

# Demonstrate Against Fascist Garden Rally on Feb. 20!

On February 20, under the guise of "George Washington Birthday Exercises," the allied Fascist-Nazi organizations are planning to hold a mass mobilization in the Madison Square Garden.

The Garden meeting is being built up by a series of smaller rallies already held and planned during this week in various parts of the city—the Bronx, Brooklyn, Harlem and Queens.

The mobilization is backed by Hitler's German-American Bund, the notorious Pelley's Silver Shirts, the "Social Justice" gang of Father Coughlin, the Hague gangsters from Jersey City, and a further assortment of anti-Semites, labor-haters, Red-baiters and similar scum.

The Madison Square mobilization of the Fascists is an impudent provocation to the workers of New York!

The provocation must not go unanswered.

New York City has one of the strongest and best organized trade union movements in the world. The Garden meeting is aimed at it.

New York City has the largest Jewish population of any city in the world. The Garden meeting is aimed at it.

New York City has the largest radical population in the country. The Garden meeting is aimed at it.

New York City is the center of all progressive thought, all liberal movements. The Garden meeting is aimed at all of them.

Can these insolent scoundrels be allowed to carry through their provocative mobilization unchallenged?

Are the workers of New York going to sit by quietly and wait until these Fascist assassins grow arrogant and powerful enough to carry their war against labor and the Jews into every district, with daggers, blackjacks, brass knuckles and guns?

Are the workers of New York going to remain

quiet, drugged by illusions, until they wake up some day in the concentration camps, under the whip of triumphant Fascism?

Are the workers of New York going to let La Guardia take care of the problem—La Guardia whose police always give the Fascist meetings the maximum of protection?

Are the workers of New York going to follow the Daily Worker, organ of the belly-crawling Stalinists, who beg District Attorney Dewey to do the job that only organized, militant labor can do?

If the workers act that way—then chalk up another victory for the Fascists, another setback for labor.

There is another way, however. That way means a triumph for labor, a crushing defeat for the Fascists.

That way is—

*Organize a militant, mass counter-demonstration at the Madison Square Garden on February 20!*

There is not a minute to lose in preparation.

Tens of thousands of New York workers—Jews and Gentiles alike, employed and unemployed—must be at the Garden at 6 o'clock in the evening of the crucial day.

Let the Fascist scum see the invincible battalions of the working class of New York massed in imposing array.

Let the would-be "Storm Troopers" learn that American labor will not let them take another step in their drive to impose a Fascist dictatorship on the masses.

Answer the Fascist provocation with labor's mass counter-demonstration!

Workers of New York! Turn out in such numbers that your demonstration will never be forgotten!

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# AUTO LOCALS VOTE FOR C.I.O.

## Negrin Begg "Safe" Peace from Franco Uses Madrid Zone To Hold Up Franco

**Wants a "Safe" Peace for Himself and Friends; Seeks Fight, Not for Victory But "Pending Arrival of Peace"**

### ACTS ONLY FOR POWERS

Premier Negrin of the Spanish People's Front confessed this week that he is ready to make peace with the Fascist Franco.

He wants peace—but a "safe peace."

Safe for whom? For the millions of workers and peasants handed over to the mercies of the Fascists?

No, safe for the hides of the People's Front leaders and safe for the imperialist aims of Britain and France.

This is the essence of the proclamation issued by Negrin in Madrid calling upon the people to fight on— "pending the arrival of peace."

This is no call to revitalize the struggle against the Fascist beasts.

This is no call to fight on until the victory is won.

This is no effort to use the great resources that still exist in Central Spain for turning the tide against the Fascists.

This is just using these resources to squeeze a better bargain out of Franco for the Loyalist government leaders and their mentors in London and Paris.

The Stalinists hailed the return of Negrin and Foreign Minister del Vayo to Central Spain as proof that they were going to carry on an irreconcilable struggle.

Now it is revealed to be nothing but a crude attempt to haggle for better terms at the expense of the masses and the soldiers in Central Spain.

Negrin dropped all pretense of opposing Fascist reaction. He asked first that the lives of the government leaders be spared and second, that Franco pledge to remove Italo-German influence from Spain.

It was significant that a third demand previously made by Negrin, for a plebiscite on the future government of Spain, was not reiterated by him in his proclamation. The key paragraph of the latter, indicating that other forces in Loyalist Spain were demanding a last-ditch fight, reads:

"There is no room for other discussion than absolute identification with the government, as the latter is preparing the defense of uninvaded Spain, pending the arrival of peace in an atmosphere of independence, safety and liberty."

The Stalinists, seeking to cover up the treachery of their accomplices in the People's Front, simply omitted from their press the sections of Negrin's proclamation referring to moves for peace! The Daily Worker of Monday

### HAINAN SEIZURE GIVES JAPANESE STRATEGIC BASE

**Commands Maritime Routes Of Major Powers**

Japan last week occupied the Chinese island of Hainan in the South China Sea and thereby opened up a new chapter in the changing history of the imperialist balance of power in the Pacific.

Hainan sits astride the vital British route from Singapore to Hongkong. It is less than 200 miles across the Gulf of Tongking from the coast of French Indo-China. It is only a little more than that from the American outpost in the Philippines.

In the approaching imperialist war Hainan will have the utmost strategic importance. The Japanese have made it plain that this is what they have in mind, for no sooner had their forces landed than work was begun on air-dromes and fortifications. Dredging operations were begun in the harbor of Hoihow to permit entry of the larger warships.

**Threat to France**  
The importance of Hainan has long been recognized in Far East—imperialist arrangements. In 1897 France extracted from China an assurance that the island would be handed over to no third power. In 1907 France and Japan agreed mutually to respect each other's "sphere of influence" in China, and Hainan came within the French zone. Since the beginning of the conflict in China in 1937, the Japanese have held the occupation of Hainan over the heads of the French as a constant threat.

Bowing to these threats France closed the Indo-Chinese border to arms traffic destined for the Chinese armies—but this compliance did not help. Talking advantage, as usual, of the acutely strained situation in Europe, Japan cut away the seals and signed.

(Continued on page 3)

### RUBBER STRIKE IN THIRD WEEK

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)  
**LOS ANGELES, Feb. 15**—Five hundred and fifty striking workers at the Goodrich rubber plant here continued to hold their picket lines today, established when the rubber barons extended their drive against the six-hour day to the West Coast.

Employees had been working six hours daily with an average four day week, when the company, notorious in its main plant at Akron for its labor-baiting, attempted to increase hours under the guise of a flexible work week.

Blasting the boss pretense that increased hours would not mean lay-offs or pay cuts, the workers struck Jan. 30, and threw picket lines around the plant.

### Applying Their Trade Union Line!



## Irish Republicans Open New Drive Against English Rule

By THOMAS O'REILLY

A most startling and dramatic revival of the long, bitter struggle of the Irish people against British tyranny is at present in full swing. A wave of bombings, attributed to members of the Irish Republican Army in England, began on January 19, as a protest against the long occupation of the six northeastern counties of Ireland by a British Army.

The extent to which the panic has spread among British officials is evident in the mobilization of 75,000 policemen, including Scotland Yard's greatest experts, for a house-to-house search for explosives in the Irish districts of England.

The Houses of Parliament were closed to the public for the first time since the World War following a blast in the wall of Walton Prison, Liverpool, where a number of persons are being held in connection with the explosions.

### De Valera Shows Colors

In Dublin, De Valera, once a leader in the fight for the national independence of Ireland, introduced and had passed in the Dail several bills providing for juryless trials, death to "traitors," the right of police to arrest or detain anyone suspected of planning to commit an offense and the right of the police to question

## Refuse Support for Move Toward A.F.L.

**Rank and File Group, Fighting Martin and Stalinists, Records Growing Influence Among Members**

### C. P. LOOTING DISCLOSED

(Special to Socialist Appeal)

**DETROIT, Feb. 13.**—Turbulent fighting continued in the Auto union at high pitch this week as local after local voted in the convention battle—Detroit (Martin) or Cleveland (C.I.O.). The largest and most influential of the locals put their names in the C.I.O. list.

Violence in local after local characterized the fight. Goon squads organized by both sides broke in and disrupted meetings.

In Flint, a goon squad led by Bert Harris broke up a meeting where Frankenstein spoke at the I.M.A. auditorium.

**DOES HILLMAN'S LETTER PRESAGE PURGE IN C.I.O.?**  
In Detroit, Pat McCartney's goons invaded a meeting of C.I.O. followers in the Packard Local. The Executive Board crowd threatens reprisals in kind. It is interesting to note that these "unionists," so militant and brave against other union men, are tame as lambs before the corporations.

**Open Attack On C.P. Suggests New Course**  
The rank and file group, which came into existence last week (its militant program was published in the last issue of the Appeal) and which has created widespread sympathy for itself among the members, extended its influence in union ranks. In many of the large locals, groups have already been formed and in others groups are under way.

At the meeting of Chevrolet Plant 6 of the Flint U.A.W., the reactionaries succeeded in tabling the resolution voicing the policy of this group by only two votes. Several hundred votes were cast.

