

AMERICA'S PERMANENT DEPRESSION-IV

Defense Guards Only Answer!

Roosevelt, Man of Many Faces, Has But Single Purpose, to Save Capitalism

By ART PREIS

Franklin D. Roosevelt has been pictured in so many diverse aspects by anti- and pro-New Dealers that disinterested observers of the man might well feel they are viewing grotesque reflections in a hall of freak mirrors. These reflections continually resemble caricatures in which those features which are most attractive or most detestable are drawn to exaggerated proportions, all in accordance with the particular prejudices of the artists.

To his foes on the right, largely the relics of the hard-bitten independent industrial feudalists of an earlier capitalism, Roosevelt sometimes appears as a blood-red revolutionist trampling on the most sacred rights of private property and the unrestricted exploitation of labor. To these gentlemen, whose minds see no further than the end of a black-jack, the slightest gesture of pacification offered by Roosevelt to the unemployed or any other section of the workers and poor farmers, even though the gesture be made with an empty hand, appears as calculated betrayal of their interests.

By his friends of the left—the ineffectual reformers and liberals, the labor fakery marketing unionism to the capitalists as an instrument for stabilizing profits, the peace-time pacifists, the Stalinists who wish to preserve democracy even if they have to silence by frame-up, knife or gun every labor militant—by these he is still hailed the new St. George of the common man, thrusting a solid spear into the dragon of vested interests.

Portraits Are Modified

From time to time, each camp is forced to modify their particular portraits. When juicy appropriations for military purposes are pushed through by Roosevelt, when fat bounties in the form of R.F.C. loans are tossed into the laps of bankers and railroad tycoons, when the undistributed profits tax is dropped into the legislative waste-basket, the "Tories" nod their heads benevolently in his direction and affirm, "The kid's got talent all right. If he'd only take himself in hand, cut out these week-end spreads with those red bumps around the corner, and stick to business, he'll be tops someday."

When Roosevelt, the great democrat, counterposes only an imposing silence to the labor smashing brutalities of Haguelism, and the insolent flaunting of organized gunmen in the face of legislative edicts by the Weirs, Girdlers and Fordas; when the Roosevelt State Department, in immediate response to the demands of the blood-sucking American oil, mine and land interests in impoverished Mexico, imposes ruinous retaliatory economic measures upon our southern neighbor; when he sanctions the "neutral" embargo of arms to Republican Spain and permits the unhampered shipment of oil, scrap iron and munitions to Japan; when, in fact, he demonstrates a more than detached concern for the interests of the real ruling class regardless of his most idealistic utterances, the loyal "leftists" shake their head sadly and paint the picture of a generous, noble soul, abused and misled by crafty and insidious powers betraying him within his own camp.

All of these estimates are false to the core. Roosevelt is neither a lurking anarchist awaiting the opportune moment to sprout whiskers and have a well-timed bomb into the sacred precincts of the New York Stock Exchange, nor a talented but irresponsible playboy, nor a great white knight come on horse-back to storm the citadels of oppression, nor a yokel being taken in by county fair sharpers, nor a benevolent country squire innocently inveigled into capitalizing some shady enterprise by reasonable advisers.

Roosevelt Ablest Capitalist Politician

In actuality, Roosevelt is the ablest, most intelligent, calculating and single-minded politician yet produced by the American capitalist class. His sole objective, linking into a single chain all his seemingly contradictory acts, is to save and stabilize the system of American capitalism.

The means by which Roosevelt intends to carry out this objective are dazzlingly clear. All the main lines of his strategy, his legislation, his statements, his executive policies point to that means: imperialist war.

American capitalism, torn by the same internal contradictions that beset the rival systems of every capitalist nation on earth, is fighting in every portion of the globe for outlets for surplus capital and products unmarketable at home. Facing the menacing shadow of mass unemployed millions which industry can never

absorb, supporting a government credit structure mounting to unprecedented and top-heavy heights, unable, except by huge government spending programs which mean increasing tax-loads, to balance profits, prices and production with mass purchasing power, the American capitalist class is preparing its inevitable and desperate bid for survival through the military subjection of its commercial and imperialist rivals.

