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WHERE ARE THOSE JOBS, MR. ROOSEVELT?

U.S.-London Notes Echoes of 1914-16

Disputes Last Time Brought War Threats But Did Not Prevent U. S. Entry; This Time the "Silent Partnership" Is Already a Fact

The dispute that has arisen between the British and U. S. governments over seizure and search of American mails bound for Europe once more brings echoing from the past the "disputes" with England in 1915 and 1916 which did not prevent this country in the end from being swept into the war on England's side.

Edwin L. James, who helps frame the powerful pro-Ally policy of the New York Times, of which he is managing editor, warned the British in his paper last Sunday that the present issue over the mails "risks resembling the argument of World War days over the British contraband bar against Germany."

The exchange of diplomatic protests at that time, he recalls with pointed significance, "became acrimonious for a while, but when the United States entered the war in April of 1917, the issue was no longer posed."

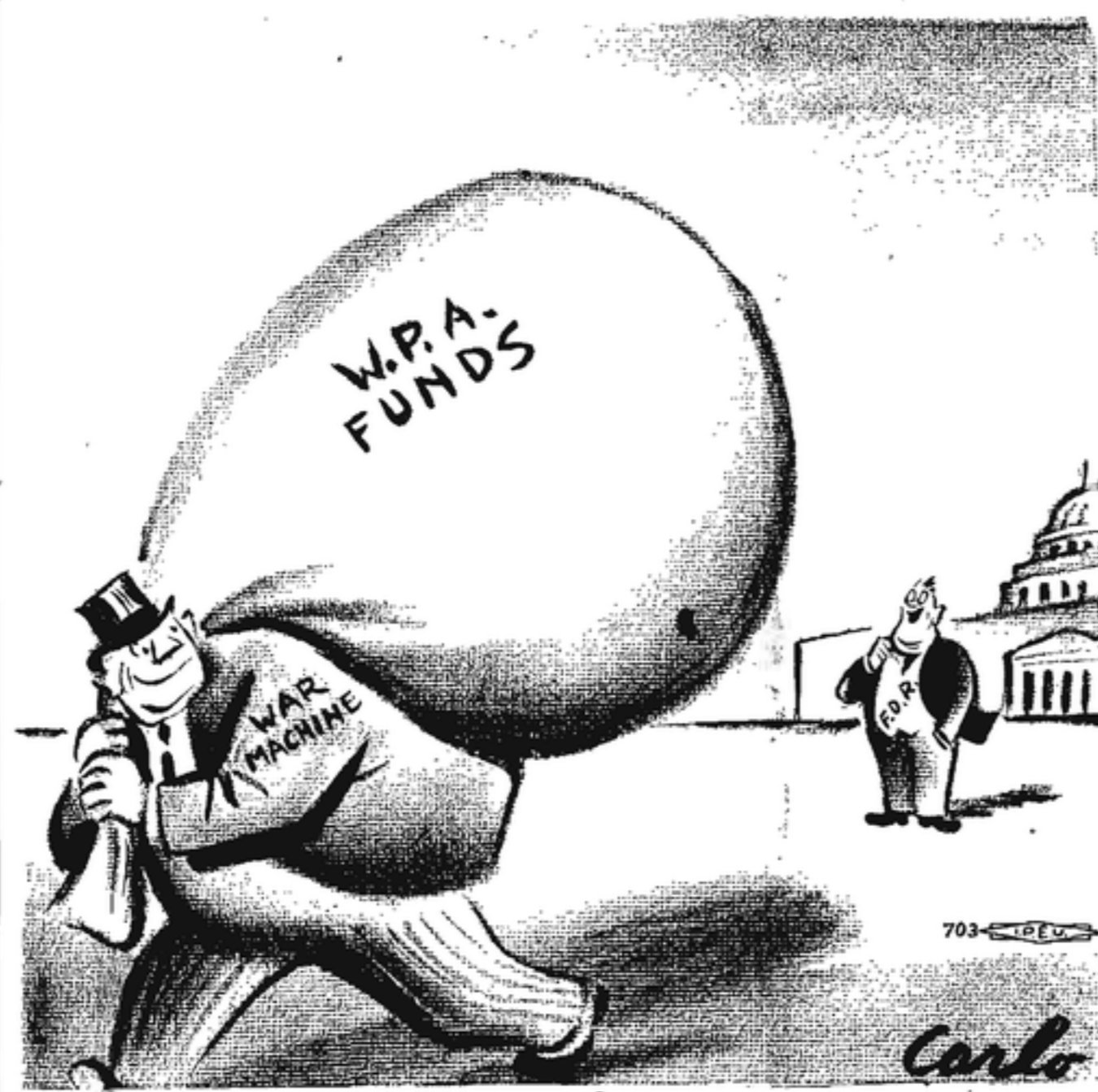
And he concludes by gently reminding his British friends, reminding them that in contrast to that last time, American opinion is in the present situation "80 per cent on the side of Britain and France"—a factor, he adds, "too valuable to risk modifying by searching the United States mails on the high seas."