**Progressives Mobilizing**  
In the near future, spokesmen for the third group indicate, a conference will be called of all locals and groups in local unions to organize the fight before, during and after the Cleveland Convention to place the union on a fighting program and against the clique politicians of the Stalinist and Martin stripe.

Meanwhile the C.I.O. entered the situation through a report by Hillman and Murray who were appointed administrators over the U.A.W. late last summer. They naturally came out flatly against Martin and in favor of the Executive Board. Their findings and recommendations admit the heinous influence and practices of the Stalinists in the U.A.W. In their own way, they confirm once again the charge we have repeatedly made that at the bottom of the sickness in the auto union is the virus of Stalinism.

But their statement can only be construed as a sham-faced whitewash of the Stalinist Executive Board Majority. While they refer to Stalinist influence they also point on the other side to Lovestone influence—a negligible factor in the union. And nowhere do they specifically identify the real danger and the real culprits: the Executive officers and the

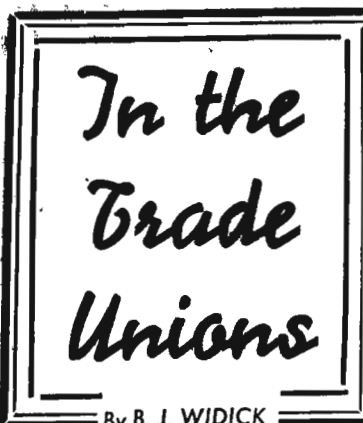
Hillman's Letter  
On February 9, right in the midst of the fight in the auto union, Sidney Hillman and Philip Murray, C.I.O. bosses who have been trying to establish a receivership over the U.A.W., sent out a circular letter to all locals of that organization which, while centering the attack upon Homer Martin, made the first direct attack delivered in the name of the C.I.O. leadership against the Communist party. The circular placed the latter on the ban along with the Lovestone group.

"The committee," said Hillman and Murray, "condemned the practice of certain political sects injecting their factional war-cries into the councils of the U.A.W."

"It recommended in the Allis-Chalmers local, Milwaukee, the right of the International Union to restrict and eliminate those who would use the local for Communist party purposes. In Lansing, Mich., it recommended against permitting the Lovestoneite Communists to manipulate the local for their sectarian purposes.

"In condemning both Communists and Lovestoneite Communists the coordinating committee took the side of neither Martin nor (Continued on Page 2)

(Continued on Page 2)



By B. J. WIDICK

Perhaps the most interesting single feature of the A.F. of L. Executive Council meeting...

Ignore Rank and File Sentiments

But the muddling around with the Wagner Labor Act was even more pertinent. Authoritative reports said that in private sessions the Executive Council was divided...

In playing around with vital legislation, the A.F. of L. Executive Council is guilty of injuring the interests of the entire labor movement. We believe that even part of the Council recognizes this fact.

Usual Blast Against Progressive Unionism

It is a commonplace that no Executive Council meeting has been normal unless some blast at progressive unionism issues therefrom.

This blast coincided with the publication of a resolution by the Council that it favored appropriation of adequate funds for the Dies committee.

The overwhelming support the Dies committee obtained in Congress served as a clear warning of the coming "anti-red" drive in America.

When the Dies committee was engaged in its ludicrous but extremely dangerous performance, various Washington newspapermen urged the C.I.O. to take a tough stand against it and fight against its continuation.

Refugee Stand Is Contemptuous

The A.F. of L. Council got "international-minded," too. It proposed to revitalize moribund Latin-American unions in a Pan-American labor conference to offset the John L. Lewis maneuvers in typing up with the Stalinist-controlled Mexican and South American unions in the form of the Latin-American Labor Federation.

No unionist will object to the A.F. of L.'s approval of a plan to permit entry of 10,000 refugee children to America. But this is such a meagre answer to the refugee problem that scorn and contempt for the attitude of the Council is well-founded.

Yes, it's the same old Executive Council, blind on industrial unionism, reactionary in politics, and shrewdly targeted from even the most elementary trade-union point of view.

Auto Locals Vote C. I. O.; Rank and File Group Grows

(Continued from Page 1) Executive Board. The attack of Murray and Hillman is centered against the Stalinists only in the local unions.

Reactionary Objectives Furthermore, this letter to the locals is probably designed for two reactionary purposes: 1. Not to fight Stalinism but to drive out all militant politics from the U.A.W. and thus give a free field to the class-collaboration politics of Lewis-Murray-Hillman and Co.

2. To tighten the stranglehold of top C.I.O. domination over the Auto Workers Union by discrediting the ability of the workers to run their own organization. This letter, it is quite apparent, is only an introductory note to a steamroller machine which Lewis & Co. will have in operation at the Cleveland Convention.

The letter of Hillman and Murray is concrete evidence of the charges made by representatives of the third group in Detroit and Cleveland last week.

Mutual Exposure Features Fight

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) DETROIT, Feb. 13.—The swing of locals of the U.A.W. over to the side of the March 24 convention in Cleveland is assuming the proportions of a landslide. The largest units of General Motors, Chrysler, and the independents have already voted for the C.I.O.

A preliminary compilation, made by Archie Robinson, well-informed "Detroit News" reporter, reveals that the C.I.O. leads the Martin faction by two-to-one among the 50 largest locals and seven to five among the smaller divisions.

Recall Green Rule So strong, in fact, is this sweep and so deeply are the workers imbued for a hatred of anything that will return them to the regime of Dillon-Collins-Green A.F. L. craft unionism that Martin's official organ, which also calls itself the "United Automobile Worker," carries the legend under the masthead: "Affiliated with the Congress of Industrial Organizations."

This despite the fact that only a few days before the paper appeared Martin had made the fantastic statement in the press that the U.A.W. was "never affiliated with the C.I.O." And later that he "didn't give a whoop whether the C.I.O. recognized the officers elected or the convention on March 4th."

Affiliation or non-affiliation with the C.I.O. is the one and only talking point of the Stalinist Executive Board majority. Without it they would have long ago been wiped off the boards. They have no program to advance the union, no program against unemployment, no program against the corporations. They are entirely on the defensive as far as Martin's attacks are concerned: Martin accuses them of being "reds," and "communists" and they whimper back feeble, pulling denials.

George Addes said in a radio speech on Feb. 1st: "The majority members elected by your last convention want a democratic union affiliated with the C.I.O." Nothing in the record of this Board proves they want democracy, everything proves that they have trampled all over the democratic rights of the rank and file. Yet Mr. Addes is on record now. We will see how "democratic" Addes & Co. are at the Cleveland convention. We will see how democratically they organize the union at Cleveland.

Pot Calls Kettle Black Martin has carried the offensive all along the line. To charges of dictatorship, of which he is no doubt guilty, he replies by digging up the whole unsavory record of the John L. Lewis C.I.O. machine. His paper digs up the smelly bones of Lewis' dictatorship in the United Mine Workers where he lifted charters by the bushel to beat down his opposition.

To charges of an underhanded deal with Harry Bennett of the Ford Motor Co., Martin protests innocence, saying he was doing what Lewis did with Myron Taylor of U. S. Steel. What he is saying is: the negotiations with Ford may have been lousy but I was taught in a good school! To accusations that he is playing a game of love-me-love-me-not with the corporations, he cites the contract signed by Murray and Co. of the S.W.O.C. with the Jones and Laughlin Steel Corporation, Aliquippa Works. This agreement recognizes seniority only after knowledge, training, ability, skill, efficiency, physical efficiency, family status, number of dependents, place of residence.

Who Claims Relief Not Needed? Half-Thousand Women Stampede For Twelve Jobs, While Young Girl Despondent Over Lack of Work, Decides On Suicide

Last week an obscure item buried in the N. Y. Times reported the suicide of Evelyn Hardenberg, a young girl barely out of high school. She had climbed through the window of her meagerly furnished room and plunged to the sidewalk four stories below. Her mangled and broken body was gathered from the pavement and taken to Reconstruction Hospital. Three hours later she died.

At least several hundred more women were expected to join the line before morning. Probably three or four hundred in addition to this, according to Health Department officials, will file for the 12 jobs before February 23, the final date applications will be accepted.

THE SAME MAY BE SEEN IN ANY CITY These hundreds of applicants standing in line all day and all night for the 12 jobs represented all sections of the working class, from mothers with babies at home, and single women who have been seeking jobs for months, to girls who boasted college degrees. They brought unskilled nature such as washing glassware, sterilizing equipment, attending animals, cleaning out their cages, 239 women had been standing in line to file their applications, some of them as long as 18 hours at the time of the press report with another 7 hours to go before the office would open.

239 WOMEN WAIT 25 HOURS FOR 12 JOBS

In the same issue of the newspaper which reported the suicide of this girl, appeared another item: For twelve jobs available to women in the New York City Department of Health, jobs of an

Oakland Cops Beat, Arrest Anti-Franco Picketers

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) OAKLAND, Feb. 11.—Police last night attacked a demonstration against a pro-Franco meeting and brutally beat six of the demonstrators, among them Myra Tanner, National Council member of the Young People's Socialist League (Fourth International), and Roland Bates.