It is the role of Roosevelt to best prepare the American nation for that task. His entire program of economic and social legislation can be understood only in the light of such preparations.

War Demands Support By All

Roosevelt is perfectly aware that the successful pursuit of his imperialistic aims through military means necessitates the complete loyalty to him of every section of the population. Such blind adherence to his designs, particularly in the part of the impoverished masses, can only be secured by his convincing the American workers and farmers that he is the genuine champion of their interests.

Further, Roosevelt understands how vital to his aims is the preservation of peace between capital and labor. His program is to keep a constant balance between the classes. On the one hand he maintains his hold over the masses by attacking the most conspicuously evil manifestations of the capitalist system. On the other, while disguising with reforms the ugliest aspects, he tries to maintain the system as such strengthened and intact.

The attempt to maintain class peace in America becomes increasingly difficult for Roosevelt. He is unable for any length of time to pacify labor by paying the way for wage concessions, for he must immediately cancel out these concessions by measures which induce price rises and the maintenance of profit levels. He cannot indefinitely pacify the unemployed, because new waves of unemployment force him to spread appropriations for jobs in thinner and thinner layers, while the ruling class thunders at him because of the inevitable increase in his requirements.

Now to the Left, Now to the Right

So Roosevelt, offering his favors now to the left and now to the right, subduing with increasing difficulty the constantly smoldering class conflicts, hastens his course toward imperialist war before inevitable, recurring and constantly deepening economic crises explode into naked and tremendous class conflicts which neither he nor anyone will be able to control.

It is true that Roosevelt has incurred the displeasure of many of his own class whose immediate and personal interests have been hampered by the measures he has taken to preserve the class as a whole. But such displeasure is temporary; like the immediate reaction to a bad-tasting medicine whose future results will be beneficial.

It is significant to note, that in every poll of public opinion, as well as in the expressions of the capitalist press, Roosevelt's foreign policy and war appropriations (the greatest in the peacetime history of this and every other nation) have received almost universal endorsement. The recent Life magazine poll, among those of the wealthy and upper middle class, showed a more than 90 percent approval of Roosevelt's imperialist preparations as expressed in his foreign policy and armaments program.

So it is that Roosevelt hopes ultimately to conquer unemployment. The administration is preparing to receive dividends on every dollar spent for the relief of the unemployed. Those dividends will be exacted in the form of support for the Roosevelt war program. Every concession to the working class, every slightest social reform has a price tag on it, marked in blood, "Support of Imperialist War."

(The final article in this series will be a discussion of the only genuine program to aid the unemployed and end unemployment.—Ed.)

CHILD SLAVERY BRINGS STRIKE

Seventy-five boys and girls employed by the Cardboard Novelty Company in Philadelphia to make Christmas wreaths have gone on strike against wages of 30 cents a day. The C.I.O. has refused to accept dues or initiation fees from children earning less than starvation wages and has placed the entire resources of the local C.I.O. organization at the disposal of the group.



Ohio YPSL Holds Successful Camp

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio. — A highly successful educational and recreational camp of the Ohio district of the Young Peoples Socialist League ended last week at Lake Milton. More than 20 young comrades attended the camp which featured a program of trade union, political, technical and public speaking classes under the direction of B. J. Widick, national labor secretary of the Socialist Workers Party. Only \$5 was charged for room and board for the entire week, yet, under the excellent administration of Sam Silvers, camp director from Youngstown, a profit of \$20 was made, which will be used for YPSL and party activity.

PROTEST LONG HOURS, LOW PAY

CHICAGO. — Fifty of the 120 workers on the W.P.A. Federal Clothing Project, staged an effective protest against extremely long hours of work and a rate of pay lower than the W.P.A. scale.

