

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Vol. III, No. 10 February 24, 1939
Published twice a week by the SOCIALIST APPEAL PUBLISHING ASS'N at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y. Telephone: ALgonquin 4-8547
Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for six months. Foreign: \$3.00 per year, \$1.50 for six months. Bundle orders: 2 cents per copy in United States; 3 cents per copy in all foreign countries. Single copies: 3 cents.
"Reentered as second class matter February 16, 1939, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879."
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.

The Craven Jewish Press

During the anti-Nazi mobilization against the fascist Madison Square Garden meeting, nothing was more contemptible than the attitude of official Jewry, its spokesmen and its press.

That the Socialist Workers Party's call for an imposing picketing demonstration expressed the feelings of whole sections of the New York population, including the Jews, was demonstrated by the extraordinary turnout.

But the answer of the Jewish daily press to this call, and to the queries of their readers, was to unite on a single slogan: Stay away from the demonstration.

The German, Austrian and Italian experiences have taught nothing to the proprietors of this press. They repeat here the contemptible exploits of their predecessors in Europe; they call the workers away from the real struggle against fascism:

"Reports have come to the Forward that certain irresponsible organizations are sending people to today's Nazi rally in Madison Square Garden in order to demonstrate there.

"There can be no more shameful thing for the Jews and opponents of the Nazis than such demonstrations which will lead to bloody fights and riots...

"Avoid the area around Madison Square Garden today and do not participate in any demonstration around the hall."

The Day developed the thought that if we all lay down and play dead, nobody will ever hear of fascism:

"Jews of New York, do not let your sorrows guide you! Avoid Madison Square Garden this evening. Don't come near the hall! Don't demonstrate! Don't give the Nazis the chance to get the publicity they desire so much."

The Morning Journal combined the same language with an additional nauseating touch of rabbinical piety.

The Freiheit, Yiddish organ of the Stalinists, solved the problem by printing not a word about either the Nazi rally or the workers' counter-demonstration.

And these cowardly fools, all of them, call themselves opponents of fascism! They dare to claim the right to speak for Jewry in the fight against fascism!

They got their answer, in the outpouring of Jewish workers at our rally. In spite of these "spokesmen" for Jewry, the best sections of the Jewish labor movement joined their fellow-workers in the real fight against fascism.

We are confident that the Jewish workers will answer the advice of "their" press in the language it deserves!

Long considered by advocates of the capitalist system as the "model" democracy, Switzerland gained the additional distinction on February 14 of being the first of the world democracies to formally recognize the innate antagonism between the democratic nations and fascist dictatorships... by officially recognizing Franco's insurgent regime as the legal government of Spain.

Behind the Fireside Chat

When one of the Army's secretly developed war planes crashed recently in Southern California, a great deal more was brought to public attention than the mere fact that the United States government is pro-

ducing the world's deadliest and most destructive machines of slaughter.

After it had leaked out that in addition to the pilot an official representative of the French government had been injured in the crash, the American people learned that this was not the first time during the past year that a commission from a foreign imperialist government had arrived under cover of secrecy to purchase war materials.

After then in swift succession it became known that the cloak of secrecy was imposed by President Roosevelt himself and that in all likelihood he had committed his government through secret alliances with Great Britain and France to march the American farmers and workers into the bloody trenches of the coming world war.

Secret conferences between the Senate Military Affairs Committee and President Roosevelt further confirmed this, as did the statement of the President that the frontiers of the United States extend to the Rhine. The adjournment of the Senate and the President's hastily decided fishing trip were but political moves designed to allow time for public apprehension and anger over these revelations to die down.

Like all capitalist governments, the administration of Roosevelt functions upon two levels: the level of lying public declarations which correspond to the aspirations, desires, and fears of the oppressed people and the level of secret intrigue where the capitalist owners decide what shall be the fate of the population.