More than 300 demonstrators carrying placards appeared at Oakland Auditorium where Aileen O'Brien, recently returned from insurgent Spain, was to lecture in favor of General Franco and his bandit-program of conquest.

As Stalinists attempted to divert the crowd of indignant workers protesting the brazen provocation of this fascist agent in Oakland away from the hall, six policemen under Sergeant Charles Holmes sent in riot calls bringing thirty-five additional policemen to the scene.

Fire Tear Gas

Swinging clubs and firing tear gas guns, the police charged the demonstrators. Roland Bates fell under the onslaught, bleeding profusely. Comrade Tanner rushed to his aid and demanded the police to call an ambulance.

Police responded by clubbing her and then handcuffing her to a telephone pole. Bates, who suffered a possible fractured skull, was permitted to receive treatment only much later.

Jersey Alliance Members Fight Wrecking Crew

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) CAMDEN, N. J.—Meeting the opposition of the largest and most militant locals of the organization, the Stalinists jammed through their program at the annual state convention of the Workers Alliance of New Jersey, held in this city last week-end, where the organization is strongest and most militant.

Hoping to lessen the struggle against themselves, the Stalinist-John Spain leadership of the union held the convention in this city, far away from Essex County. But if the Stalinists thought they could get away without a fight they were mistaken. The Essex county "majority" delegation came to the convention with more than one-third of the strength of the state organization behind them.

The militants pointed out that the failures were due to the class-collaborationist policies of the union. The Essex organization, which increased its membership by more than 100%, told the delegates how they did so by militant activities.

George Breitman, militant Newark leader of the unemployed, showed that the "liberal" Roosevelt's \$875,000,000 will still mean layoffs for a half million W.P.A. workers. Lasser did not even mention this point.

The Essex County delegation presented a resolution calling on the Jersey labor movement and the N.J.P.L. to break with the old capitalist political parties and to launch an independent labor party. This motion was opposed by the Stalinists and was defeated by a slim margin.

Similarly, discussion on a resolution exposing the coming war as a bosses' war and calling for diversion of all war funds for unemployment relief, W.P.A., and housing, brought forth a Stalinist resolution brazenly supporting appropriations for war and "national defense." The Stalinists were so obviously war-mongering that even their own ranks wavered and many abstained on the vote, quickly withdrawn.

In the elections the progressives won 40 percent of the votes for all officers. Although they demonstrated this strength they were denied all representation on the Executive Board.

Start "Help a Refugee" Campaign

The American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees has just inaugurated a national "I Have Helped A Refugee Campaign." The aim of this drive is to forge a personal link between the friends of the Fund and the refugees it is assisting.

APPEAL ARMY

FLASH! Branches of the Socialist Workers Party located in the key auto cities of America (Detroit, Flint, Cleveland and Toledo) sold and distributed 4,000 copies of the last issue of the Appeal containing our Party's stand on the auto workers' union crisis.

CAMPAIN FOR 1,000 NEW READERS UNDER WAY! Early reports on the Appeal campaign for 1,000 new subscribers by April 1 are greatly encouraging. Many branches have

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DOES HILLMAN'S LETTER PRESAGE PURGE IN C.I.O.? (Continued from Page 1)

anti-Martin political sects. It proposed that both be made to keep their hands out of the U.A.W. That was the policy of the coordinating committee. That is our policy today.

Suppressed By Daily Worker The Daily Worker, official organ of the Communist party, which printed a special Washington dispatch about this circular in its issue of February 10, deliberately suppressed the two last paragraphs printed above, which dealt specifically with the C.P.

Two days later, according to an Associated Press dispatch from Rochester, N.Y., Sidney Hillman proclaimed "a labor drive against all foreignisms," in an interview given in that city.

Leaders of organized labor," he declared, "are determined to purge their membership of 'ism elements' through education and barring of Communists, fascists and other from union leadership."

How strong a position the "purgers" are in to carry out this threat is indicated by the fact that Lewis, representing the United Mine Workers in the Executive of the C.I.O., Philip Murray, his right-hand man who represents the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, and Sidney Hillman who represents the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the Textile Workers Organizing Committee—have enough votes and power among them to decide upon any bureaucratic measure.

It is, of course, too early to establish with any degree of certainty just what plans the C.I.O. bureaucracy has in mind. It is quite possible that, as on previous occasions, the Lewis-Hillman clique is "covering itself" in public with pious protestations "against the Communists," while continuing in actuality the game of intimate collaboration which they have been playing with the Stalinists for the past three years.

Thus, it will be recalled, the convention of the United Mine Workers last year formally approved the old constitutional provision against Communists being members of the union, but no steps were taken to put the provision into effect. The latest de-

REGISTER NOW

- The MARXIST SCHOOL will be held at Irving Plaza, Irving Place and 15th Street, N. Y. C. Classes begin Feb. 27. I. PRACTICAL TRADE UNIONISM—Sam Gordon, B. J. Widick. Lectures on the day to day activity of the trade unionist. Mondays, 7:15 P.M.—8:40 P.M. 6 lectures—\$1.00. II. PROBLEMS OF AMERICAN POLITICS—James Burnham, Albert Goldman, Max Shachtman. Marxist analyses of the shifting American political scene. Mondays, 8:50 P.M.—10:15 P.M. 6 lectures—\$1.00. III. WHAT IS TROTSKYISM? The truth about Trotskyism based on original documents. Tuesdays, 7:00 P.M.—8:40 P.M. 6 lectures—\$1.00. IV. ART AND POLITICS Six lectures by Phillip Rahv, Dwight Macdonald, James T. Farrell, F. W. Dupee, Delmore Schwartz and Will Phillips. (A half year's subscription to the Partisan Review will be given free to every registrant.) Tuesdays, 8:50 P.M.—10:15 P.M. 6 lectures—\$1.25. V. LABOR JOURNALISM James Casey Wednesdays, 7:15 P.M.—8:40 P.M. 6 lectures—\$1.00. VI. THE SECOND AMERICAN REVOLUTION—George Novack The American Civil War. What it really was and meant. Wednesdays, 8:50—10:15 P.M. 6 lectures—\$1.00. Registration can be made at the school office, 116 University Place or at the Labor Bookshop, 28 East 12th Street, N. Y. C., between 1 p.m. and 8 p.m. Registrations may also be made by mail or by calling ST 9-0567.

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# IN THE WORLD OF LABOR

By Paul G. Stevens

## How Daladier Was Really Welcomed in North Africa

Truth travels slowly indeed. When Premier Daladier recently toured French North Africa in a national demonstration against Fascist Italy's colonial designs, the press was full of accounts of the enthusiasm of the natives. Everywhere, every day of the tour, thousands of indigenous Tunisians and Algerians, it seems, manifested their loyalty to French "democracy." To the initiated, this was very strange news. Why should the colonial slaves pay such vibrant homage to their imperialist overseers?

Only now, a month after the event, the real state of affairs is brought to light, on the basis of reports carried in the local Tunisian press. Everywhere, in Tunis, in Bizerte, in Bardo, in Bab El Khadra, the natives demonstrated under the banner of their nationalist organization, the "Destour." Daladier was greeted everywhere with cries of "Long live the Destour." "Down with the privileges." "We demand a Tunisian Parliament." In other words, the demonstrations were really for national independence . . . and not for French "democracy."

The balance sheet: Two "Destourians" arrested at Tunis and sentenced to five years of exile. Mass arrests at Bab El Khadra with blanket sentences of one month and fifteen days for women and two months for men. Nine arrested at Bardo with similar penalties. And so on down the line. . . Demonstrations for French "democracy"? Pure mockery.

Naturally the Stalinists go along the whole hog "for the safety of the empire." An indication of the success of their agitation for French imperialism may be gleaned from a recent election result in Algeria. In the vote for Municipal Councillor of Algiers, the candidate of the revolutionary Party of the Algerian People, Boumandjel, received 2,074 votes against 659 for the secretary of the Algerian Communist Party, Boukort, who was running against him.

Sir Stafford Cripps Out on A Limb with his Popular Front

Sir Stafford Cripps, member of Parliament and of the Labour Party Executive, has been expelled from the British Labour Party for issuing a memorandum to local branches, over the head of the leadership, calling for a Popular Front policy "in order to oust the National (Chamberlain) Government."

Always considered a left-winger, the previous attacks of the reactionary Executive had raised a large following for him among the rank and file. His adoption of the Stalinist People's Front propaganda as part of his policy has reversed this relationship entirely in favor of the Labour Party leadership. They now quote Cripps against Cripps and with especial effectiveness. What can

the latest convert to the People's Front reply to a quotation of his, which is constantly held up to him, such as this, in 1934:

"There must be no compromise over socialism, no coalition or arrangement with others who were not socialists. That way lay suicide."

