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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 Hollar 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 pen-
- 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.

They Fear A Referendum

A year ago when the Ludlow amendment was being debated in Congress, Secretary Hull opposed the bill on the grounds that if it was first necessary to hear the decision of the people before sending them to war it would tie the government's Irands in the conduct of its foreign policy.

In plain language, the government's foreign policy means war and a popular referendum would put a crimp in starting that war.

This year when a similar referendum is proposed in Congress, Hull opposes it again on the grounds that it would be an infringement on the system of representative government handed down by the founding fathers.

In plain language, Hull's conception-the conception of the entire capitalist class-of representative government, is a government by a minority with power to hurl the nation into war at will-and they don't want anything to obstruct that set-up no matter how flimsy the obstruction might be.

That's what the bosses really mean by "democracy"!

Rip The Veil Away!

The dark veil of lies, hypocrisy, and silence covering the secret conference between President Roosevelt and the Senate Military Affairs Committee over purchases of airplanes by France was once again slightly lifted during Senate debate last Thursday.

"If the American people ever learn/what was said there, and if Senators want to hear it," said Senator Lundeen of Minnesota who was present at the secret conference and should know what he is talking about, "the nation would be shocked and stunned at the secrecy and at the conference we had.'

Why would the nation be shocked and stunned? What did the President tell the conference members under oath of secrecy about his war plans?

Senator Bridges of New Hampshire declared to the Senate during the same debate that the confidential record of the testimony before the Senate Military Affairs Committee tells a different story from the expurgated testimony made public by the committee.

The testimony actually published by the committee, then, is a fraud and a lie on the American public, a brazen bare-faced maneuver to cheat an aroused and wrathful public opinion.

Why did the committee expurgate this testimony? "We may some day give publicity to the secret con-

ference," Senator Lundeen told the Senate. Are the real plans of President Roosevelt too damning to stand the light of day? Why? Must the war come first? Why not give publicity to the secret con-

"I happen to know that the notes of that conference in the White House are in existence," Lundeen continued.

Why aren't those notes published?

If Roosevelt has hidden them in his secret archives, why don't the members of the Senate Military Affairs Committee make public what Roosevelt told them?

Where the lives of millions of farmers and workers are being bartered like herds of swine for profits and colonies and spheres of influence and the guns are now being loaded that will kill the voters who trustingly put them into public office, why are these "representatives of the people" who attended the secret conference too cowardly to speak out?

Is a secret oath given to a butcher worth more than the lives of millions of innocent people? Honor has a strange ring in Congress!

Why are these cowards and cheap careerists afraid to tell the American people of the fate that sinister forces back of the White House have planned for them?

Senator Bridges gave the answer to that question: 'It is best for America and for the rest of the world (read international capitalism) that all the details of that White House conference never become known."

Senator Bridges fears that if the American people ever find out what was revealed in that secret conference the repercussions would sweep him, Roosevelt, and the whole rotten-system they represent forever out

The people of the United States have a right to know what their representatives know.

The people of the United States have a right to decide whether they shall follow the commitments made by the ruling class down the bloody horrible pathway to war.

We demand that the genuine testimony before the Senate Military Affairs Committee be published in full. We demand that the whole veil of secrecy be ripped away from President Roosevelt's secret treaties and foreign commitments.

Let the American people see and judge!

Stalin's Closed Doors

Soviet Russia has refused to provide asylum for refugees from Loyalist Spain, according to a statement attributed to French Foreign Minister Bonnet, in the New York Times, March 2.

Bonnet also pointed out that the sum sent by the Soviet government for refugee relief, five million francs, is insufficient to care for the Spanish refugees now in France for a single day.

What possible justification can Stalin find for closing the doors to the Loyalist soldiers and their fami-

When it became impossible any longer to remain silent on the question why Stalin did not open the doors of Russia to the refugees from Germany and Austria, the Stalinist press finally told us that those refugees were predominantly "bourgeois and pettybourgeois" and hence would not fit in in Russia-this in the 22nd year after the victorious revolution!

