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Fight with the Socialist Workers Party for:

1. A JOB AND A DECENT LIVING 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. \$30 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.
12. FULL SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC EQUALITY FOR THE NEGRO PEOPLE.

Enslaving Latin America

General George C. Marshall, Army Chief of Staff, has made very clear to us why Roosevelt wants authority from Congress to call the National Guard to active service at any time. Within the next month or two, the general said Tuesday, it is likely that American troops will be sent to other parts of this hemisphere to destroy "fifth columnists."

Elliott Roosevelt, the president's son, in a speech last Friday, May 31, at Athens, Texas, explained what "fifth columnists" are in Latin America. It boiled down to the fact that the leaders of the Mexican government have been scorning close cooperation with the United States.

"The time has come," he concluded, "for the people of Texas to educate the citizens of other States that we take adequate measures to make sure that Mexico shall remain a friendly nation and that she does not pay mere lip service to that friendship."

In a word, any Latin American nation which doesn't do what it is told by the United States is a "fifth columnist." And it had better do what it is told within the month's deadline laid down by General Marshall.

All previous moves by Yankee imperialism to subjugate its weaker neighbors pale into insignificance beside the present drive. All the resources of the hemisphere—and its manpower—are to be dragged into the service of Washington. Any resistance will be labeled "fifth column."

All this, of course, in the name of the "war for democracy!"

Jehovah's Witnesses

The United States Supreme Court, in all its august majesty, has decided that the children of families belonging to a Christian religious sect, Jehovah's Witnesses, cannot go to public school. For this sect has as one of its tenets that no human should worship—that's what a salute is—a man-made thing, such as a flag. And the security of the country demands that the flag be saluted by all school-children.

In half a dozen cities of Texas and other places, adherents of this sect have been victims of Legionnaire mob violence in these days of war hysteria. For these Christians hold to the amazing doctrine that thou shalt not kill.

The action of court and mob against these pathetic believers is but a faint harbinger of the forces which government and bosses will attempt to let loose against the labor movement when, inevitably, the needs and rights of the workers come into conflict with the all-devouring needs of the war machine.

Stalinist Duplicity

As long as Stalin's alliance with Hitler continues, the pro-Ally Roosevelt government will continue to persecute the Communist party. Protesting against the blows aimed at them, the Stalinist leaders seek to secure support by asserting that they are the anti-war party and are being persecuted for that reason. And since genuine militants in the trade unions, and even religious pacifists, are being persecuted by the government, the claim of the Stalinists has a surface plausibility—until one examines their unprincipled role in the trade unions.

Any workers' organization which is genuinely anti-war, genuinely fighting for the workers against the bosses and their government, would—as a minimum—oppose the "defense" program and its anti-labor consequences and oppose the collaboration of labor leaders on the defense boards. Yet here is the text of a telegram sent on May 19 to Roosevelt by the Stalinist leadership of the National Maritime Union:

"The National Maritime Union wants to make clear that its members and leaders are loyal Americans and as such are opposed to involvement in European wars.

"We reaffirm our support of our government in building the national defense so that the American people will be assured of adequate protection of our American democracy and American institutions.

"Our union, its leaders and members, support this program, but in order to insure its fulfillment labor must, because of its importance, be represented on all boards and commissions dealing with completion of this defense program. All protective labor and social legislation must be guaranteed."

This rotten, class-collaborationist telegram was printed in the Daily Worker, May 21, without a word of comment. Naturally, since it was probably written, not by fat-head Joe Curran who signed it, but by one of his chiefs at Stalinist headquarters.

Another example: read the Stalinist press on the SWOC convention. Lewis' lieutenant, Murray, ramed down the delegates' throats the most reactionary pro-war resolution yet presented to any CIO union. But there wasn't a peep from the "anti-war" Stalinists.