Or this, in 1935:

"The National Government had done quite well for a capitalist government. . . There is really very little case at all for an alternative government within the capitalist system. I don't think we should fix our eyes on the ex-Liberals and the middle class people, but that we should fix our eyes on the working class."

His present position can only gain him the allegiance of the British Communist party, which has never amounted to anything and is now in even greater decline. Before the broad rank and file of the Labour party he appears, in view of his previous stand, as a ridiculous mountebank. Sir Stafford is out on a limb and so is his Popular Front.

However, as the reaction of British labor to the National Register (see the Socialist Appeal, Feb. 10) shows, the Labour Party Executive is not at all rid of healthy opposition to its reactionary policies, despite its advantage in combating Sir Stafford's somersaults. Quite the contrary.

In addition to the Trades Councils listed last week as opposing the conscription plan of the Chamberlain government and its Labour agents, the following, in more important cities, have joined forces with them: The Trades Councils of Bristol, Derby, Brighton, Chichester, Kent, Dartford, Slough and Dundee, aside from numerous local unions and the National Amalgamated Union of Shop Assistants. A revolutionary group in the Labour Party can do tremendous work now as a leaven in the ferment.

## Glad Tidings: New Party of Fourth International Formed in Denmark

At the September Conference of the Fourth International, held in Geneva, Switzerland, there appeared among other representatives, those of the "Leninistisk Arbejdsgruppe," a group of Danish revolutionists who had recently broken with Stalinism.

Equipped with the program of action adopted there, the Danish comrades returned to their homes to expand their activities in Copenhagen and in the provinces. The result of this expansion of activity has culminated in the formation of the *Internationalt Kommunistisk Parti* (Internationalist Communist Party), Danish Section of the Fourth International. Our heartfelt greetings and pledges of the warmest solidarity to the new Danish section of the World Party of Socialist Revolution!

workers in American labor history. Its strikes and free speech fights were many times actual battles with the bosses as a class and with revolutionary aims as the immediate demands.

The I.W.W. too, however, could not stand up against the bosses on the one hand and the majority of workers who were not yet ready for the social revolution. It declined as a result of its failure to hold gains made in the struggle and the many internal factional fights which were but a reflection of the objective conditions in America. The I.W.W. today is but a shadow of a shadow of its former self.

# On the Line . . . with Bill Morgan

There are many workers today who believe that industrial unions were conceived by John L. Lewis and first organized by the C.I.O. This is far from the truth, however, and it would be well for workers who are concerned with organizing the unorganized or attempting to preserve the great gains made in the recent wave of the industrial union movement, to look back upon the early struggles of the labor movement for advice and inspiration.

The Knights of Labor in the early Eighties, was an industrial organization. It included all workers regardless of trade or skill. It carried on national campaigns to better the working conditions and to shorten the hours of the American working class. Despite the many faults of the Knights of Labor, it will always be remembered as the first national labor organization.

## The Knights Failed to Fight for Better Conditions

The eventual decline of the Knights as a force in the labor movement was due largely to its failure to conduct a serious fight for increased wages and shorter hours in the shop. It was far too concerned with improving the soul. The leadership of the Knights became involved in such schemes as co-operative gold mines, stores and farms. Powderly, the guiding spirit of the Knights, carried on a campaign for the eight-hour day but when the workers of Chicago went on strike to gain their demands, and when the Haymarket bomb was thrown by a provocateur, he abandoned the fight and deserted the cause of labor. The Knights gave way to the American Federation of Labor.

The A.F. of L. was a craft organization then as it is now, but many attempts to break up the crafts and form industrial or horizontal unions were made. In 1901 Daniel De Leon, a leading socialist of his time, split the labor movement and the Socialist Party on the issue of industrial unions. He believed that only through industrial organization and a revolutionary program could the workers achieve substantial gains. And he was, we will agree, correct. But his mistake, and the mistake of all the later attempts to split the labor movement, lay in the manner in which he proceeded.

## Masses Ignored De Leon's "Dual" Union

The Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance organized by De Leon became a dual movement to the already established American Federation of Labor. The mass of workers stayed with the A. F. of L. and the S.T.L.A. was short-lived. The withdrawal of hundreds of able, experienced organizers and leaders from the A. F. of L. had its effect on the movement and the sharp fight between the A. F. of L. and the De Leon unions caused great dissension in the ranks of labor. The Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance became known as a "dual" union. It carried on a fierce war against the A. F. of L. and it died within a few years.

The Industrial Workers of the World—the "Wobblies"—also an industrial organization, was formed in 1905. The hide-bound conservatism and the reactionary leadership of the A. F. of L. sent thousands of militant workers into the ranks of the I.W.W. For ten years the I.W.W. was a force to be reckoned with. It carried on hundreds of strikes and at one time claimed 100,000 dues-paying members. The I.W.W., although it made many mistakes will always be remembered by militants everywhere, as the most colorful and inspiring organization of

Bureaucracy and Stupidity Bore the T.U.U.L.

The fight for industrial organization went on. One of the most recent steps in its development was the Trade Union Unity League—the brainchild of the Stalinists. This sectarian set-up was the cause of some of the bitterest factional struggles ever recorded in labor history. The T.U.U.L. was an industrial organization and it was "revolutionary" but in no way did it represent, for instance, the tradition of the I.W.W. or any preceding split with the A. F. of L. The T.U.U.L. was the result of stupidity and bureaucratic misunderstanding.

It divided the workers, particularly in New York and Chicago, into two armed camps and the only gains made throughout the history of the T.U.U.L. were made by the bosses. It was a pure and simple Stalinist-controlled movement from beginning to end and the workers stayed away from it in immense numbers. The factional strife which ensued caused the death of several workers and only played into the hands of the red-baiting officials of the A. F. of L.

After a few years of unsuccessful attempts to win influence and members the T.U.U.L. dissolved and its members went back to the A. F. of L.

## Industrial Unionism Is Basis for CIO-AFL Unity

What, then, is the difference between the C.I.O. and all other attempts to organize industrial unions? Why did the C.I.O. succeed in building a movement of millions of workers? Why has the C.I.O. made great gains where all other splits failed to win even a foothold?

The difference lies in the manner in which the fight against craft unionism and its leaders was conducted, and what is more important, the C.I.O. was formed when the industry of America was predominantly a mass-production industry. Industrial unionism was not the result of John L. Lewis's decision to embark on a personal campaign against William Green and Matthew Woll. It was much more than that. It was the result of the obvious inability of the old craft unions to cope with the rapid growth of mass-production industries in America.

Lewis merely took advantage of the growing discontent of millions of workers. And further, the fight to establish industrial unions was carried on within the already organized labor movement. There was no split until every worker in the country was fully aware of all the issues and ready to take up the fight.

The C.I.O. did not break away from the A. F. of L. until it became large and powerful. And the question of unity between the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L. will be settled on the basis of industrial unionism—not on the mere dissolution of the C.I.O. as was the case in the other, futile attempts of the past.

## Troops To Siberian Border

Simultaneously, with an eye cocked on the developments in Europe, the Japanese still hope to extricate themselves from their predicament by striking at the U.S.S.R. The New York Times correspondent reported last week wholesale troop withdrawals from China for the Siberian frontier.

Although these have not been confirmed, it is definitely known that the government in Tokyo has been gradually concentrating at the capital all the ranking army and navy specialists in Russian affairs, has moved warships to the Raskin base, on the Korean coast near the Soviet Siberian frontier,

will of the rest of the Arab-speaking and Moslem world.

**Jews are Pawns**

The 400,000 Jews living in Palestine, surrounded by a hostile Arab world, under their present Zionist leadership are nothing but pawns in England's maneuvers with the Arabs. The "Jewish national home," based on the League of Nations "mandate" for English rule of Palestine, serves England as a pretext for maintaining its iron rule of the Arabs in Palestine.

Subservient to this pretext, the Zionist leaders reject all roads to collaboration with the Arab masses against Britain, and seek instead to demonstrate their usefulness to imperial Britain.

# Britain, Playing Arabs Off Against Jews, Opens London Parley on Palestine Issue

Punctuated by seven death sentences against Arabs by a British court-martial at Haifa and a threat of punitive action against Arab strikers by the military commander of the Jerusalem district, the Palestine conference opened in London last week.

The seven Arabs were sentenced to die for the "crime" of resisting British troops with arms in hand. Arab shopkeepers were notified that future protest strikes would be punished by forcing their shops to remain closed for as long an additional period as the strike lasts.

**Coercion and Cajolement**

These are not the only facts indicating how inequitable the "parley" at London is. The Mufti, undoubtedly the most authoritative Arab leader today, was not allowed to come to London. A number of his spokesmen came to London directly from the British jail in the Seychelles Islands.

Continuing to use the maximum coercion possible to force the Arabs to remain under British rule, the imperialist statesmen supplement the mailed fist with cajolery and horse-trading.

That the Arab leaders, all great landowners and capitalists, are perfectly susceptible to British bribery of one kind or another is an obvious fact. The problem confronting the British, however, goes much deeper. The present venal Arab leadership is infinitely preferred by British imperialism to a leadership that would honestly express the aspirations of the Arab masses for land and freedom.