The Stalinist press has, however, never explained why German and Austrian workers, technicians, doctors and dentists, etc., were not permitted to find asylum in the Soviet Union. Nor have Stalinist apologists been able as yet to find an explanation for the horrible fact that Communist party members seeking to flee the Nazification of Czecho-Slovakia, have been refused visas to go to the Soviet Union.

To these unanswered questions is now added the latest: why will Stalin not open the doors of the Soviet Union to the flower of the Spanish proletariat, now hungering and freezing in the open-air concentration camps of France?

It is understandable why capitalist France should want to be rid of these proletarian fighters, and why capitalist England, America, etc., should want no part of these workers and peasants. We shall have to arouse the working class everywhere to win asylum for the

But why does Stalin bar them from the Soviet Union -the Workers Fatherland?

"Many officials of the Federal Bureau of Investigation have long advocated universal finger printing as a means of identifying people who are killed in accidents, dogged by impersonators and forgers or who are suffering from amnesia," says Dr. George Gallup in reporting the results of his poll which indicate that 84 per cent of the people favor such finger printing. Damned handy too, in putting the finger on militant

An End To Zionist Illusions!

During the preparations for the anti-Nazi demonstration of Feb. 20 a group of Yipsels called at the East Side headquarters of one of the Zionist youth organizations, the Hashomer-Hatzair, to ask these lewish boys and girls to join us in the demonstration.

"Sorry, but we can't join you," said their leader. "Our Zionist policy is to take no part in politics out-

In that incident is summed up the crime of the Zionist leadership. Since 1918 it has devoured the energies and minds and hearts of millions of Jewish men and women and boys and girls-not to speak of the hundreds of millions of dollars it took-in an enterprise which revolutionary socialists predicted from the first could come only to its present end: punctured by the British imperialists on whose favor the Zionists staked everything.

An end to this criminal waste! It is an immediate task of our party to get those boys and girls out on the picket line with us next time, to awaken the Jewish people to the realization that the fight against anti-Semitism, which is the fight against fascism, is here and now, and that all the real fighters against fascism belong in the ranks of the Socialist Workers Party!

A bill by Senator Rufus C. Holman (R., Oregon), to limit exports of Douglas fir and Port Orford cedar logs, is designed to protect American lumber manufacturers from Japanese competition. Now if someone will present a bill to protect us from the lumbermen, all might be well,-maybe.

Any Dirty Boots Around?

How high is up? Nobody knows.

How low is down? Here's how low it is: Commenting on the Supreme Court's Fansteel decision, Stalinist Sam Wiseman, secretary of the Workers Alliance of Greater New York, declared, according to

the N. Y. Herald-Tribune (Feb. 28): "The Workers Alliance will obey the law. We have never cherished sit-down strikes as such. Whenever the workers on relief sat down they did so because of intolerable conditions or to protest some injustice by the relief administration. The Alliance will continue to lead the unemployed in their fight for their just de-

Oh no, it won't, any more than it has in the past couple of years. It won't because, thank God, it's a law-abiding organization, with a law-abiding Stalinist leadership.

The Nine Old Men of Capitalism say no sit-down strikes. Okay! say the Stalinists, we never care for sitdowns anyway.

Tomorrow, the Old Men will say no strikes at all, and that's the law. Okay! the Stalinists will repeat.

Now we know how low "down" is. It's as low as the Stalinist leadership. It's so far down that not only the Supreme Court, but anybody else who has some dirty capitalist boots hanging around, is invited to send them to the Wiseman and Co. to be licked clean and shiny. Satisfactory work is guaranteed by past performances.

Thomas Jefferson's Strange **Return to Life**

The Stalinists Do Violence To The Whole History Of Early America In Order To Present Jefferson As One Of The Patrons Of "Twentieth Century Americanism"

Workers Begin to Revolt

our society ever since.

