of the Communist Party finally impelled Fuehrer Browder himself to wrestle with the question, in the New Masses of April 4: "There are a great many questions on why the Soviet Union doesn't open its borders to the Jewish refugees," he said.

And here is Browder's answer:

"The answer is that more Jewish refugees are going into the Soviet Union than into all other countries combined."

Previous justifications of closing the doors of Russia closed having failed, Browder now claimed that the doors were open all the time!

Browder's attempt to answer one challenge—that of Dr. S. Margoshes, editor of the Jewish Day—now appear in the New Masses of April 25:

"All my observations and information support the claim that, considering exclusively the period since the beginning of the present fascist chain of aggressions and the rise of the current refugee problem, there are more refugees enjoying asylum in the Soviet Union than in France, Britain and the United States combined—and that this applies to Jewish as to all other categories. There are no official figures for any country that I have been able to find."

HOW BROWDER LIES FOR HIS BOSS

The dishonesty of Browder's "answer" is easily demonstrated:

1. The basic issue is: why doesn't the Stalinist government of the Soviet Union open wide the doors to the refugees? Browder perverts the issue, instead, into an argument about whether the Soviet Union or the capitalist countries have admitted more refugees. Even assuming that the Soviet Union admitted more refugees than did the capitalist countries—and this would not have been difficult considering the arch-reactionary policy of the capitalist countries against admission of refugees—that would still not explain away the plain fact that millions of refugees seek refuge and the Stalinist government refuses to open its doors to them.

2. Even to make plausible the claim that Stalin lets in more refugees than do Chamberlain, Daladier and Roosevelt, Browder has to use as a measure "the period since the beginning of the present fascist chain of aggressions"—deliberately vaguely defined without a date but apparently meaning since Hitler's assumption of power in 1933. Browder does this so that in any further discussion he could point to immigration to the Soviet Union from Germany in 1933 and the public offer of refuge to the Austrian Schutzbund in 1934—whereas if Browder were to speak of the years since 1935, he would not be able to point to a single public proof of immigration into Russia!

3. In Browder's statement that "There are no official figures for any country that I have been able to find" is concealed the fact that the Stalinist regime has no figures to offer to bolster Browder's assertions—for the good and sufficient reason that false figures could easily be challenged while the true figures would reveal that Stalin's prison doors open neither inward nor outward.

4. Obviously realizing that his flat assertions carry no conviction, Browder retreats to a new alibi: "If the Jewish community leaders of the world want more refugees to go into the Soviet Union, it would be well for them to raise the question with the powers at the Evian conference, to see that the Soviet Union is invited to that conference, which regulates the immigration, and provide for their entrance into the Soviet Union in an organized fashion." (New Masses, April 4).

This alibi is no better than his others. Why, in the name of socialism, does the Soviet government require an invitation to the Evian conference before it can open the doors of Russia to the refugees? The Evian conference is an absolute fraud, a piece of mumbo-jumbo organized by the capitalist powers, not to facilitate immigration but to duck the problem. It has done nothing for the refugees, because it is designed to do nothing. When Browder makes Soviet admission of refugees hinge on arrangements with the Evian conference he is putting off their admission forever.

Squirm as they may, the hirelings of Stalin cannot conceal or mitigate the plain fact: the refugees from fascist terror, whether Jews or Czechoslovak Communists or Spanish Loyalists, are barred by Stalin from entering the "Socialist Fatherland."

Their Government

By James Burnham

Several months ago President Roosevelt announced a little surprise for the youth of the country. Entirely at the government's expense, indeed with cash allowances from the government during part of the process, 20,000 boys from the high schools and colleges were to be trained as airplane pilots.

For a day or two, the plan got big headlines in the general press. There was, however, surprisingly little comment on so startling an enterprise. One or two of the columnists and scattered editorial writers thought the whole idea fantastic and absurd. Where, they asked, would the planes come from that these 20,000 boys were supposed to learn how to fly? And where were the flying schools and training fields that could handle them?

Since that first, rather mild flurry, nothing much has been heard of the President's plan. It has slipped pretty well from public sight. Nevertheless, it is going steadily forward. Already thousands of students have been directly or indirectly enrolled. For the most part, up to now, they are being sent through already established flying schools, with government subsidies paying for their tuitions.