Roosevelt realizes perfectly that if the American people knew the machinations of his government and what fate he has prepared for them, they would arise in such wrath that he, his administration, and the entire system it represents would be utterly consumed. That is why he uses secret diplomacy to hide what he is doing.

Roosevelt fears only one thing—the revolutionary upsurge of the workers and farmers in the United States. He fears it with good reason. That is why he is opposed even to a popular referendum on war. Roosevelt cannot allow the American people to become conscious in the slightest way that he represents nothing but the will of a small minority.

Roosevelt has decided behind your backs that you shall die ignobly defending profits for a few giant corporations and a handful of stockholders.

Behind the backs of the masses he has signed a contract with his fellow butchers. For the unemployed, starvation! For the workers and farmers, concentration camps and trenches! For their wives and mothers, Gold Star labels!

That is what secret diplomacy means!

"Is honesty so cheap a virtue that we sacrifice it in order to save a few cents?" asks the writer of a feature called "Points for Parents." Honesty, under capitalism, is an unreamed of luxury for those on the make; for the rest of us it is a club over our heads welded by the boss class to put the fear of God in us.

In Central Spain

The latest reports indicate that not only Azana, but also del Vayo is implicated in the peace negotiations with Franco; and del Vayo went to France as Premier Negrin's representative. It is clear, therefore, that the whole People's Front leadership is involved in this treacherous move to surrender intact to Franco the central zone of Spain.

In the Feb. 8 issue of the Daily Worker there appeared the following estimate of the possibilities for continued struggle in central Spain:

"The position of the Central Zone for resistance is strategically good. The army numbers around 500,000, the population is around 8,000,000 and the territory is protected by natural defenses in the mountain ranges of Nevada, Morena and Guadarrama. . . . By adapting their forces to the new situation the Loyalists can resist."

That estimate remains true, even though every collaborator of the Stalinists in the People's Front leadership is now prepared to surrender to Franco. Remember this estimate! Remember it, and confront the Stalinists with it tomorrow, when they try to find an alibi to excuse the People's Front capitulation to Franco!

"The temperament of the people will tend to a peculiar moodiness, though as a whole they will be fairly good natured and hopeful this month," says Dr. Gustav Ekstrom, of the American Association of "Scientific" Astrologists. Yea, verily, there are two things in this world wonderful to behold—nay, three: The way of a man with a maid, the way of a maid with a man—and the way John O. Workox bears with his masters!

Balance Sheet

For thirty months of civil war in Spain, the Stalinists poisoned the Spanish working class and paralyzed its fight by the cry: Rely on the Great Democracies, France and England; they are the friends of Spanish Democracy!

On Feb. 16, the Daily Worker printed two dispatches, one from France and one from England, which appear side by side under the following headlines:

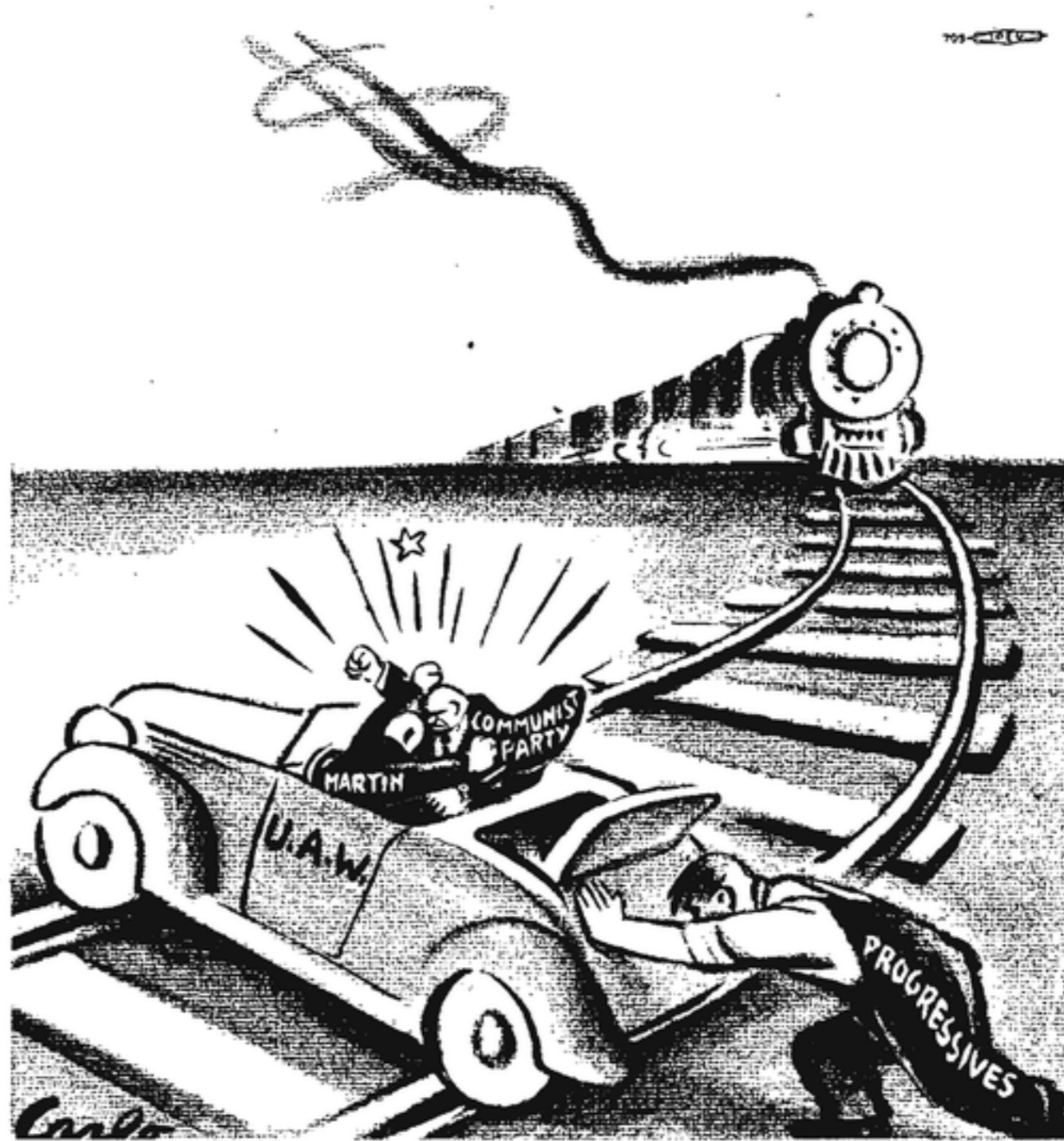
"Guns Cover U.S. Vets in French Camp. Held Like Prisoners; Franco Propaganda Fails; Ask Aid."

"Chamberlain Recognizes Franco Regime. Cabinet Votes De Facto Recognition; Presses French Gov't."

That's the balance sheet of the Stalinist "Democracy" fraud.

Missing Iowa banker found in Little Rock, with \$48,000 left from the \$48,000 lifted from the First National Bank of DeWitt. He'll probably be charged with "bad judgment."

Save The Union!



Judiciary Crawls With Corruption

The Cases of Judges Manton, Rudich and Others Bring to Light the Rottenness of Boss Courts Where "Justice" Has Its Price

It is no news that corruption is an integral part of any class society. But when corruption passes a certain point, when a society's ethical standards are so lacking in authority that even the ruling class violates them constantly, then it is reasonable to infer a general ill health of that social system. The corruption of the French nobility and court in the eighteenth century, the corruption of the Russian ruling classes in our century—these presaged the death of social regimes. So, too, the Oustric and Stavisky scandals almost brought about the end of the French Republic in 1934. And so, too, we are living today in a time of increasingly open corruption in high places. As each scandal bursts out, in business, in politics, in the judiciary, the bourgeois press pretends it is unique, exceptional, merely a matter of individual sinners. But this is not true. The scandals that are now blackening the headlines day after day are tied into the very warp and woof of our system of society. They are bred like maggots by the decay of the capitalist system.