In the course of the revolution-

city for violence, a contempt for

rights of wealthy creditors and

speculators, their lawyers, and

their courts. The bourgeoisie ob-

served and drew the indicated

conclusions, in the same manner

ways faced the problem of en-

forcing respect for his property

right-from the days of Rome

and Greece to those land-holders

and financiers who backed Gen-

eral Franco.

on the question.

shown, the Framers were bank-

and workers there were none.

The Marxist, of course, draws

certain grim conclusions from

these revealing facts-conclusions

about the class character of the

government which has been de-

veloped through the years, having

as its basis a Constitution created

Line has, and has produced those

monstrous distortions of History

dulled minds of our Twentieth

Role of Jeffersonian Democrats

Century American Morons.

shippers, merchants, and

that the property-owner has al-

The colonial bourgeoisie were

tive alike can be honest about self from France wrote to in-

Taking a position of independence

from politics, he avowed, "I am

not of the party of Federalists,"

but hastened to add, "But I am

much further from that of the

Madison, great friend and ally

of Jefferson, and the man Jeffer-

son chose to succeed him in the

Presidency, played a leading role

in the work of the new Consti-

tution, helping to put shackles on

that purer form of democracy

which existed during the Articles

of Confederation. The new Con-

stitution was most skillfully pre-

pared so as to provide unbreak-

able obstacles to majority rule;

Bourgeoisie Quarrels

date their power for the defense

of their property and privileged

position, the bourgeoisie quar-

reled among themselves for prece-

dence. Hamilton, leader of the

merchant, banker, commercial

groups, fought to lay down eco-

nomic policies for the new nation

which would aid the growth of

industry and commerce. The

planters, aware that the domi-

nance of these groups would be

costly to them, aligned themselves

in opposition. With them stood

Jefferson, Madison, and the other

great names of the agricultural

Once again the politicians

matched phrases and promises in

the fight for the support of the

masses. While certain sections of

the city workers sided with the

Federalists, the agrarians rallied

behind Jefferson and carried him

to the Presidency in 1800. They

supported his attacks upon the

der laws restricting and crippling

their political liberties, and espe-

Inconsistent in promise and

practice like all capitalist politi-

clans who depend on the masses

for support, Jefferson decided,

"What is practicable must often

control what is pure theory." His

ideal of a static society of small

land-holders was simply impos-

manitarianism, any realistic his-

torian must see that Hamilton,

genius, his superior foresight, laid

down policies which laid the foun-

dation of a rapid increase in the

productive power of the society

was averted from the future; it

was Jefferson who advised the

new nation, "Let our workshops

its acceptance. Of a population of mately his followers even had to

some 4,000,000 it is estimated that restore the privately-owned Bank

about 120,000 were allowed to vote of the United States to its con-

As Charles Beard has ably workers continued to suffer un

planters, men who had financial cially so in those Southern states

gains to make from the Constitu- which were the strongholds of

in such a manner. And that Marx- sible, given the material resources

ian analysis was once understood of the new United States, and

by many of the present Stalinist the economic forces at work in

hacks. The hard facts of History the world. In spite of Jefferson's

have not changed-but the Party cloudy ideals and incoherent hu-

which now litter the dreary pages not Jefferson, was the real pro-

of the Daily Worker, and the gressive of his day. Hamilton's

This Constitution, conceived in they guided. Jefferson's gaze

tion they created. Small farmers the Jeffersonian "Democracy."

After having united to consoli-

it continues to do its job success-

anti-Federalists."

fully today.