The British must find some way, therefore, to reinforce the present Arab leadership by giving it some concessions which will enable it to retain the confidence of the masses.

**Division of Spoils**

What concessions? Certainly nothing which will substantially reduce British domination of Palestine and the neighboring Arab states. Nor do the present Arab leaders desire an end to British domination; they prefer to continue the partnership of Arab landlords and capitalists with the British against their common victim: the Arab peasants and workers.

They want only a better division of the profits of the partnership, and this England, even if reluctantly, can give them.

Through the continuation of this partnership, Britain hopes to have at its disposal in the coming war the services of 16 million Arabs, not to speak of the good-

**HAINAN SEIZURE GIVES JAPANESE STRATEGIC BASE**

(Continued from Page 1)

natures on its various pacts and assurances and occupied the island. French and British "protests" were brushed contemptuously aside.

**Step Towards Indies**

For the Japanese imperialists Hainan is not only a supremely useful base for operations against the British, French, and Americans, but is also a stepping stone southward toward the rich oil-fields of the Dutch East Indies which are definitely included within Japan's program of conquest.

Thus the occupation of Hainan, coming at a time when the other powers are in no position to resist it, is in reality a preparatory event of the first magnitude in advance of the coming war.

This thrust comes at a time when the Japanese face mounting problems at home and on Chinese battlefields. The Diet is in the process of passing an all-time record budget of 3,694,000,000 yen, with a special military budget of about 6,000,000,000 yen still to come, making a total equivalent to the entire Japanese national debt as it stood 20 months ago.

In China the forces of occupation are trying vainly to cope with widespread guerrilla attacks throughout the "conquered" areas. The so-called "mopping-up" operations continue to call forth the utmost effort of the Japanese forces along the railways and on the outskirts of all the largest cities, including Shanghai and Canton.

**There Is an Answer to Fascism**  
A SERIES OF 3 SUNDAY EVENING LECTURES  
YOU CAN'T AFFORD TO MISS

Fascism can be defeated. Reaction can be smashed. In this turbulent period, we need clear thinking as never before. For a clear authoritative picture of what happened in Spain—of what is happening in France—of what is ahead for us in the United States.

HEAR THE THREE LECTURES:  
SPAIN—Felix Morrow, Sunday, Feb. 26  
FRANCE—Max Shachtman, Sunday, March 5  
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IRVING PLAZA, Irving Place at 15th St.

Auspices: Socialist Workers Party—Fourth International.  
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**Japan's Intentions**

Chamberlain bluntly made clear to the House of Commons on Monday that at the first opportunity he was prepared to recognize Franco's government as the ruler of Spain. Pressed by whining Laborites as to whether Commons would be consulted "before any such fundamental change in policy is taken," the Prime Minister declared that Commons would not be consulted. "The Government must take the responsibility."

Friction between the Anglo-French and Italo-German blocs has intensified during this wooing of Franco. The real course of the Stalinists and Socialists in France is indicated by the fact that they voted unanimously for Daladier's law renewing the two-year military service requirements. In the honeymoon days of the Popular Front, the Stalinists justified votes for military laws on the ground that the government which would carry them out was progressive. Now even this pretense is dropped!

Service to their own bourgeoisie by the reformist Socialists, service by the Stalinists to the same bourgeoisie in the hope that England and France will yet be found on the same side as Stalin in the coming war—these are the primary motivations of the Second and Third International. That course has now led them to covering up Negrin's traces as he seeks to make a horse-trade with Franco on behalf of Anglo-French imperialism.

and has concentrated heavy garrisons along the Manchukuo border.

All these moves suggest a plan for a military and naval demonstration this Spring in connection with the anticipated showdown over the fisheries dispute—the

Japanese claim to fishing rights in Siberian waters.

In other words, Japan is preparing itself on all fronts for the extension of imperialist conflict into a general war. That's what the occupation of Hainan essentially means.

granted by Franco, means nothing to the masses. Are the workers of Italy and Germany less oppressed by fascism because those countries are independent?

This proposal reveals in the crudest fashion that Negrin is merely the puppet of the Anglo-French imperialists who don't care how bestial Spanish fascism is so long as it remains their sphere of influence and not that of the Italo-German bloc.

How much of a puppet of Anglo-French imperialism Negrin is was revealed clearly by the Minorca incident. In return for Franco's occupation of the island fortress with purely Spanish troops, thereby forestalling Italy's getting a grip on the island through occupation by Italian "volunteers," Britain urged the Loyalist government to surrender the island without a fight.

The Minorca Loyalist authorities did so, undoubtedly with the agreement of Negrin. For if it was against the will of Negrin, why did he not denounce the surrender as a betrayal?

**How Minorca Fell**

Seeking to cover up this piece of treachery, the Stalinist Daily Worker had the effrontery to report that the British cruiser Devonshire "pointed its guns at Minorca" and the surrender followed. The faithful were thereupon to understand that Minorca fell, not because of treachery, but because of British guns! The Stalinists treat their following as if they were idiots, but no amount of blind faith can conceal from these misguided workers the ever-more clearly etched treachery of the People's Front.

While Negrin and del Vayo in Madrid did what they could to woo Franco for the Anglo-French bloc, the "great democracies" were wooing Franco for their own. British and French representatives were in the fascist capital,

Ben-Gurion, the Zionist head of the Jewish Federation of Labor, has put it crudely enough: the Jew who does not collaborate with the mandate power is a traitor to Zionism, he has said.

The very subservience of the Zionist leadership enables the British rulers to drag them deeper and deeper into the service of Britain.

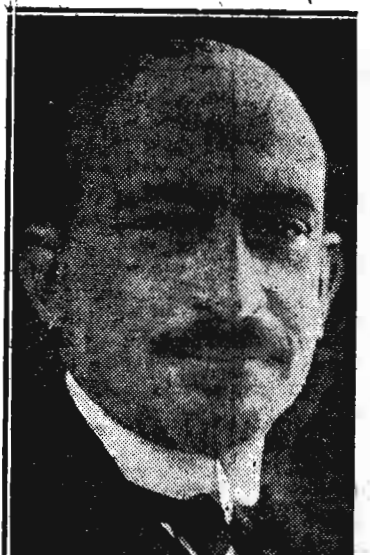
**MacDonald's Sneer**

Under-Secretary of State for Colonies Malcolm MacDonald demonstrated this on Feb. 9 when he contemptuously asked the Zionist delegation in London whether they expected Britain to continue to maintain the Jewish national home in Palestine at the point of a bayonet.

You Zionists are anxious to

serve us? Then understand that we need the collaboration of the Arab world more than we need you—this is what MacDonald is saying. And the Zionists, trapped in their false position, have no way of answering. The horrible truth is that, having put their backs on unity of Jewish and Arab workers and farmers, they are dependent upon British bayonets.

The present conference is not really a conference. The Arabs will not meet with the Jewish delegation, and vice-versa. The British imperialists remain on top, "impartial" arbiters in a game in which all the rules are made by the victor.



Chaim Weizman



Malcolm MacDonald



David Ben Gurion

## Negrin Asks Franco for "Safe" Peace to End War

(Continued from Page 1)

conferring with Franco's lieutenants, seeking to exchange generous loans for guarantees of curtailment of Italo-German influence in Spain.

That the Anglo-French moves were making headway was indicated by the bitter vituperation with which the Italian press commented on the successful British maneuver at Minorca.

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## I.R.A. OPENS NEW DRIVE ON BRITISH RULE IN IRELAND

(Continued from Page 1)

Police in Northern Ireland and in Eire tore down the posters. In England to date at least 15 men have been arrested there and are being held under Section 4 of the Explosives Substances Act of 1883. The arrests followed a nation-wide hunt by Scotland Yard detectives and the police. In the London court were produced high explosives, pistols, a rifle, detonators and the "Proclamation of the Irish Republican Army."

Reports from Belfast, meanwhile, said that hundreds of copies of the British National Service booklets, part of Britain's defense program, (i.e. conscription ink-books) were burned in the streets of Londonderry, North Ireland. A house-to-house collection for the I.R.A. cause was said to have been made while the crowds cheered the blazing pile of burning booklets.

**Stalinists Support Traitor**

These events and the development of a renewed struggle for the independence of Ireland from the British Empire have been received by the Stalinists with the charge that the wave of bombings and subsequent burning of National Service booklets are inspired by the Nazis and that, "all this is an attempt to further (sic) harass the 'democracies' at this time and are to be condemned by all lovers of peace and democracy!"

The Daily Worker, official organ of the Communist Party frame-up gang, reprints the announcement of the passage of De Valera's reactionary bills providing for vicious repression of the I.R.A. without a single comment! In other words, when De Valera says, "There is but one government in Ireland and it alone speaks for the Irish people" the Stalinists rush to agree and to support this infamous traitor.