Another example: John L. Lewis' speech at the Amalgamated Clothing Workers convention. That was the occasion when Lewis hastily dropped all his previous anti-Roosevelt and anti-war talk, and spoke as what he is—a labor lieutenant of the capitalist class. Among the fouler things he said was:

"It is publicly known that labor is fully in accord with the necessity for national defense. . . .

"If the country wants the cooperation of labor to do the work of preparing for war, and in the event of war to do the necessary dying in the war, what is wrong with a little cooperation on policies?"

"Even imperial England had to come to it, and surely democratic America can give labor adequate representation."

What imperial England came to, in sugar-coating its ruthless dictatorship with a few "Labor" stogies, the Stalinists knew very well. But this was John L. Lewis talking, the Stalinists are crawling on their bellies before him, and so you will find not a word of criticism of Lewis' speech in the Stalinist press.

Another example: the strike of the shipyard workers in Kearny, New Jersey. They were driven back to work empty-handed by the CIO leadership, in the name of the "defense" program. Among the skates who signed the statement to the press, sending them back for patriotic reasons, was the Stalinist, Leonard Goldsmith, Jersey CIO secretary. And not a word of criticism in the Stalinist press.

Another example: the futile appeal of the United Auto Workers leadership to Roosevelt, to intervene to prevent a strike, in the name of patriotism. Thereby the UAW leadership put the GM workers in the same trap as the shipyard workers were pushed into. But not a word of criticism from the Stalinists, for they are hand in glove with the UAW officials in this capitulatory move.

The Communist party an anti-war party? The Communist party defending the workers against the anti-labor consequences of the "defense" program? The record tells the opposite story.

The Apex Case

We are sorry, but we can't share the optimism of the CIO leadership about the meaning of the U.S. Supreme Court's decision in the Apex case on May 27.

The court held that the actions of Local 1 of the American Federation of Hosiery Workers in this particular instance—a sit-down strike against the Apex Company—were not in violation of the Sherman "anti-trust" Act. The court decided that no substantial evidence had been presented that the union restricted commercial competition in carrying out the strike.

BUT the court majority of six joined with the minority of three in sharp affirmation of the applicability of the Sherman Act to labor unions—and that is the real point at issue. This very Apex decision may be the basis of far-reaching judgments against unions in forthcoming cases.

Even in this particular instance the union involved will in all probability be struck serious blows by the courts. For the Supreme Court decision declared the union's actions entitled the company to damages under the state laws and as much as urged the company to file suit for damages in the state courts. Whereupon the company attorney announced he would immediately file suit for damages in the Pennsylvania courts.

In the light of these facts, it is a little hard to understand why Lee Pressman, CIO general counsel, called the decision "a notable victory." Even more difficult to understand is the fantastic assertion by Isadore Katz, the Hosiery Workers lawyer, that "This decision means that the threat of the Sherman Act against labor unions in strike cases has been removed."

The decision does nothing of the kind. Louis Stark, labor editor of the New York Times, was quite right when he summed it up as: "In line with its policy of 32 years the court ruled that the words of the anti-trust act 'do embrace to some extent and in some circumstances labor unions and their activities.'" That's what the judges said, and that's what they intend to do. Empty boasting doesn't help labor; what is more, it may lull labor into illusory security, leaving the unions defenseless when the courts crack down.

N. Y. Cops and the Christian Front

By SAM MARCY

Taking the stand in defense of his fascist activities, John Cassidy, New York leader of the "Christian Front," was admitted in Federal Court that he had more than 500 police in his organization in the single borough of Brooklyn alone.

This must have come as a severe shock to workers and anti-fascists in New York. Many of them must have recalled that Mayor La Guardia had ordered an investigation into the police department with regard to membership in the "Christian Front" and that the investigation supposedly revealed that only about 400 police in the entire city had at "one time belonged" but now about 27 were still in its ranks. The mayor has done nothing about these fascist cops.

The mayor's reaction to Cassidy's revelation was confined to a statement that: "We must not be misled by subversive organizations or any other actions seeking to divide our people. Those creating hatred among the races and religions are not loyal to this country." Such fine moralizing will not drive the fascists back one inch! The thousands of workers who voted for La Guardia on the Labor Party ticket expected something more than mere sermons!