But the British remember quite well the history of their

U.S. Army Purchase Anticipates 40,000 Casualties At Once

The War Department's Medical Division has just placed an order for \$797,500 of bathrobes with S. Rosenbloom, Inc., of Baltimore, a non-union shop, to be delivered by March 1, 1940. The shop underbid unionized firms. Assuming that the army hasn't a bathrobe to its name, it is evidently anticipating the hospitalization of some 40,000 men at a clip. The robes are not intended for veterans' hospitals, for such purchases are made by the Veterans Administration.

"disputes" with the U. S. government in 1914-16—and anybody who takes hope for a single instant from Washington's present "irritation" in the unlikelihood of our involvement would do well to review that history himself. From the pages of a book like (Continued on Page 3)



New NMU Pact Up to Members

Gaping Loopholes for Bosses Seen in New Contract Okayed by Union Leaders

A two-year contract with seventeen major East Coast and Gulf shipping companies has just been signed by the National Maritime Union leadership and is now up for referendum vote by the union membership.

The text of the proposed contract appears in the January 12 issue of the PILOT, organ of the union. The main issue in the protracted negotiations was job control through the union hiring hall and the rotary shipping system. In publishing the agreement which they had already signed, the union leaders claimed that "rotary shipping through the union hall is guaranteed in the new contract."

An examination of the contract reveals, however, a number of gaping loopholes in the contract, which can be used to the hilt by the employers. Most significant is the key section of the contract, Section 6, titled "Employment." Section 6 (a) states: "The Company agrees that

during the period this agreement is in effect it will give all its employment except for the positions set forth in subsection (f) to members of the Union, when available in the Deck, Engine, and Stewards' Department, provided that the prospective employees are SATISFACTORY to the Company. This section shall not be construed to prevent or postpone a re-employment of employees who may be absent on account of illness, accident, leaves of absence or vacations. The intent of this clause is that vacations or leaves of absence, shall be granted in writing when leaving the vessel and shall not exceed a period of one round voyage or thirty days, whichever may be the greater."

What the Boss Means Ask any seaman, or any worker for that matter, what the boss means by SATISFACTORY, and the answer comes back: A COM- (Continued on Page 2)

TERROR ON WEST COAST EXPOSED IN TESTIMONY

La Follette Group Gets Evidence of Class Brutality

SAN FRANCISCO—As witness after witness before the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee hearing records a grim picture of employer violence and terror against California's agricultural workers, the fury of the reactionary "Associated Farmers" and their bitterly expressed contempt for the Committee and its investigation, reflect the increasing class tension in this state.

Philip Bancroft, last year's Republican candidate for the Senate, has denounced the Committee, told La Follette to get out of the state and to stop "giving aid and comfort to the Communists." Sheriffs controlled by the Associated Farmers have defied the subpoenas of the United States Senate, and have been supported by the California State Attorney General Earl Warren. The determination of the California capitalists to maintain their class in- (Continued on Page 2)

FDR Alibi For Cuts Blows Up

As if at a cue from Roosevelt's budget message to Congress, January 4, production indices have been sliding downward and unemployment increasing, in the ensuing weeks.

In his budget message, Roosevelt justified his slashes of relief appropriations on an asserted expectation of expansion of employment. He said: "In submitting estimates for these agencies (WPA, NYA, CCC, FSA) I have taken into consideration the current improvement in business conditions. . . . While the estimates are appreciably less than those for the current year, I am hopeful that they will prove adequate."

"Increasing Prosperity" The day before, in his annual message to Congress, he had stated even more baldly "the hope that we can continue in these days of increasing economic prosperity to reduce the Federal deficit."

That "increasing economic prosperity" existed only in the fertile brains of Madame Perkins and other government manipulators of statistics; only they were predicting increased employment. All other sources,—from AFL and CIO to bank reports—were predicting a decline in production.

In the intervening weeks all the signs point to a complete refutation of the government's perspective. The New York Times' business index is coasting downward. Time magazine, whose index of business conditions is designed "to report not on business volume but on changes in underlying conditions likely to affect the volume of U. S. business," dropped two points last week, because of "a sharp reduction in trade-center spending to the lowest weekly figure since last August." The stock market has been gliding downward since the first of the year. All signs point to increasing unemployment.