**I.R.A. Motives Sincere**

All revolutionary socialists will disagree with use of individual terror and isolated acts of violence because such methods will win no real gains for the Irish people—or any people. Such methods only play into the hands of the reactionary police officials and the traitors like De Valera, who use the explosions to arrest and execute all true enemies of British tyranny.

But no revolutionist will doubt for one minute the sincerity or the motives of the Irish Republican Army. That is why the Stalinist attempt to connect the blasts with the Nazis is a criminal, vicious libel. Now the Irish workers can clearly see and understand the reactionary role of the Communist Party in its desperate attempt to lick the boots of "democratic" Britain!

The Socialist Appeal, in an editorial a few weeks ago, pointed

**Burn War Lists**

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out the only road by which the fight for national independence can be effectively fought and won.

**We of the Fourth International urge the workers and small farmers of Ireland to unite and to link their struggle with the oppressed people of all British colonies. Only through a revolutionary struggle in which the broad masses of the people are prepared to take part can victory be assured.**

The criminal partitioning of Ireland is the historic tactic of perfidious Albion—"Divide and Rule!"—and in this particular case it means the virtual starvation of the people of Southern Ireland. Ulster, in the North, has been the pet of British industrialists and has been developed with large industries and continually subsidized in order to further the division between Ulster and the agricultural south. Now, in a fierce attempt to maintain the artificial division, a British army occupies the six Northeastern counties.

**Workers Educational Forum**  
Presents  
**KARL SCHOLZ**  
Noted economist  
on "Conflicting Forces in Europe Today"  
Thursday, Feb. 23rd, 8:30 P.M.  
310 Locust Street  
PHILADELPHIA, Pa.

# LEFT JABS

**Sprinting into "Communism"**

The N. Y. Times reports that Moscow streets are usually teeming but since the new labor laws on tardiness went into effect workers fairly sprint along in the morning hours. At the same time Premier Molotov announces: "We are now passing from Socialism to Communism." Bang, bang, another late-comer bit the dust.

**Peace Loving**

"Give me three thousand—five thousand—ten thousand bombing and pursuit planes, battleships and cruisers by the score, pilots by the tens of thousands, billions for arms, the sky's the limit and our frontier is now in France." Boy, isn't it great to have a president who "hates war!"

**Patience, Brother, Patience**

To those who may become impatient in the vain search for a job, we recommend the story of Leopold Desfourneaux of Paris, whose patience was finally rewarded when on the death of headman Anatole Leibler he became the official executioner for the French government and on February 4, at the age of 80, cut off his first head. To Andre Obrecht who also sought the job we offer condolences, along with the consolation thought that 80 is a ripe old age, man is mortal, and so for him also prosperity may be just around the corner.

**Pillars of Society**

The Judiciary—The Stock Exchange—and Business fittingly represented by Judge Manton, Richard Whitney, and Coster-Musica.

**Union Wrecking Recipe**

To one dozen fast reactionary bureaucrats add a bunch of over-ripe Stalinists, season with Browderian advice, top the dish with an ex-preacher, and garnish with democracy a la Lewis. Serve with a shovel. Makes sufficient portions to satisfy all Auto Companies.

**Insect Life**

Stalin's gift to Massachusetts, popularly known as "Filthy Phil," is now starring in a New England version of "The Informer." He is eminently qualified for the part.

**Holding the Bag**

In the days when the "O" in C.I.O. stood more for "Organization" and less for "Orders" from above, trouble developed in a steel plant in New England. The youthful and enthusiastic local leaders sent a telegram to the C.I.O. local in a sister plant in Pennsylvania. "Planning strike, will you join with us, or leave us holding the bag?" Promptly came the reply: "Ship the bag to us, we strike tomorrow."

**A Glorious Empire and a Noble Purpose**

Average net earnings of a Punjab farmer are three farthings (1/4c) per day. Average monthly earnings of a miner in the best mining region of India, \$3.25 to \$5.00. Indian population 352,837,778, illiterate 321,628,003.

"It is only when you get to see and realize what India is, that she is the strength and greatness of England—it is only then that you feel that every nerve a man may strain, every energy he may put forward, cannot be devoted to a nobler purpose than keeping tight the cords that hold India to ourselves."—Lord Curzon, "Life," Vol. 1, page 193.

**A Slogan for the Workers' Alliance**

"Stand behind the President. He wants to fire only 1,000,000 W.P.A. workers. . . ."  
BILL

out the only road by which the fight for national independence can be effectively fought and won.

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Editor:  
**MAX SHACHTMAN**  
Associate Editors:  
**HAROLD ROBERTS** **FELIX MORROW**  
Staff Members:  
**EMANUEL GARRETT** **JOSEPH HANSEN**  
Business Manager:  
**S. STANLEY**

## FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY FOR:

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

## Rebel India Marches Again

A few weeks back, Captain Anthony Eden—smooth mouthpiece for the British imperialists—was over here trying to convince the American people how virtuous, democratic and upright the masters of the British Empire are.

But evidently Chamberlain, Eden and the whole lot of slave masters that lord it over the world-wide Empire of Mother England haven't succeeded in convincing anyone—least of all the 365,000,000 enslaved people of India.

News coming to us from all parts of this vast country show that the British raj is in dire straits. Millions of organized peasants are on the march against British and native landlords. In Burma—a British Province—10,000 hunger marchers descended upon the city of Mandalay militantly to present their grievances to the government.

In Dhekhanal, a state ruled over by a feudal Prince, the people are up in arms against his bloody dictatorship. Jute workers of Calcutta, textile workers and printers of Cawnpore, sugar workers in Burma—all are conducting aggressive battles and strikes.

Rebel India is marching forward towards independence and freedom!

And how do the hypocritical "democrats" of England reply to this mass movement of the people? In Dhekhanal, 79 peasants have been killed in the last month by His Majesty's Scottish Guards; in Burma the British provocateurs precipitate race riots of Hindu against Moslem—and then cold-bloodily shoot both groups down. And above all, the British are preparing to set up a one-man military dictatorship over all of India. They call this scheme of theirs "Federation." Actually, it is a Slave Federation, with the British imperialists wielding the whip.

The India Nationalist Congress—now controlled by the elements grouped around the Congress Socialist Party—has demanded complete freedom within six months. It remains to be seen whether the Congress will persevere along this line. The great mass movements of the India people of the past have been dispersed time and again by the weakness and often by the outright treachery of the Nationalist leaders.

The entire civilized world and above all the international working class cannot but rejoice that the rule of Britain's dictators over India is being challenged, and will hope that this time it will be smashed forever. English imperialism has made of India a country bowed down by poverty, taxation, ignorance and oppression on an unparalleled scale. The uprising of its mass population will signify a revival in the entire movement of the colonial peoples against their foreign oppressors.

Minnesota House of Representatives rejects a bill to permit legislators and other officials convicted of receiving bribes to hold office again after seven years. One doesn't talk of the rope in the house of the hanged.

## "Dangerous Nonsense"

Before a meeting sponsored by 28 distinguished scientists in the Waldorf-Astoria hotel on Lincoln's birthday, Henry A. Wallace, Secretary of Agriculture, characterized as "pure scientific faking" the Nazi propaganda that the so-called Aryans are superior to all other races and therefore have the right to dominate over them.

Secretary Wallace is something of an authority not only in the Democratic Party. He credits himself with authority too in the field of genetics. His studies in this field over a period of many years convinced

him, he said, that the Nazi doctrine of race superiority is a "mumbo-jumbo of dangerous nonsense."

We agree entirely with Mr. Wallace's characterization of the Nazi race-superiority doctrine as "pure scientific faking" and a "mumbo-jumbo of dangerous nonsense."

We wish merely to point out that exactly like the whole Democratic Party of which he is a distinguished representative, Mr. Wallace has his present high-salaried position of power precisely to such "scientific faking," such "mumbo-jumbo," such "dangerous nonsense."

The Democratic Party could never have taken power in the United States in 1932 nor retained it in 1936 without the support of its ultra-reactionary wing in the South.

The strangle-hold of the Democratic Party in the South rests entirely on a vicious net-work of laws designed for no other purpose but to bar the Negroes from exercising their suffrage rights and from functioning in the "democratic process" which Mr. Wallace incidentally lauds in his speech commemorating Lincoln's birthday. The entire rationalization for these laws rests on the doctrine of Aryan race superiority, exactly the doctrine characterized as "scientific faking," "mumbo-jumbo," and "dangerous nonsense" by Mr. Wallace.

All the bestial repressions against which Roosevelt, Ickes, and now Wallace lavish so many words of sympathy and stigmatize so graphically, when they occur on the other side of the Atlantic—these are the pillars upon which their salaries and their political rule rests.

What does Mr. Wallace say about the Jim Crow laws which brought him into office, the lynchings, the blow torch on quivering flesh?

It is easy to point indignantly at Nazi brutality and with fine ironic phrases reduce their racial theories to the stench which is their natural level.

But Mr. Wallace, like all the other hypocrites wielding power in a "democracy," is much more discreet about the sewage in his own backyard.