The Judge Banks A Million

This week let us consider the courts of justice, most hallowed temples of bourgeois democracy. Until his resignation a few weeks ago, at the cordial invitation of President Roosevelt, Martin T. Manton was a senior justice of the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals, the second highest court in the land. The president was shocked to learn, among other things, that of the \$1,000,000 income of Judge Manton between 1916 (when that other great idealist, Woodrow Wilson, appointed him to the bench) and 1939, only \$250,000 came from his salary. But the President should have been prepared for the revelation: rumors and charges have been flying about the head of Judge Manton for many years. It was not until an anti-New Deal newspaper and a Republican district attorney broke the case wide open last month that the President was forced to act.

District Attorney Dewey listed, with details, six interesting episodes in the Judge's fiscal career. Several of them were comparatively small potatoes—as "The Lutsch Matter" which involved merely a \$20,000 loan to a Manton enterprise, the National Cellulose Corp., by a bank president under jail sentence—a conviction that was speedily reversed by Judge Manton's court. But others involved bigger fish. Harry M. Warner, for example, the film magnate, who has recently ordered the Star Spangled Banner to be played at least once daily in every Warner Brothers theatre—this superheated patriotere lent the Judge \$50,000 on September 11, 1933. On September 12, 1933, the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals,

Martin T. Manton presiding, decided an important patent case in favor of Warner Brothers. But the prize exhibit is No. 6, "The Lord & Thomas Loan," which involves the American Tobacco Co. (Lucky Strikes), the fine old downtown law firm of Chadbourne, Stanchfield & Levy, and the big advertising agency of Lord & Thomas, whose head, personally implicated, is Albert D. Lasker, once chairman of the Emergency Shipping Board in the late war and now one of Chicago's leading citizens. The sum involved is fittingly large: \$250,000, which was "loaned" to Judge Manton on May 11, 1932, while he was pondering his decision in a stockholder's suit against American Tobacco. (The suit, incidentally, was about \$10,000,000 which was alleged to have been illegally paid out to the company's executives in bonuses.) On June 13, 1932, Judge Manton decided the case in favor of American Tobacco. The \$250,000 loan has never been repaid.

Thomas and Rudich On the Carpet

But the Manton case is by no means all. There are other items namely: JUDGE EDWIN S. THOMAS, of the U. S. District Court of Connecticut, is being questioned in connection with both the Manton case and the Coster - Musica scandal. He was the judge who issued, overnight, the court order that threw McKesson & Robbins into receivership—a last desperate move by Coster, a few days before his suicide, to escape exposure. Judge Thomas, who sailed for South America a few minutes ahead of a posse of Federal agents and was induced to return for questioning only after a sharp radio from Washington, hopefully told reporters: "This whole business is a lot of hullabaloo." Thoughtfully, he made clear the real implications of his case: "I have served as district judge for twenty-five years under five Presidents. During this period no one has ever questioned my integrity."

MAGISTRATE MARK RUDICH, of Brooklyn, has been suspended until he clears himself of charges by John Harlan Amen, Governor Lehman's special investigator into the administration of justice in Brooklyn. Magistrate Rudich is accused of bribery, active and passive, and of dealing in fake ball bonds. The Amen investigation has uncovered so much dirt that a second grand jury has been impelled to deal with overflow cases. This jury is specializing in employers' bribery of police in labor cases—at least one of which involved the murder of a striker. Brooklyn police commanders are reported to have been rewarded with cash, furniture, automobiles and vacation trips for their fine work in such recent Brooklyn strikes as those at the Todd Shipyards, the May Department Stores,

and the Brooklyn Daily Eagle. "This thing is just beginning," says Prosecutor Amen. "From now on, there won't be a dull moment." All that Magistrate Rudich could think up—though he is a famous judicial wisecracker, especially noted for his puns—was the old chestnut: "This is a complete surprise to me."