When in 1935 Moscow gave or- it)-much eloquence and many quirers, "I approved from the first ders to its Communist Parties to fine pledges were needed to call moment, of the great mass of make friends with the bourgeoisie, them to battle for their local ex- what is in the new Constitution." the interpretation of American ploiters against their foreign, history entered into a new period of agony. Stalinist speakers, glowing with their new and self-benot unskilled in this task. In the stowed titles of 20th Century war propaganda of the day, Americans, began to make halt- Thomas Jefferson, who had a ing but determined references to genius for resounding phrases, Patrick Henry, Paul Revere, and played a well-known part. Among Daniel Boone. Meanwhile the other things, he wrote the Declaparty hacks burrowed into the ration of Independence; its movvolumes of the liberal historians- ing and haunting promises have to return rejoicing with the un- been interpreted differently by the happy shade of Thomas Jefferson, various classes and interests of Sage of Monticello.

This historical burlesque evoked anger mixed with wonder from ary war the embattled masses the observers, and resentment in showed traits most alarming to many quarters, most recently and the businessmen and propertymost curiously from the stern holders who had called them to ranks of the I.W.W., where Co- revolt. After the fashion of agravami has declared, "The I.W.W. rians with arms in hand, they . . is the ONLY organization in burned mortgages, destroyed the United States upholding de- deeds, confiscated the estates of mocracy as defined by Thomas the Tories and divided them, and Jefferson." His querulous protest, issued paper money with the inof course, was futile and is tent of wiping out their status drowned out; Thomas Jefferson as debtors. In the cities, the is claimed by Browder and all workers that had previously his zealots. Their clamor does fought British Customs Officers not abate, but only grows wilder, and soldiers showed equal lack Now who was Jefferson and of respect for wealth and propwhat was his "democracy"? What erty. After the Peace and before did it mean to the workers of his the Constitution-1783 to 1789-

A Little Bit of History

To Stalin? or to Browder?

time? What could it mean today? they continued revealing a capa-

The American Revolution was waged between the ruling class of England, and the ruling class of the 13 colonies-merchants, bankers, shippers, planters. Resourceful and intelligent men who dominated economic, political, and social life, their victory got them most definite material gains -commercial freedom, the right to develop industry at home, the cancellation of the planters' debts Minority Engineered Constitution banking interests, his concept of to English creditors, the right to The capable American bourgeor- a nation of small, independent expand to the West-in other sie accomplished its task without farmers, his opposition to centralwords, the power to exploit the war. There was no city prote- ization in government, and his untapped resources of a virgin tariat ready to oppose it. The eloquent speeches regarding the continent and its corresponding restless and bitter agrarians were rights of the common man. right under capitalism, the right confused and divided among Practice Different from Theory to exploit the labor of the work- themselves. Quite illegally, havers and farmers who lived and ing gathered together their best ministration showed that he was were to live in the new nation. leaders in a closed conference unable to carry out his theories

A most handsome prize-and ostensibly to discuss a minor nav- of administration. Strict connot to be confused with the igation problem, the bourgeoisie, structionist, he had to arbitrarily Rights of Man or the Pursuit including most of the great names assume broad powers in his purof Happiness-except as those of the Revolutionary leaders, chase of Louisiana. Foe of Hamphrases applied first and foremost drew up a Constitution consoli- liton's financial group and polito the above-mentioned bankers, dating their power, presented it cies, he was forced to play polimerchants, shippers, and planters. to the nation, and forced through tics with the bankers, and ulti-

Masses Must Be Rallied

It is a commonplace of Marxism that human beings erect above the economic basis of their society-which is the final and determining source of their conduct with one another-a superstructure of religion, law, politics, and so on. In the decades of preparation for the break with England, the colonial bourgeoisie had written and argued eloquently and well; they had a remarkable group of leaders. Not only did they have to organize themselves for the dangerous task in handthey were staking their headsbut it was necessary to rally behind the masses. They were needed to face the British Grena-

Even the bourgeois historians will admit that in the Colonial period a class society existed here. To win these poverty-stricken workers and farmers, indentured servants, debt-ridden men and women pushed off the best lands to eke out a living in the back country, kept by poll taxes, religious qualifications, property requirements from any political ac- the class interest of the bourtivity-(the record of their mis- geoisie, was written and suptory so that liberal and conserva- sonian Democracy. Jefferson him-

(Continued from Page 1)

N.L.R.B.

not to their liking.