The Rockefeller gift of a \$145,000 plot of ground to New York City brings his total of gifts to the city up to \$11,500,000. Thus raising the percentage disgorged to something like ninety-four hundredths of one per cent of what he's gouged out of us.

## Is the Money There?

Every time the masses demand that the relief budget be extended, or even maintained, the capitalist politicians answer that there are no funds available.

The same answer is given when demands are made for a vast housing program, old-age pensions, and other elementary needs of the people crushed by the crisis. The truth is that funds, plenty of them, are available.

In one day (Feb. 12), the N. Y. Times reported the following news on its financial page:

The American Can Company and its subsidiaries reported for 1938 a net income of \$13,645,498, after deducting interest, depreciation, Federal income taxes, etc. The underpaid slaves of American Can will be tickled to death to learn this.

United States Tobacco, after similar deductions, reports a net profit for 1938 of \$3,358,135. And S. S. Kresge Company took the modest net profit of \$8,997,051.

The masses starve, live in slums, and wear rags. The corporations continue to draw heavy profits.

To feed, shelter and clothe the masses, funds are needed. They are available. All that is necessary is a power able and willing to put its hands on the funds.

The Roosevelt regime, now in power, is more interested in preserving the profits of the corporations than in preserving the lives of the masses.

The answer to the problem lies in the masses themselves—the workers—taking power. Once they have it, they will not hesitate to carry out the most elementary social duties of the day.

Great Britain played the part of the "good neighbor" at Munich, much as United States has towards Mexico and Brazil, declares Sir Charles Morgan-Webb, British economist.

## The Same Old Gang

The promises made by President Roosevelt about what he would do for the "forgotten man" and the submerged one-third of the nation" would, if laid end to end, go a dozen times around the world.

He was going to clean out and clean up the Democratic party.

He was going to smash the "economic royalists."

He was going to put the "Tories" out of the running.

He was going to make American economic life a joy for the people and political life a paradise.

Now, nearing his sixth anniversary in the presidential office, one of the staunchest New Dealers in the country draws a woe-begone balance-sheet. Jay Franklin, Washington columnist of the N. Y. Post, writes the following sad summary on Feb. 7:

... On the whole, the same men control business, banking and politics who controlled it before the Hoover depression.

And, we might add, the old gang will continue to control everything until labor stops relying on capitalist parties, leaders and governments—and puts into power a government of its own really capable of kicking the old gang out.

## Fact of the Week

The Socialist Workers Party proposes a weekly minimum of \$30 pay for a maximum of 30 hours work. At the minimum rate of pay, 1,330,000 workers could be employed for one year at a total cost of \$2,000,000,000.

The Roosevelt war budget for the fiscal year 1940 is \$2,000,000,000.

## Intellectual Ex-Radicals And World Reaction

The Crisis of the Disillusioned Fellow-Travelers of Bolshevism Is Not the Same as a "Crisis of Marxism"

By Leon Trotsky

During the last decade the older generation of the radical intelligentsia has been greatly influenced by Stalinism. Today the turn away from Stalinism in the advanced countries, at any rate, has been reaching ever wider proportions. Some are sincerely disappointed in their illusions while others are simply aware that the ship is in dangerous straits and are in a hurry to leave it. It would be naive to expect that the "disillusioned" should turn to Marxism with which, in the nature of things, they were never acquainted. For most intellectuals their departure from Stalinism signifies a complete break with the revolution and a passive reconciliation with nationalistic democracy. These "disillusioned" provide a culture medium *sui generis* for the bacilli of scepticism and pessimism.

They say: "It is impossible to do anything at the present time. Europe will fall wholly under the sway of Fascism anyway, and the bourgeoisie in the United States is far too powerful. The revolutionary roads lead nowhere. We must adapt ourselves to the democratic regime; we must defend it against all attacks. There is no future for the Fourth International, at all events, not for the next two or three decades..." and so forth and so on.

## Fellow Travellers Join The Disillusioned

The ranks of the disillusioned include not only Stalinists but also the temporary fellow-travelers of Bolshevism. Victor Serge—to cite an instance—has recently announced that Bolshevism is passing through a crisis which presages in turn the "crisis of Marxism." In his theoretical innocence, Serge imagines himself the first to have made this discovery. Yet, in every epoch of reaction, scores and hundreds of unstable revolutionists have risen

to announce the "crisis of Marxism"—the final, the crucial, the mortal crisis.

That the old Bolshevik party has spent itself, has degenerated and perished—that much is beyond controversy. But the ruin of a given historical party, which had for a certain period based itself upon the Marxist doctrine, does not at all signify the ruination of that doctrine. The defeat of an army does not invalidate the fundamental precepts of strategy. Should an artilleryman fire wide of the mark, that would by no means invalidate ballistics, that is, the algebra of artillery. If the army of the proletariat suffers a defeat, or if its party degenerates, then this does not at all invalidate Marxism, which is the algebra of revolution. That Victor Serge himself is passing through a "crisis," i.e., has become hopelessly confused like thousands of other intellectuals—is clear enough. But Victor Serge in crisis is not the crisis of Marxism.

## The Coming War Will Shatter All Illusions

In any case, no serious revolutionist would think of using intellectuals in confusion, Stalinists in disillusion and sceptics in dejection as a yardstick with which to measure the march of history. World reaction has unquestionably assumed monstrous proportions nowadays. But thereby it has prepared the soil for the greatest revolutionary crisis. Fascism may perhaps seize upon the whole of Europe. But it will not be able to maintain itself there not only for a "thousand years," as Hitler dreams, but not even for a decade. The fascization of Europe means the monstrous aggravation of class and international contradictions.

It is absurd, unscientific, unhistorical to think that reaction will continue to unfold at the same gradual pace at which it has been

accumulating hitherto. Reaction signifies this, that the social contradictions are mechanically suppressed. At a certain stage, an explosion is inevitable. World reaction will be overthrown by the greatest catastrophe in world history, or, more correctly, by a series of revolutionary catastrophes. The coming war, which is now being awaited by everyone within the nearest future, will signify the crash of all illusions. Not only the illusions of reformism, pacifism and democratism but also the illusions of Fascism. Only one beacon will rise above the blood-drenched chaos—the beacon of Marxism.

## Marxism Is the Strongest Reality

Hegel was fond of saying: all that is rational is real. This means: every idea that corresponds to objective needs of development attains triumph and victory. No intellectually honest individual can deny that the analysis and prognosis made by the Bolshevik-Leninists (Fourth Internationalists) during the past 15 years have met and still meet with confirmation in the events of our time. It is precisely in this certainty of their correctness that the basic sections of the Fourth International are strong and immutable. The catastrophes of European and world capitalism which are hovering over mankind will clear the path before the steeled cadres of the revolutionary Marxists.

Let the disillusioned ones bury their own dead. The working class is not a corpse. As hitherto, society rests upon it. It needs a new leadership. It will find this nowhere but in the Fourth International. All that is rational is real. Social democracy and Stalinism today represent stupendous fictions. But the Fourth International is an imperishable reality.

## The Politics of Pope Pius

The Spiritual Head of Almost One-Fifth of Mankind Was Not a "Man of Peace and Progress" but an Active And Consistent Advocate of a Program of Reaction

While the body of Pius XI lies in state within the magnificence of St. Peter's Cathedral, the sixty-two Cardinal Princes of the Roman Catholic Church are this week converging on Rome to take part in the election of his successor to the powerful office carrying absolute sway over an institution numbering among its members one-fifth of mankind.

Achille Ratti, who took the name of Pius XI when crowned as Pontiff in 1922, died, according to the reports, with the word "Peace" on his lips, and this has given the imperialist press of the entire world an opportunity to picture him to their readers as "The Pope of Peace." Long editorials praising "the Pope's lifelong fight for peace" have appeared in all of the papers, their cynical hypocrisy evident enough from the constant war-mongering that now daily fills their columns.

The policy of Pius XI did not, of course, flow from any personal characteristics of his own, but from the position in which he was placed as head of a mighty institution rooted deep in the existing social structure. Compelled by the requirements of that position, as will be his successor, he functioned as a defender of the *status quo* on a world scale, as a consistent bulwark of social reaction.

## A Bulwark of Reaction

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Achille Ratti spent his 61 years in quiet and scholarly tasks. His public career did not begin until 1918 when, in May, he was sent as Papal representative to Poland. The Treaty of Brest-Litovsk had just been signed, and there is sound authority for the opinion that Ratti's original assignment was to attempt to undermine the Bolshevik regime so that the Russian armies could again be swung back into the imperialist slaughter on the side of the Allies.

This attempt failed, but he remained in Poland. When the Red Army swept into Poland and reached the gates of Warsaw, he was one of the few leading figures who remained in the city. He is credited with an important role in the defeat of the Red Army, a defeat that struck a shattering blow against the workers' state and helped block the extension of the revolution, thereby hurling European civilization back on the road that has led to fascism and Stalinism.