The protests were made against the hours of work originally set for 156 hours a month. Long before the month had expired the workers had already put in many hours in overtime. They received only \$60 a month while the minimum scale is fifty cents an hour. Under such a scale the rate of pay should have been \$78.00 a month.

When they protested, the workers were told they are not really working on a W.P.A. project and are not therefore entitled to this minimum wage! The protest of the workers won for them a five-day week, rest periods and a \$5.00 monthly increase in wages.

In addition to the above gains, the workers won the right to time off for overtime work for which they had not been paid. This victory is spurring the workers on to union organization and they are now considering the best means to achieve such organization.

STEEL WORKERS WIN L. A. STRIKE

(Continued from page 1)

rious chisellers in the industry, the union is planning to extend its organizational drive. Bob Ontell and Rudy Garcia, leading figures in the organizational drive and militant leaders on the strike committee, expect to bring into the union many workers in the smaller manufacturing plants in this area, plants that have been ignored in the organizational lag in the C.I.O. here.

MUSIC GUILD WINS

The American Guild of Musical Artists, A.G.M.A., has been recognized as sole bargaining agent for the artists of the Metropolitan Opera Association. Details of the agreement have not yet been made public.

NOT GUILTY

REPORT OF THE COMMISSION OF INQUIRY INTO THE CHARGES MADE AGAINST LEON TROTSKY IN THE MOSCOW TRIALS

The findings of the Commission headed by John Dewey, and its comprehensive analysis of the Moscow trials based upon the official records and its own hearings in Mexico City, Paris and New York, is now available.

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Blackwell, Anti-Fascist Jailed by Loyalists, Free

Defense Needs Funds To Complete Works

Word has been received that Russell Blackwell has been released by the Spanish Government authorities into the custody of American consular officials.

Blackwell, an American anti-fascist revolutionist, has been placed on the Stalinist blacklist, published here and abroad. As a result, after upwards of a year in Spain, he was jailed in Madrid and the danger arose that the G.P.U., which has easy access to the prisons, would get him at night, the way they got Andres Nin; or that he would be included in the Spanish Government's (Moscow) trial.

His release was secured by requesting the State Dept. here for his repatriation. For that purpose

funds have been collected and placed in the hands of Mrs. Blackwell, who has worked hard and well for her husband's freedom. The persons listed below, who came together for his defense, and any others designated by them, constitute the only group authorized by her to collect funds, and the only group which has to date provided the necessary funds.

More money is needed, and obligations incurred must be discharged by this group. It is an urgent appeal, therefore, which they send out. Even the smallest amount will be helpful. They have asked checks to be made payable to John McDonald, 63 Washington Square, New York City.

The following are members of the committee: Anita Brenner, James P. Cannon, E. J. Field, John McDonald, E. J. Muste, Liston Oak, James Rorty, Herbert Solow, Thomas Stamm, Carlo Tresca, Mike Vega.

SEA UNIONS AND GOV'T FINK HALLS

(Continued from page 1)

way of Roosevelt's war preparations.

Who Built the N.M.U. But it is to be presumed that Jerry King is not a Stalinist, as he was elected on an anti-Stalinist ticket. And it is to be presumed that he is without previous commitments, and that his primary interest is in building and preserving the N.M.U.

On the other hand, the building of the N.M.U. is not the primary concern of President Roosevelt and his government. Despite the well-wishes of a few individuals on the N.L.R.B., the chief task of Roosevelt is to prepare for the coming war, and in that task the Maritime Commission plays a far more important role than the N.L.R.B. The job of the Maritime Commission is to rehabilitate and expand the merchant marine, the right arm of the Navy.

And to have an effective war-time merchant marine it is not only necessary to have an adequate number of ships, but an adequate supply of docile, regimented seamen to man those ships. That means, no matter how frightful their conditions, no matter how much needless danger they are subjected to, no matter how disgusted they may become with the whole mad mess of an imperialist war, the seamen shall not have the power to resist. And that means no unions.