Workers' Rights Attacked

In the Columbian case, this

point was stated even more elab-

ery can be found in the books; ported by most of the men who it is far enough back in our his- were later leaders of the Jeffer- remain in Europe."

Supreme Court Outlaws Sit-Downs their breach"-that is, at liberty; and was always upheld by the

to fire them with impunity. decision established the precedent that the courts can pass not mere pany can sign a phoney fink conly on "matters of law"-that is, interpretations of the wording of tract with anyone it chooses; and then, if the workers strike for a the law as passed by Congress-bona-fide contract, the company but on all investigations of matters of fact as determined by the is legally justified in firing them because they are guilty of a "crime," a "breach of contract."

In effect, this reduces the N.L. These decisions are one more R.B. to a shadow, since any of its findings whatever can be upset by excellent object lesson, first, in the the courts. The bosses can just go nature of capitalist legality and ahead and disregard any decisions second, in the futility of labor's of the N.L.R.B. which they find relying on any thing but its own organized class strength for protecting its rights.

> Real Source of Decision The future of sit-down strikes

orately in the Supreme Court's and of union contracts will not be settled by court decisions, as the bosses know perfectly well; nor The Sands case decision, more- will the N.L.R.B. or any such over, contained an even more de- board prove decisive. For two cisive attack on the rights of years the Supreme Court did not workers. The Court contended dare make any ruling on sitthat the workers had struck in downs, because they knew their violation of an existing contract, ruling would not mean anything and that therefore the company while the labor movement was adwas "at liberty to treat them as vancing and in a position to fight having severed their relations effectively. For three years the with the company because of N.L.R.B. seemed to be important

Supreme Court only because the Board fas simply recording, after the fact, what the workers had

In the current mood of political reaction in this country, and with retreating, weakened labor movement sabotaged by its cowardly officialdom, the bosses take courage to strike back, and use their Supreme Court to express their desires.

The workers will protect their

won by their own direct struggle.

right to jobs and decent wages and will win and defend their bona-fide contracts where they are firm and united and hard in meeting the bosses on the arena of the class struggle; and disputes over legal niceties can then be well left to the petty squabbles of the brightboys of the N.L.R.B. and the learned twaddle of the stuffed-shirts on the benches.

ATTENTION

NEW YORKERS! The SOCIALIST APPEAL is placed on the newsstands every Wednesday and Saturday.

CORNER

By Max Shachtman

In a recent debate I had with a social-democratic spokesman, who defended the Roosevelt war armaments drive, he sought to play upon the anti-fascist feelings of the audience by referring to the fact that Senator Nye, "isolationist" leader, had been cheered to the echo by the Nazis at their Madison Square Garden meeting; and that, by implication I, an opponent of the Roosevelt program, stood on, all fours with the Nazis.

This cunning device of identifying working class revolutionists with their extreme reactionary opponents, is older than the labor movement itself, but it hasn't improved with age. It is the favorite device of the essentially conservative liberal who, as has been said so well, has his two feet firmly planted in mid-air. When Ferdinand Lassalle was trying to organize an independent working class movement in Germany, the "Progressives" accused him of being an instrument of the reactionaries. When the British Laborites first put up their independent candidates. the "Liberals" accused them of being tools of the

So it has been ever since, down to the present day. And there are, alas, many foolish people who are impressed by this kind of argument, and many scoundrels at work impressing them.

That Vote On

the Guam Naval Base

Take the case of the recent House of Representatives vote against the \$5,000,000 proposal for a naval base at Guam Island. The proposal was defeated by a vote of 205 to 168. The reaction of the Stalinist press was most interesting

"HOUSE TORIES AID TOKIO AGGRESSORS IN DEFEAT OF GUAM DEFENSE PROPOSAL," shouted the big box-car streamer across the top of the Daily Worker (Feb. 24). The accompanying dispatch was written in the same vein.