Condemned to Starve In the face of this prospect, the WPA rolls, which on Jan. 6 stood at 2,159,000, are to be cut down to 1,350,000 for the coming fiscal year, and about 250,000 PWA jobs are to be liquidated in the course of the year. It is plain that these workers—more than a million of them—are being dropped from government employment rolls into the streets. CIO research department figures demonstrate that there is (Continued on Page 2)

Tobin Unity Appeal Gets Big Response

Thousands of Letters Reported Pouring Into AFL and CIO Offices Demanding Resumption of Peace Parleys

The unity call of Daniel J. Tobin, President of the Teamsters Union, continued to hold the center of the stage in numerous gatherings and discussions of the trade union movement.

William Green, President of the AFL, attempted to shift responsibility for the split in labor's ranks to the CIO, immediately after the appearance of Tobin's unity editorial. He stated at that time: "The committee has been unable to meet because the CIO refused to meet with it, etc. . . ."

Since the issuance of the Tobin call, however, it is reported that thousands of letters from rank and file unionists have been pouring into Washington, to both the AFL and CIO offices, demanding the immediate resumption of peace negotiations, looking toward the formation of a united labor organization.

Green Changes Tune William Green, under this pressure, has changed his tune and made a new unofficial bid to the CIO. Speaking at a mass meeting this week in East St. Louis, Ill., celebrating the 41st anniversary of the local central trades and Labor Union, Green declared that the restoration of peace was labor's most pressing problem. Despite previous failures, the AFL stood ready to discuss "any reasonable proposal or compromise."

The "unity" wind was blowing so strong, that even Matthew Woll, the reactionary die-hard of the AFL Executive Council and Federation Red-Baiter No. 1, was apparently converted this week to the unity idea. Speaking at the 25th Annual meeting of Local No. 1 of the New York Photo-Engravers Union, Mr. Woll declared that "There is nothing about industrial unionism that is foreign to the AFL." (A year ago, Woll would curse a blue streak at the mere mention of industrial unionism.)

Wait! CIO Response The federation officials are now waiting for the CIO reaction to these "feelers." It is expected that John L. Lewis will state his position on the problem of labor unity in his President's report to the 50th convention of the United Mine Workers of America, now meeting at Columbus, Ohio. (Continued on Page 2)

Behind the Lines

By GEORGE STERN

On Jan. 26 the Japanese-American trade treaty of 1911, denounced by the Roosevelt government, expired. Guns did not actually start booming on the Pacific nor did American planes start out from their bases in Oceania to begin the attack on the Japanese fleet. Nevertheless this date will occupy a significant and symbolic place in the history of the coming war between Japanese and American imperialism.

With the expiration of this pact, Washington has cleared the legal, juridical, and diplomatic decks for the action many foresee in the more or less near future. It climaxes the long series of sharp notes and protests and demands and reservations with which the U. S. government has "made the record" to justify the eventual use of armed force to assert its rule in the Pacific basin.

This is not a needlessly alarmist view confined to these columns. The most serious and authoritative organs of American big business now face it as a fact. Discerning readers of the New York Times, prime organ of Yankee imperialism, have of course been long and carefully prepared for this eventuality. Now other, even blunter voices, join in. Take for instance the brief note of informative warning which the Journal of Commerce recently gave its Wall Street readers in its column of Washington comment:

"Subsurface signs of tension with Japan have been viewed by Washington observers rather more seriously than usual. Although the attitude of Admiral Yonai, the new Japanese premier, appears highly conciliatory, fears have not been wholly removed that differences regarding trade policies will lead to inflammatory incidents. Our armed forces in the Pacific, which keep in fighting

are in more than a usual state of preparedness. An Executive order of a few weeks ago, which went generally unnoticed, waived application of the wage-hour law to work on Midway Island fortifications by reason of emergency."

The Washington correspondent of the New York Herald Tribune wrote last Sunday that American-Japanese relations "are much more strained than the American public generally realize and may possibly reach a grave stage after Jan. 26. . . . The prospect that the United States may become involved in war with Japan is one of the reasons why the navy is building warships on an unprecedented scale and is seeking Congressional approval for improvements of the Guam naval base. . . ."

This same correspondent advances the theory that the reluctance of the Administration to grant openly military loans to Finland is part of basic American diplomatic strategy "which will be successful if she avoids a war with the combined Russo-Japanese forces"—i.e., a gesture of "appeasement" aimed "to keep Russia out of the arms of the Japanese."