Endorsed by Cordell Hull . . . And "Dutch Schultz"

MAGISTRATE HULON CAPSHAW of New York has also been suspended because of his failure to explain why he had thrown out of court certain big "policy game" cases. District Attorney Dewey gave the Magistrate an uneasy two days in court as a witness in the trial of Jimmy Hines, Tammany chieftain and until lately in charge of New Deal patronage in New York City. Dewey proved that Magistrate Capshaw dismissed the cases at Hines' request, who in turn acted on orders from "Dutch Schultz" Flegenheimer, deceased (violently) gangster. Magistrate Capshaw, also, was obliging enough to underline the real significance of his case when he proudly told the courtroom that his candidacy for magistrate had been endorsed by, among others, Bishop Manning of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, and John W. Davis, chief lawyer for J.P. Morgan & Co. and Democratic candidate for President of the U.S. in 1924. He also pointed out that, when he applied (successfully) for admission to practice before the Supreme Court, his sponsor was Cordell Hull. After which, it was quite a leap to "Dutch Schultz" and his mob—or was it?

Roosevelt Sows a Few Scandals

Alarmed by these scandals, President Roosevelt has ordered Attorney General Murphy to investigate the entire Federal judiciary. The G-men, with J. Edgar Hoover personally in charge, are at work on the Manton and Thomas cases. But even while he is taking steps to punish erring judges, the President is forced by the necessities of his political position to sow what may well be the seeds for future scandals. Thus he has just appointed to the Federal Circuit Court in Kentucky one Shackleford Miller, Jr., who managed the unsavory campaign this fall of "Dear Alben" Barkley, the Administration's leader in the Senate. And the Senate has lately confirmed another blatant political appointment to the Federal bench, that of ex-Governor Alfred of Texas, whose chief qualification is his loyalty to the President during the late "purge." The President formally announced Governor Alfred's appointment last summer from the dignified and judicial eminence of the rear platform of his "Purge Special."

THEIR GOVERNMENT

By James Burnham

During the past year, Stalinism has become the chief agent of Yankee imperialism among the Latin American masses. Committed to advocacy and support of Roosevelt's coming war, Stalinism is thereby committed also to the steps needed for the preparation of the war. Primary among these is the firm alignment of Latin America as a base both for material and man power.

In order to accomplish this, the people of Latin America must be persuaded that the United States is their friend and protector, and that their enemies are neither at home nor in North America, but across the wide sea, in Tokyo and Rome and above all in Berlin. This is the 'Good Neighbor' doctrine, as put forth identically by Roosevelt and the Stalinists.

It was in the light of this doctrine that the Stalinist press covered the Lima conference. The doctrine itself has been further elaborated at the recently concluded conventions of the Communist parties of Cuba and Mexico.

Browder Invents a New Theory

The doctrine, however, is rather a stiff dose for the masses in Latin America to swallow straight. In their own lives and on their own backs they learn a contrary truth: that Yankee imperialism is their main enemy. They have felt its lash swung by United States marines and plantation owners and gun-boats and overseers and Yankee-controlled puppet tyrants. It is not so easy to persuade them that overnight their main enemy has lost all of its spots.

The Stalinists have evidently noticed this persistent fly in their social-imperialist ointment, and, not being able to get rid of it, are trying out a new device to prevent its being noticed. This device is nothing short of a brand new theory of imperialism, a great and comforting improvement on the old-fashioned views of Marx and Luxemburg and Lenin.

Browder and Laborde announced the theory at the convention of the Mexican Communist party. It goes something like this: The Roosevelt government is not merely non-imperialist, but anti-imperialist. It is the representative of the "democratic aspirations of the American masses." Yankee imperialism has not, however, completely disappeared. It is now administered by the monopoly corporations and Wall Street, and by the political opponents of Roosevelt—the Republicans, conservative Democrats and other varieties of Tories.