Land Gives Line The Maritime Commission understands this fully. Replying to a letter from the New York Maritime Council (C.I.O.), one of those futile gestures by which the Stalinists pretend to "fight the fink halls," Admiral Land, head of the Commission, states, "Masters of all United States Maritime Commission vessels have the responsibility and the duty of selecting the crews of such vessels and of approving any man for employment as a member of such crew. Crews shall be supplied through the office of the United States Shipping Commissioner and sub-

Fascism and Big Business

By DANIEL GUERIN

Brilliant and thorough-going analysis of the evolution and strategy of fascism in Italy and Germany from the Marxist viewpoint. The author stresses that it is not enough to understand fascism but that appropriate means must be taken to combat it. In this respect, this book is also a tactical guide manual for action against fascism.

The volume will be edited by Dwight Macdonald who will supply notes on America.

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ject to final acceptance by the Master."

In two brief sentences the Admiral sets aside the victory fought for and won by thousands of seamen on all coasts—the right for union-controlled hiring halls. And if too many seamen now sailing the ships insist on being men and not slaves, the Maritime Commission is preparing for that also. Training ships, established and operated by the government, will turn out new seamen, men without the tradition of solidarity and militancy inspired by union membership.

All Hiring Endangered More and more ships, formerly privately owned, are being taken over by the Commission. In event of war, the whole merchant marine will be under the control of the Commission. Even now the New York Times editorially asks that the government hiring halls take over the hiring on privately owned ships. The question of government interference is sharply posed for all seamen's unions.

The West Coast unions, following the lead of the Sailors Union of the Pacific, have already declared their determination to fight to the last to maintain union control of hiring. They have declared their willingness to unite with any union which will fight this government threat to all marine unions.

With the Stalinists in control, it was hopeless to expect support in this fight from the leadership of the N.M.U. With the Stalinists out, and a new leadership elected by the rank and file, still the N.M.U. is silent on the most vital question confronting the American seamen. It is time for an answer.

DEMOCRATS LINE UP IN PRIMARIES

(Continued from page 1)

talist party politician in a capitalist office had to do, what Sawyer will necessarily be compelled to do tomorrow.

Any doubt on this score should have been removed by the recent experience in Iowa. There Governor Kraschel had already been endorsed for re-nomination by the leaders of the C.I.O. But that did not and could not prevent him from smashing the Maytag strike when that strike became a real threat to one of Iowa's largest industrial establishments. The function of capitalist politicians is to uphold capitalism; no one, therefore, should blame them when they fulfill their function.

Case of O'Connor

The wholly bourgeois orientation of the L.N.P.L. bureaucracy is as strikingly illustrated in the case of Representative O'Connor. At the suggestion of LaGuardia, the American Labor Party had made the stop-gap nomination of the little known Byrnes MacDonald to oppose O'Connor in the twenty-third congressional district of Manhattan. At the same time the New York Republican machine is planning to give O'Connor the Republican nomination in his district. Following Roosevelt's Georgia speech, however, when it became evident that the Roosevelt faction was going to oppose O'Connor for the Democratic nomination, the A.L.P. obediently withdrew its own nominee and substituted that of the Roosevelt candidate, Fay. Here as in its other coalition moves, the A.L.P. leaders treat the workers' votes like so many pawns that they sell to the highest bourgeois bidder.

There is, in short, just one little item of importance missing in this primaries campaign: namely, independent working-class politics. And while that is missing, the old run-around continues. It is still—heads, the bosses win; tails, the workers lose.

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Insertions in this column are 25 cents for five lines. Copy must be in at the APPEAL office before 6 o'clock Monday evening.

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Union Busters Plan Rump Convention to Split UAW

(Continued from page 1)

of heart in the administration? Trumpet Yet to Come

Are these things possible? Not on your tinfoil! Anybody who has watched the union wreckers at work, knows that they play their game with better cards than the deuces mentioned above. The answer to the twisting, squirming line of the Communist Party which has finally evolved into the rump convention and open split course of Strategy Number Four may very probably be found in the name of one man: John L. Lewis.