Actually, however, the situation is the other way around. The fundamental American diplomatic strategy at the present time is to hammer Japan into an anti-Soviet line. The threat of both economic and armed action is now being used primarily to this end. Only if Washington falls of this objective will armed action directly against Japan become a matter of immediate policy.

Consequently the date Jan. 26 passes for the moment without any spectacular change in the situation. But the hearings that are to open in Washington on American Far Eastern policy, Senator Key Pittman's clamor for an embargo, the navy plans, will each do its part in exerting the desired pressure on Tokyo.

Browder Convicted on Flimsy Charges

Earl Browder, leader of the American Stalinist Party, has been convicted on passport charges and sentenced to four years' imprisonment and a \$2,000 fine. The fact that the charges against Browder arise out of acts that occurred years ago is alone sufficient proof that the court action at this time is no mere accident. It is not a case of justice belatedly catching up with a wrongdoer. It is a case of direct political action by the government through the courts aimed at the leader of an "undesirable" minority.

Our readers are doubtless well aware of our opinion of Earl Browder and the Stalinists generally. We have more than once characterized everything that Browder stands for as a vile poison which the American working class must throw off if it is to advance victoriously to the establishment of workers' power in this country. But there, precisely, is our point. It is the working class itself which must deal with the Browners and all their ilk. The workers themselves must reject the Stalinists and render them completely ineffectual—and they must do this to serve the cause of their own class. This is quite a different matter from permitting the bosses to crack down at will, even on the Browners. Because let us make no mistake: today it is Browder, tomorrow it will be real working class militants, real fighting unionists.

Our party, aiming to fight and defeat boss rule and to set up in its place a true workers' government, has as part of its job the fight against the syphilitic germ of Stalinism. But against any assault of the bosses we defend the Stalinists too, just as we de-

fect a Social Democrat or an ordinary labor faker—fundamentally they are birds of a feather—because we realize that any such assault will prove to be nothing but the prelude to an attack on a far wider front against all workers' organizations. That is why we join in protesting the Browder conviction as a fraudulent piece of political persecution.

The Federal government is moving right now against Browder and the Stalinists for several reasons. First of all, the Stalinists are open agents in this country for the Stalin regime and, as such, agents of the prospective foes of this country in the war. Secondly, it was only a few months ago that Browder & Co. were the most ardent supporters of the Roosevelt War Deal administration and the present action against Browder represents an effort by Roosevelt and his regime to scratch some of the tar off their backsides.

Browder unconsciously gave proof of this at a meeting he addressed the night he was sentenced when he boasted that Frank Murphy, ex-attorney general and now Supreme Court justice, "gladly accepted" Communist support when he ran unsuccessfully for the governorship in Michigan. He also claimed credit for his party in electing Herbert Lehman as Democratic governor of New York—all claims that go back to the recent days when the Browder-Stalinist Party was whooping it up for Roosevelt's war policies. Browder now cries "betrayal" by the New Deal, but actually, the New or War Deal is still the same. It is Browder who has switched horses because Stalin switched horses in the European line-up.

EVERY SUNDAY A RED SUNDAY!

The APPEAL is the only revolutionary Marxist newspaper in this country. It provides a Marxist analysis and program for the American and international class struggle. It tells the truth where all other papers lie. It proclaims the struggle against war while the others wave the banner of jingoism. It speaks in a language workers can understand.

Yet our circulation has declined. Why? Has there been a slackening of workers' interest in the APPEAL? We think not. There has been, however, a slackening of efforts in the sales of the APPEAL. The bundle orders—most important item in our financial budget—have dropped considerably. This is the nub of the problem. Solve it—and our troubles are more than half over. Our proposal is a simple one: double the sales of the APPEAL in the next period. Let us expand, not contract. How?

A special sales campaign must be undertaken by the branches to assure the sale of, and payment for, the weekly bundle of APPEALS. The old revolutionary practise of making every Sunday a Red Sunday must be revived: experience shows that Sunday sales are a sure-fire expansionist method for circulating a workers' weekly.

EVERY SUNDAY MUST BE A RED SUNDAY, with hundreds of militants throughout the country going from house to house to put the press of the Fourth International solidly on its feet. There is a vital period of anti-war work ahead of us and we must be capable of publishing special issues as frequently as the situation demands.

The branches must get behind this campaign and SELL THEIR PAPERS, PAY THEIR BILLS AND SET AS THEIR GOAL THE DOUBLING OF BUNDLE ORDERS. LAUNCH THE DRIVE FOR TWICE AS MANY APPEALS! MAKE EVERY SUNDAY A RED SUNDAY! —THE APPEAL MANAGEMENT