The Beauties of the New Theory

This new theory is a very neat job indeed. The trouble that the Stalinists have had convincing the Latin American masses that they were no longer oppressed by Yankee imperialism ends. The Stalinists can now say: Of course you are still persecuted by Yankee imperialism. But that imperialism has nothing to do with Roosevelt and his government. It is the imperialism of Wall Street and the Republicans-Tories, of the enemies of Roosevelt.

The way to fight Yankee imperialism, therefore, is to get behind Roosevelt! What a wonderful irony! To support Roosevelt's coming war is—to fight imperialism, including Yankee imperialism. To be against the war is—to line up in the camp of imperialism.

The awkwardness about the habit of telling lies is that one lie is always tending to contradict another. Lying theories are not exempt from the general rule: one is always refuting another. Let us recall:

In the 1936 elections, as explained by the very well known Stalinist theory, the New Deal was the army of progress, the Republicans, led by Alfred M. Landon, the troops of reaction. This has continued to be the lineup: New Deal progress versus Republican-Tory reaction.

One Lie Plus One Lie Equals Two Lies

Up to date, the most grandiose public expression of Roosevelt's Good Neighbor policy was the Lima Conference. According to the new theory of imperialism, it would follow that the Lima Conference would have been fought tooth and nail by the Republicans-Tories and by Wall Street, since the theory declares that the conference was anti-imperialist, hence directed square against the imperialist interests of Wall Street and the Republican-Tories.

But, alas for Stalinism, even the ranciest lies cannot wholly do away with facts.

Without a single exception, every spokesman for Wall Street and the monopoly corporations and the Republicans-Tories came out one hundred percent for the Lima conference. Their praise and rejoicing rang through the columns of the press and the radio mikes. No anti-New Deal snarl or curse marred the touching unanimity.

Especially noteworthy were the lengthy declarations of Henry L. Stimson, who is—oh, painful memory—the ex-Secretary of State of that well known progressive leader, Herbert Hoover.

And the leading delegate to the conference was (did you remember, Browder, while speaking in Mexico?) none other than Alfred M. Landon.

Labor Looks Through The Press

By ARTHUR HOPKINS

"Japan does not believe the United States has aggressive designs against her and the Japanese navy does not attach much importance to American plans to arm the far Pacific island of Guam," Admiral Mistumasa Yonai, navy minister, said in parliament recently. "Japan's navy is prepared to defend the country in any contingency." Admiral Mistumasa Yonai told the house of peers in answer to questions regarding American plans to fortify Guam and other Pacific islands. I say, Addy, old boy, you should let your upper lip quiver what the lower is doing.

A Minneapolis parachute jumper who went out to municipal airport to look over the army bombers recently bitterly complains: "Those planes were paid for with taxpayers' money. When some self-important petty officer, whose wages are paid for by the taxpayers, tells the taxpayers that they can't get within a mile of the ships, then something should be done about it. Poor John Q. Public couldn't even get a glimpse at what his dough has been paying for." Why doesn't someone tell him the FACTS OF LIFE?

"No Early WPA Cut Seen," declares Linus C. Glotzbach, Minnesota W.P.A. Administrator. He said that the present national W.P.A. policy is to avoid reductions in northern states during the winter. They're waiting for summer when the unemployed can sleep in the parks and eat grass.

DEBATE:

MAX SHACHTMAN (Editor of the Socialist Appeal) SAYS "NO!"

"SHOULD LABOR SUPPORT ROOSEVELT'S WAR PREPAREDNESS PROGRAM?"

DR. WILLIAM E. BOHN (Educational director of the Rand School) SAYS "YES!"

Thursday, Feb. 23 -- 8:15 P.M. Rand School -- 7 E. 15th Street Chairman: ELIAS T. TARTAK Admission 25c