What we have here is a first-class patriotic fraud. The truth of the matter is that brazen as the Stalinist sergeants are, they are nevertheless a bit embarrassed over the need of explaining away the fact that they are pretty solidly aligned not only with Roosevelt, but with Landon and all the Republicans, and big business in a war drive which, as usual, is given the name of "defense preparations." In order to overcome this annoying difficulty, and to make it appear that there is something "democratic" about the war program, the Stalinists try to picture the situation as if all the "progressives" are for the super-armaments program and defense of American imperialism, and all the Tory Republicans and Democrats are against it. Once this is done, the Stalinists believe that it will be easier to denounce all working class opponents of the war campaign as allies or agents of the Tories.

But They Did

Vote For the Program!

That's the purpose of the Daily Worker headline. The naval base at Guam Island is a "defense" measure; only the Tories are against it; they oppose it because they are agents of the Japanese Mikado; and anybody else who opposes it is an agent of both the Tories and the Mikado.

Simple, isn't it?

But if the Republicans, who represent the most reactionary section of American capitalism, are agents of the Mikado (why they should be, nobody ever explains!), then, by the same logic, Roosevelt, the New Deal Democrats and Earl Browder are also agents of Japanese imperialism.

For the same House of Representatives that defeated the \$5,000,000 proposal for Guam by a vote of 205 to 168, adopted the Roosevelt bill for \$48,800,000 for all the other naval bases by a vote of 268 to 4!

What's more, according to a Washington dispatch to the N. Y. Times (Feb. 10), "President Roosevelt's emergency program for national detense as outlined in his message of Jan. 12 was approved today, in its main features, by the Republican Conference of the House of Representatives. . . . The action of the conference indicates that there will be little opposition to the May bill, strengthening the air corps and other-

wise enlarging the military establishment. . . . " That is, the Republicans (who include, according to the Daily Worker, Tories, Liberty Leaguers, traitors and assistants of Japan) are in fundamental agreement with the Roosevelt-Browder program. Or to put it differently and more precisely: they are all united in a war program for the preservation and expansion of American imperialist interests.

But many Tories did vote against the Guam naval base, didn't they? How can you account for that?

Their vote is not hard to understand; there is nothing mysterious about it. They were moved, just like those who voted for the base, by purely imperial istic motives. Only, they differed from them in what is essentially a technical question, very much like the technical disputes between military experts who put great faith in infantry while others emphasize aviation, or naval experts who stand for heavy dreadnaughts while others emphasize lighter and speedier

All are In

the Same Camp

This was made perfectly clear by the N. Y. World-Telegram (Feb. 9): "We cannot think of a single good purpose to be served by this move-unless, of course, we wish to improve Guam for the benefit of Japan. Every informed naval and military officer admits that in case of war Japan's first move in that area would be to take Guam. She could do that without much difficulty, and our expenditure of a mere \$5,000,000 or so on Guam would not delay the process an extra forty-eight hours. Experts estimate that it would cost us from \$50,000,000 to \$100,000,000 to transform the station into anything like a decent naval base, and it would still be surrounded by islands fortified by Japan."

As can be seen, the camps of both the advocates and adversaries of the Guam base stand solidly on the ground of what they consider the best interests of U. S. imperialism. Despite the frenzied efforts of the Stalinists to sink to the level of military advisers of American capitalism, labor will do well to shy clear of both imperialist camps.

March has been set aside by the Socialist Workers Party as the month for a concerted national drive to aid the New International, our monthly theoretical review. Social affairs are to be held throughout the country, and the proceeds will go to the magazine Although the New International rarely calls for such aid, its modesty should not lead you to believe that it is a stepchild; it is one of the party's proudest achievements. I urge all comrades and friends to give their warmest and most generous support to the March social affairs for the benefit of our review. If they do it in large enough numbers, they will help solve many irritating and even dangerous financial prob-