I want to explain what lies back of this plan. You will not find this explanation in any of the publicity which has been released in connection with it. You will not, in fact, so far as I am aware, find this explanation anywhere in print.

The Replacement Ratio for Personnel and Materiel

Everyone knows that all of the great powers have on hand large numbers of military aircraft and of trained personnel to handle them—pilots, bombers, radio operators, observers, etc. Speculation as to the exact comparative size of the various fleets is frequently allowed to occupy the public mind; it was very prominent, for example, during the Munich crisis, and was generally supposed to have been a decisive factor in compelling Chamberlain to adopt his appeasement tactic.

Nevertheless, in the colder and more deliberate calculations of the general staffs of the powers, the total figure of planes now on hand and personnel now on active duty in the air forces is allotted only secondary importance. Far more decisive, to their minds, is the rate at which any given nation can produce planes and trained men for the fighting service.

A moment's reflection will show why this is the case. A large force of planes can, at the outset of the war, strike two or three heavy lightning blows against the enemy nation. The notion, popular a few years ago, that such lightning thrusts can win a modern war in a few weeks has been abandoned, and was at no time held by the most responsible military strategists. The new war, like the last one, will be a mass war, and of indefinitely long duration.

In the air, consequently, the long-run advantage will be held not by the nations which have most planes and pilots in active service at the outset, but by those which can produce planes and trained men fastest, in order to acquire during the course of the war itself a differential superiority over the enemy, and especially to be able to replace the planes and men that are shot down. 5,000 planes, adequately manned, today will mean little or nothing unless there can be at least the same number, properly manned, after a year and two and three years.

Each of the general staffs has, therefore, worked out in advance the expected figure at which planes and men will have to be replaced after the war starts. This figure, which is sometimes referred to as "the replacement ratio for personnel and materiel," thus expresses the prediction of the general staffs as to the rate at which planes and men will be destroyed. The figure is obviously just about the same for both planes and men; and for the men it means the rate at which they will be killed, since there is a negligible number of wounded in the air service.

What Your Odds Are

All of the European general staffs have arrived at the same figure for the replacement ratio. This figure is 50% per month.

At first glance, perhaps, this figure looks calm and mild and business-like. Let me explain what it means in terms of the odds on the life of a member of the air corps.

It means that any given member of the air corps has a 50-50 chance to live one month.

It means that he has one chance in 4,096 to live one year. In other words, the odds are 4,095 to 1 that he will not live a year.

It means that he has a chance of less than 1 in 16,000,000 to live two years. The odds are greater than 16,000,000 to 1 that he will be killed before two years are finished.

The Blessings of God's Country

50% is the figure for the European general staffs. God's country, naturally, looks out better for the welfare of her children.

I am happy to report to the youth of America that, basing itself on more strongly built planes and longer and more intensively trained pilots, the U. S. general staff has arrived at a figure of only 33 1/3% per month. So don't be discouraged.

This means that you have 1 chance in 3 of lasting a month. Pity the poor foreigner!

And the odds are only approximately 1,250 to 1 that you will be killed within one year. And they are just slightly more than 1,500,000 to 1 that you will die within two years.

Surely that chance is worth taking when the President himself has promised that the war is to be fought for the very highest ideals.

Two elk heads and two black beaver skins will be presented King George VI by P. Ashley Cooper, governor of Hudson's Bay Company, when the King arrives in Winnipeg May 24th. It is the rent stipulated in the royal charter granted the company by King Charles II in 1670, to be paid to his majesty, his heirs and successors, whenever they visit the domain of the company. Only once before was the historic rent paid—then to the Duke of Windsor, who, as Prince of Wales, visited Winnipeg in 1927. So you think rent such as this is stupid and unnecessary, in view of the fact that the King never turned his hand to productive work? Well, why don't you look up your own landlord?

A news item reports that some of the dinosaurs of the prehistoric world walked on all four feet, while others walked upright. We call the present breed of two-legged dinosaurs bosses, and they are headed for just as certain an extinction as happened to the four-legged kind.