This attitude on the part of La Guardia is in sharp contrast to the one he takes whenever organized labor goes on strike. He showed it in his fight against the effort of the Transport Workers Union to preserve their rights when the city assumed operation of the subways.

Why, then, did so many police really join the fascist "Christian Front?" The answer has been given in preceding articles in the Socialist Appeal. It is worth repeating in brief.

WHY SO MANY COPS JOINED THE FASCISTS

Asked by the prosecution why such a huge number of police had joined his organization Cassidy replied that they joined because they were fearful of their jobs and for economic security and because "communists were trying to smear them."

It is, however, a notorious fact that the New York cops are among the highest paid in America that they are provided with pensions, vacations, and all sorts of extra services. La Guardia's economy axe which has cut so deeply into the living standards of poor civil servants, has left entirely intact the police department.

As a great many workers are under the impression that the trial of the 14 "Frontists" in Brooklyn Federal Court is a prosecution of the Christian Front as an organization. No greater illusion could be had on that score. The Christian Front is not under indictment and is not on trial. The crime with which the defendants are charged is not that of being fascists, or purveyors of anti-Semitism, or of organizers of assaults upon workers and their organization. As a matter of fact,

During the so-called era of prosperity, graft and corruption flourished in the city. It fed a constantly growing network of racketeers, gangsters and all sorts of underworld elements. But with the coming of the crisis it had to be eliminated as a measure of economy. The La Guardia administration made it its task to "cleanse" the city. Everyone knew of the inseparable connection between the underworld and the police department; but to "cleanse" the latter publicly would discredit in the eyes of the masses the "forces of law and order."

Hence a different method was used—the method of attrition, quiet dismissals, resignation and retirement. The police force became very jittery with every new expose of the criminal underworld. A wave of suicides in the force totalled more than 100. With such a mood prevailing among the police, some one was bound to take up their defense.

The Coughlin-Curran-Cassidy fascists had their connections with the cops. They knew their sentiments, and fears. They took up the cudgels for them. But they could not defend their case on the merits. Hence the insidious campaign of a "Jewish plot," "persecuting Catholic policemen," etc.

CHRISTIAN FRONT IS NOT ON TRIAL

All of the jurors who are to try these defendants are residents of Brooklyn, where the Christian Front has the greatest number of members and is considerably aided by the Catholic hierarchy of the Brooklyn Diocese, whose organ, the "Tablet," has been consistently taking the side of the defendants. The defense consists of very able and experienced Catholic attorneys, one of whom has been decorated by the Pope. Harold McKennedy, the prosecutor, is also a Catholic. The Catholic Hierarchy of New York has to date failed to express itself on the trials.

In all probability, some of the defendants will be acquitted, light sentences imposed on the others, while the scape-goat Bishop bears the brunt of attack. And the Christian Front will go right on.

The lesson of the Christian Front trial is that only the working class, led by a militant revolutionary party, can successfully fight fascism.

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Subscribe to the "Fourth International"

In the World of Labor

By Paul G. Stevens

Gestapo Seizes Our Comrades In the Occupied Countries

Our German comrades have been hard-hit by the advance of the Nazi war machine. Norway, Belgium, Holland—these were centers from which our comrades were able to operate. They owed little thanks for that to the governments of these "democracies," which made life miserable for the German refugees and, above all, for the revolutionary refugees. Almost invariably our comrades had to operate in these countries under illegal conditions, concealing their identity.

When the Nazis came in, the Gestapo demonstrated its dread efficiency. Its stool pigeons appear to have had prepared lists of anti-Nazi Germans. In addition, however, they seem to have seized every German they could find. Let us hope that our comrades were seized primarily in the general dragnet and the Gestapo doesn't know just whom they have. Because of this hoped-for possibility it is necessary to conceal the names and number of comrades who were in those countries. All comrades and friends please take note.