It is a known and recognized fact in the labor movement that the Stalinists have curried favor with Lewis. And it is equally known that either through a written pact or a verbal understanding, Stalinists have been given high positions in the C.I.O. Despite a flood of complaints and grievances from C.I.O. workers throughout the country, Lewis has not uttered one word of criticism against his Stalinist allies. And they in turn have kept their part of the bargain by trumpeting his praise throughout the union movement.

Now the Stalinist section of the alliance is being hammered with telling blows in union after union. The last issue of the Socialist Appeal reported the defeats administered the Bridges regime on the West Coast and the Curran gang on the East Coast. A day or two later David Dubinsky announced in the press that his union would not participate in the scheduled C.I.O. New York State Convention.

Lewis May Back Split

Is Lewis planning to save his rapidly waning prestige and power by throwing in his lot with a split engineered by the Stalinists in the auto union? There are some strong indications that this is the case. Firstly, Frankenstein's emphatic remarks in Toledo on the planned rump convention: "... we will advise with and be guided by the C.I.O. and its leader John L. Lewis." No rejoinder or denial from Lewis on this statement.

Secondly: No refusal to handle funds turned over by local unions of the U.A.W. to the C.I.O. office, and no public statement that he will remit these funds to the official

C.I.O. International Union, United Automobile Workers of America, and thereby save it from financial paralysis.

These are two strong indications. The holding of the splitters convention will finally answer the question: Is Lewis actually "advising and guiding" the Stalinist wrecking crew in the auto union? Whatever the truth of Lewis' present role may be, this much is certain: the auto union is fighting for its life against a host of enemies. The progressives must unite to save the U.A.W.

Enemies in Martin Camp

It is time to say a word about the chair-warming reactionaries and opportunists camped in Martin's own backyard. It was their stupid, bonehead policies which built up the inordinate strength behind the Stalinists. Now they imagine that they have a field day to clean the militants—all militants—out of the union. What is this but the reverse side of the Stalinist medal which aims to clean out the militants via its traditional methods. Let these gentlemen look to their stewardship in the service of the union before they begin to contemplate any expulsions or removals of loyal, militant union men who have carried the load of union organization and responsibility on their shoulders.

The records of not a few of the officers on the side of Martin will not stand the glare of public exhibition. The rank and file of the union is in no mood to see a purge of militants by people with shabby records, by Stalinists or by anybody else.

Hands off! The way to fight the split is by fighting the splitters! The way to fight the split is by building the United Automobile Workers through the 20-point program: fight the wage cuts; organize the competitive plants; re-organize the organization of the Ford Motor Company—in a word, BUILD THE UNITED AUTOMOBILE WORKERS!

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Appeal Army

We want to thank Abe Miller and some of the New York branches which sent in greetings to the Socialist Appeal last week on the occasion of its first anniversary. These donations came from the Needle Trades Branch, the Village Branch and the Lower East Side. All the more credit is due these comrades in that we made no special effort to obtain these greetings.

There's another month and a half left in our subscription contest. So far, no one appears headed for the first prize which requires a minimum of 24 new subs. Here's the standing to date:

- T. R. Dostal, St. Paul..... 8
- Grace Carlson, St. Paul..... 7
- Karl Shier, Chicago..... 7
- E. Ponicaal, Detroit..... 6

All prizes are still open and anyone should be able to put on a spurt during the last and final month.

- Subs picked up a bit last week. Here's the list:
- MINNEAPOLIS..... 7
- NEW YORK CITY..... 7
- NEW YORK STATE..... 7
- St. Paul..... 5
- Massachusetts..... 4
- Texas..... 4
- Colorado..... 2
- Chicago..... 2
- Detroit..... 2
- California..... 1
- Connecticut..... 1
- Wisconsin..... 1

TOTAL..... 43

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