**Contributes to Rise of Fascism**

Upon his return to Italy in 1922, he was sent first to Milan, then in the midst of the struggles between the workers and the fascists. His achievements in helping

the Pope bitterly defended reaction from a moral, philosophical and theological point of view. In the encyclical "Quadragesimo Anno" and in a more recent (1937) encyclical, he attacked socialism and communism as the scourge of the world and proclaimed the eternal validity of the rights of private property—the right to own private property has been given to man by nature or rather by the Creator Himself."

When, a few months later, he was elected Pope, he began at once the policy of reconciliation with fascism, seeking only to guarantee the authority and privileges of the Church. The lengthy and skillful negotiations were finally climaxed by the signing of the Lateran Treaty with Mussolini in 1929.

He attempted the same policy at a more rapid rate in the case of Germany. On July 8, 1933, less than six months after Hitler had taken power, while the Nazis were in the midst of the first frightful terror against the workers and were completing the ruthless suppression of all oppositions, Pius signed a Concordat with Germany. Its terms have not been kept and difficulties have arisen; but the example of Italy proves that the aim of the Church is anti-Nazi only to the extent necessary to bring about an accommodation between Nazism and the Church which will safeguard the social position of the Church.

## Blesses War Against Ethiopians

Not merely did the Church under Pius accept the pitiless war of Mussolini against Ethiopia; through the persons of some of the most prominent Cardinals and Bishops of Italy, the war was blessed and hailed as the means for carrying God and the true faith to the benighted black savages of Africa.

From the beginning of the Spanish War, the Vatican threw its entire influence on the side of the fascists. Denunciations of the "savagery" and "terror" of the "Reds" were spread throughout the world, while not one word was spoken by Rome at the unbelievable slaughter—not by Catholics but by Moors—of thousands of innocent civilians in the bull ring at Badajoz; and only vague general remarks, never mentioning Franco's armies directly, were published against the horrible bombings of unarmaged cities.

On April 17, 1938, Pius sent the following telegram to the butcher, Franco:

"We are glad to hear vibrating in your Excellency's message the traditional faith of Catholic Spain, whose crown of faith is enriched for its better fortune by a new hero of Christian fortitude, and we send you with all our hearts the apostolic benediction, propitiatory of Divine favors."

## Sanctifies Private Property

During these same years, in a remarkable series of encyclicals,

the Pope bitterly defended reaction from a moral, philosophical and theological point of view. In the encyclical "Quadragesimo Anno" and in a more recent (1937) encyclical, he attacked socialism and communism as the scourge of the world and proclaimed the eternal validity of the rights of private property—the right to own private property has been given to man by nature or rather by the Creator Himself."

In an encyclical "On Christian Marriage" he put forward conceptions the effect of which could only be to reduce women to the condition of medieval serfs, and others whose arguments have been used widely in this country in the campaign against the Child Labor amendment.

He made blanket condemnations of modern art and music, and fostered the anti-scientific educational theories which have lately been gaining some strength in this country through the influence of the Catholic schools and of such men as Mortimer Adler, Scott Buchanan, and Robert M. Hutchins.

## Freedom Displeases Religious Need

That social actions and doctrines so antithetical to all the needs and aspirations of mankind should so widely influence hundreds of millions of workers and peasants can be explained only through the continuing need felt by the masses, deprived of human well-being now within their grasp, for the consolation of religious superstition. This need, we may be sure, will disappear only through the building of a new and joyous world of plenty and freedom.

There is almost certain to be a prolonged struggle over the election of the new Pope, which requires a two-thirds majority of the College of Cardinals. It is rumored that one faction of the Church headed by the Jesuits favors a leader who will adopt an outspoken anti-Hitler policy—that is, a policy of lining up the Church behind the democratic imperialism for the coming war. The bulk of the Italian Cardinals, who comprise a majority, dependent on Mussolini, will doubtless oppose any such affront to Mussolini's axis partner.

The difference, however, can in the long run be only secondary, since the Church by the very nature of the case is committed to the defense of the *status quo*; and the *status quo* can now be defended only by a deepening reaction in every sphere of human thought and activity.

## THEIR GOVERNMENT

By James Burnham

While we draw up our final accounting of the Civil War in Spain, resolved that no bitter lesson of the staggering defeat shall be left unlearned, we must not forget to leave open a column for the record of Franklin Roosevelt. Roosevelt, you will have noticed from the papers, is soon to be leading us on the crusade to wipe fascism off the face of the earth. Before we put ourselves wholly into his hands, it would be circumspect to know as much as we can about our leader.

## "A State of War" ... China and Spain

Shortly after the Spanish civil war began, Roosevelt, acting under the authority granted to the President under the provisions of the Neutrality Act, clamped down a governmental embargo on the shipments of munitions to either side. This step was in no way required by the Neutrality Act. The Neutrality Act states that an embargo must be applied when "a state of war exists"; but it leaves to the President the definition of just when that may be. It might seem absurd to argue over whether a "state of war" existed in Spain; but parliamentary language is often an absurdity.

The proof that responsibility for the embargo rests directly on Roosevelt, that his action was not required by the Neutrality Act, is furnished, of course, by the fact that so far as he is concerned no state of war has to this day existed in China, and consequently no embargo has been imposed on the Far Eastern combatants.

The effect of the embargo on Spain is notoriously known. It cut munition shipments to the Loyalists virtually to a smuggled minimum, since no nations except Mexico and occasionally on a small scale France would carry out their trans-shipment from the United States. When it was discovered that a few airplanes and machine guns were reaching Madrid through Mexico, suits were immediately instituted against the shippers in this country.

## But the Embargo Did Not Hurt Franco

Trans-shipments to Franco, in contrast, were an everyday occurrence. Boat after boat sailed away from U. S. ports, paid a legalizing courtesy call to a Portuguese, Channel or North Sea harbor, and discharged their loads in Franco territory. Especially numerous were the neat black bombs which, taking off from Baltimore, ended their journeys among the mangled bodies of the women and children of Valencia or Madrid or Barcelona.

When the volunteers began leaving this country on a large scale to join the International Brigade, the comment of Roosevelt's State Department was a declaration that all American citizens fighting in a "foreign army" would have their passports cancelled and would lose their citizenship, and that non-citizens would not be permitted to return. Only the pressure of mass opinion compelled this threat to lapse into passivity.

## American Consuls Protected ... Property

During the war the U. S. consular officials have remained on the job. Their chief assignment has been to keep a careful eye on American property—International Telephone & Telegraph's monopoly, the plants of General Motors. They have made clear to the Loyalists that whoever was to win the war, the U. S. corporations intended to guard their own; and thus they contributed to the sabotage and elimination of workers' ownership and control, the weakening of which so irrevocably undermined the anti-fascist struggle.

In short, with respect to the Spanish civil war Roosevelt has played exactly the same part as Chamberlain and Blum-Daladier. He is merely one other sworn member of the gang, through his telegraphic and diplomatic intervention, Roosevelt was as fully present at Munich as if he also had sat around the green table, and he participated as directly in the bloody deal. In the same way he was a member with full if not formalized rights in the infamous Non-Intervention Committee through which imperialism did its strangling and choking of the Spanish workers and peasants. Wherein did his policy differ from that of Chamberlain? Only in the slightly different brand of demagoguery used to put it across.

## Roosevelt Did Not Betray His Own Interests

Was Roosevelt, then, one of the "betrayers" of the Spanish workers? Let us not be naive, or hypocritical. A man can betray only his own cause; when he helps defeat the enemy he is not a betrayer but a good soldier. And Roosevelt's cause is not the cause of the Spanish workers.

To Roosevelt, "the defense of democracy" quite correctly means, when translated into more concrete language, the defense of the interests of U. S. imperialism. Faced with the actual choice in Spain, U. S. imperialism—like every other imperialism—and Roosevelt as its governmental director preferred the victory of Franco as the lesser evil. They did so because, in spite of what Browder and Norman Thomas and **The Nation** tried to tell them, they knew that the only alternative to a Franco victory was not a victory for the bourgeois-democratic government of Negrin but the victory of the Spanish proletarian revolution. And anything, anything whatever, is for imperialism, for any imperialism, preferable to the proletarian revolution.

As always in serious matters, not words or ideals, but the class criterion proved to be decisive.

## Labor Looks Through The Press

By ARTHUR HOPKINS

President Wilkins of Oberlin College urges revision of the neutrality act to forbid sale of implements of war to any foreign nation. "It is obviously absurd," he says, "that we should strengthen the military hand of a potentially hostile state." But it's damned good business—for the bosses.

Advertisement: "For 27 cents, Porto Rican nighties, hand embroidered and hand applied, meant to cost much more!" Isn't it just dandy that those Porto Rican girls aren't as "unreasonable" as our American girls, and are "willing" to work for five cents a day?

Senator Henrik Shipstead of Minnesota, in "explaining" his vote against the \$725,000,000 relief appropriation, which failed of passage by one vote, says: "I will vote for more money later, if necessary." Meanwhile the unemployed lopped off relief rolls can sleep in the parks and eat grass. The Senator is noted for his "dry humor," but the unemployed might appreciate it more if he had waited for summertime to display it.