French Trotskyists Sent to Prison by the "Democratic" Government

The French press reports that nine Trotskyists who were arrested on the 13th of February, were brought before the 2nd military tribunal presided over by Colonel Jammes on May 7th.

The following sentences were passed, for "activities of a nature to hinder national defense": Charles MARGNE, post office employee, 5 years prison, 5,000 fr. fine; Pierre BOUSSEL, post office employee, 3 years prison, 1,000 fr. fine; Bruno NARDINO, student, 3 years prison, 2,000 fr. fine; Marie COSTE, post office employee, 3 years prison, 2,000 fr. fine; Mineille FOIRIER, teacher of physical culture, 2 years prison, 1,000 fr. fine; Suzanne SIMKHOVITCH, stenographer, 5 years prison, with reprieve; Jerzy MILNY-NARZ, tailor, 3 years prison, 100 fr. fine, with reprieve; Andre CORSET, student, 3 years prison, 200 fr. fine; Maurice GUIGNET, turner, 3 years prison with reprieve, 1,000 fr. fine.

Repressions, American apologists for the Allies have said, are being directed only against Russia's agents. This latest report, coupled with recent prosecutions of leaders of the PSOP—Socialist Party of Workers and Peasants—show what a fraud these apologies are. French "democracy" ferociously persecutes all militant workers.

Canada Outlaws "Communism"; Our Comrades Fight On

A Canadian comrade has sent some clippings showing the lengths to which the war-time dictatorship in Canada has already gone. Dated from Ottawa, May 15th, one article states:

"Communism came beyond the pale of the law throughout Canada today. . . .

"Under the broad powers of the Wartime Defense of Canada regulations, Mr. Justice E. R. E. Chevrier of the Ontario Supreme Court declared formally that the Communist Party of Canada is an illegal organization. . . .

"The regulation provides that once an organization has in such manner been declared illegal, not only are all persons continuing as members or officers deemed guilty of an offense against the regulations, but anybody advocating or defending the acts, principles and policies of such an organization is also guilty.

"The ban on Communism followed conviction and imprisonment of three Ottawa men on indictments charging publication and circulation of anti-war pamphlets tending to prejudice the safety of the state and efficient prosecution of the war."

The Socialist Workers League of Canada, section of the Fourth International, was unable to get a printer to publish its paper from the very first day of the war, and has been functioning on an illegal basis since then. But, despite all obstacles, they fight on.

Uruguay Adherents of 4th International Support Stand of SWP

A letter sent to the Emergency Conference of the Fourth International from Uruguay states:

"... On the fundamental questions of the present historic crisis and the character of the Soviet Union we are in agreement with the theses of the Fourth International.

"Since the foundation of our group this has been our adopted position.

"Consequently we are for the unconditional defense of the U.S.S.R. Our position is not the result of a mechanical acceptance of the thesis but the product of our convictions after a study of the thesis and everything written since on the subject by Comrade L. D. Trotsky, and by others who oppose this view. . . ."

Black Colonials Call On British Masses to Revolt

The following manifesto was issued by the International African Service Bureau, the West African Youth League, the Colonial Seamen's Association and the Kikuyu Central Association (East Africa) to the British workers on May Day:

Amid the tragedies of war when the Imperialist classes of the Great Powers are initiating the common peoples—white, black, brown and yellow—in hatred against one another, we send on behalf of the toiling masses of the Colonial Empire fraternal greetings of International Solidarity to the British Workers.

We Africans and peoples of African descent, the victims of Imperialist exploitation and oppression denounce the belligerents in both camps.

We have not forgotten the shameful betrayal of Abyssinia—a conquest carried out with the connivance of so-called democratic France and Britain. Neither are we deceived by the hypocritical declarations of statesmen about "defense of small nations and international law."

We publicly proclaim that this war, like the last, is not being fought for the emancipation of labor from the yoke of Capital, but for Imperialist aims—colonies, markets and sources of raw materials—iron ore, oil, rubber, etc.

Our profoundest sympathies go out to the victims of Nazi aggression, but what Hitler is doing today to civilized white peoples on the Continent of Europe is precisely what British and French and other Imperialists have been doing to the colonial races of Africa and Asia for centuries.

Europe is today paying the price for the injustices committed in the past to the so-called backward races of the world. It is time therefore, that white workers realize that as long as they permit their rulers to enslave others, they themselves cannot be free.

The workers of Britain will continue to be dragged into wars until such time as they, in unity with the colonial peoples, liquidate the evil system of Imperialism (democratic and fascist alike) and replace it by the Co-operative Socialist Commonwealth, from which war will be banished, and the good things of life produced for the common benefit of all—white, black, brown, yellow.

GEORGE PADMORE, General Secretary, International African Service Bureau.

JOMO KENYATTA, General Secretary, Kikuyu Central Association (East Africa).

CHRIS JONES, Colonial Seamen's Association.

WAL DANIELS, West African Youth League.

Burnham Quits: Joins 'Intellectuals in Retreat'

"Labor Action," organ of the petty-bourgeois opposition which split in April from our party, regretfully notes this week that its leader James Burnham has severed all relations with his group and retired to private life. Having lost all confidence in the struggle against capitalism and the war, he sees, not socialism, but a new system of exploitation, "managerial society," as the next probable stage of society.

Thus ends Burnham's panicky flight from Marxism. In a document published by his group in April—just a few weeks ago—this leader of the petty-bourgeois opposition characterized our views as "the politics of desperation." His own political orbit in the past nine months has resembled the desperate leap of a suicide from the top of a skyscraper. From a constant to the political leadership of the Fourth International, he has become the victim of utter prostration.

Should Burnham plan to devote himself to the study of philosophy in retirement, he will find an excellent example of dialectical development in his own evolution into his opposite.

Burnham counterposed himself to us as an apostle of ideal morality. "I judge a political struggle morally as well as politically," he wrote in "Science and Style." By either standard or both, Burnham now stands condemned as a betrayer and exposed as a poseur and falsifier.

At every stage of his struggle against the Fourth International, Burnham pretended to be what he was not and falsely accused his opponents of his own crimes. While he glibly accused Trotsky of hiding his true views and refusing to discuss the main issues in dispute, Burnham himself deliberately withheld his real views on the Russian and all other questions, preferring to take cover behind Shachtman's less fully developed formulations. Such was his devotion to truth!

Burnham claimed just the other day to be one of "the best soldiers in the army of the third camp." He pretended to lead his followers, especially, the misguided youth, forward to the fight against war and for Socialism, while he had lost faith in that fight and was actually preparing to quit it. Finally, he waited until he had tried to inflict the maximum damage upon our party, until he had consummated a split in its ranks and launched his own organization, before appraising anyone of his intention to desert.

In our opinion, there are no more appropriate terms for such contemptible behavior than duplicity, betrayal, cowardly surrender. What scurvy tricks this arch-moralist played upon all those who reposed confidence in him!

One of Burnham's assertions at least still holds true. His brand of morality, his politics, his course, is not ours.

As is their custom in these matters, Burnham's co-leaders of "the third camp" treat his conduct as a purely individual aberration. Burnham's ideas, they now admit, only rehash the old reactionary arguments of other "intellectuals in retreat." But his co-leaders shared and still hold to Burnham's principal differences with the methods and program of the Fourth International. Burnham was their real head, the author of their theories and their documents. His newest theories and his latest action only draw the final conclusions from their opposition to Marxist ideas and their break with Bolshevism.

Burnham's desertion is a warning sign of the disintegration of the petty-bourgeois opposition he headed. To those of his former followers who remain confident of the workers' capacity to realize socialism under the leadership of Bolshevism, we say: Answer Burnham's renegacy by returning to the ideas and banner of the Fourth International.