

**SOCIALIST APPEAL**  
VOL. III—No. 15 Tuesday, March 14, 1939

Published twice a week by the  
**SOCIALIST APPEAL PUBLISHING ASS'N**  
at 118 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.  
Bronx and Manhattan subscriptions are: \$1.50 for  
six months; \$3.00 for one year.  
"Reentered as second class matter February 16,  
1938, 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.

**For Labor Unity**

President Roosevelt wants labor unity because he believes that, with the help of the labor bureaucrats, he will be better able to line up the labor movement solidly for his war if there is a single national trade union federation.

Lewis and Green are governed in their considerations by purely bureaucratic struggles for posts, privileges and power.

The workers of the country need a unified labor movement in order to achieve a firm, united front of struggle against the bosses. The fundamental interests of the workers have nothing in common with the interests of either Roosevelt or Messrs. Lewis and Green.

Lewis' proposal for a joint convention of the A. F. of L., the C.I.O. and the Railroad Brotherhoods to establish a united American Congress of Labor was, doubtless, from his point of view a slick publicity stunt to give him an advantage in factional maneuvers.

But Lewis' motives are unimportant. The dramatic idea is absolutely sound. If Lewis himself doesn't take it seriously, then it is up to the rank and file of all three organizations to hold him to his words and to demand action from the three officials.

While demanding action, the rank and file will also do well to make a few amendments to Lewis' "six point plan." Somehow Lewis forgot to include any proposal for democratic representation at the convention or a democratic structure for the new Congress of Labor, or the need for the unified organization to adopt a militant policy of struggle for labor's rights and interests. A unified federation will serve labor only if founded on internal democracy and dedicated to militant struggle.

A second set of amendments should cut off from the start the Lewis provisions which would tie the unity convention and the new federation to the administration machine.

The proposal has been made. It is now public property.

Let the workers themselves take it out of the hands of the President and the bureaucrats, and go forward under their own steam to a unified American Congress of Labor.

**'Let Them Eat Cake'**

Government officials have cooked up a new experiment in regimenting that guinea-pig, the hapless worker on relief, according to press dispatches last week from Washington.

On April Fool's Day, after the first big slash in relief rolls has been instituted, the remaining guinea-pigs will have their allowances divided into two portions if the plan is put into effect. One half will be paid in cash. The other half will be paid in orange-colored scrip which can be exchanged only at grocery stores and only for food products.

An extra allowance of blue-colored scrip will be issued at the same time. This scrip will be exchangeable only for products declared "surplus" by the Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation. The "surplus" product during any particular week might be anything from sausage casings to baled straw.

Neither the blue-colored nor the orange-colored scrip can be used for clothing, for rent, fuel, shoes, transportation, for books, magazines, or newspapers, or for the grave emergency situations that occur at times in every family—sudden illness or death.

"Many relief families," said the officials, "now spend too little for food. Under the new program they would be forced to increase their food expenditures to the point required for minimum health standards."

If this theory holds true, the next step will be to cut the cash allowance to one-fourth. This would

force relief families to banquet three times a day—instead of arbitrarily starving themselves as they now do.

Cutting the cash allowance to one-eighth would place these families on yachts and allow them to winter at Bermuda—just like the rich. Let us divide five vacuums and two zeros and fatten the multitude! Ballyhooed as a method of elevating the living standards of those on relief, the plan is actually an insidious device to lower still further the present starvation levels.

"You complain that you are starving on your relief check?" says the plan. "Then it is only because you are too mentally incompetent to buy food. The government will arbitrarily force food down your gullet."

In brief, too much relief is being given the unemployed. If they are under-nourished it is their own fault. They are wasting it in riotous living. Give them a cut to sober them up.

According to the plan, the scrip must be exchanged at ordinary grocery stores at "current prices." That means placing the unemployed at the mercy of the corner grocer. Colored scrip exchangeable only for designated products means automatic jacking up of prices. It means discrimination at every food market in the country. "Colored scrip? You'll take what's good for you at the price asked. . . . It's government orders isn't it?"

Only militant mass demonstrations can fittingly answer such an insidious attack and such colossal contempt for the unemployed!

Many tribes of savages do not know that the sun is the source of daylight, reads an item in the *Minneapolis Star*. And many civilized savages do not know that labor is the source of all wealth.

**We Mean Action Too**

"Life is too short to make speeches unless you are going to do something about it." Harry Hopkins, Secretary of Commerce, is reported to have made this statement at a press conference in which he amplified what he meant concretely when he made his notorious Des Moines speech on March 3rd dedicating the Roosevelt administration to going down the line for big business.

The "something" which Hopkins pledges the administration to doing in order to increase profits for the economic royalists consists of outlawing strikes, slashing relief appropriations, revising taxes for the benefit of the rich, engaging in secret alliances, and plunging the country into war.

It is high time that the American people stopped listening to speech-making by vultures like Hopkins and began answering in the language of the working class. And we don't mean just speeches. We mean the only language the bosses can understand, the language of action.

Hopkins assures the capitalist class that he means action when he says he is out to raise their profits at the expense of the American public. Let the working class, employed and unemployed, answer him with action. "Life is too short to make speeches unless you are going to do something about it."

Chief Justice Hughes in a speech to Congress noted especially the necessity for protecting the rights of minorities in order that democratic government might not destroy itself "by the excesses of power." He added that "we are all partners; one member of our body politic cannot say to another—I have no need of thee." Workers could say this to the bosses. As yet they haven't got around to doing it, but they will! Incidentally, Mr. Justice, how about the rights of the majority, the workers, who have only wrongs?

**300,000 Men**

Only a short twelve months ago, Leslie Hore-Belisha, War Secretary of the British Government, appeared in the British Parliament with his estimate for funds needed in his war plans, and, in order to reassure the general public of England, told them that Britain's slaughter of her citizens in 1914 need not be repeated in the next war.

"History sometimes repeats itself, but rarely in the same context," he told the assembled members of Parliament. "The assumptions of an unforgettable past are not always the surest guide to an unpredictable future."

That was a year ago. Last Wednesday Leslie Hore-Belisha appeared again in Parliament. This time he told the assembled members that the British Government is planning to send 300,000 men to France as soon as the approaching slaughter bursts over the world.

300,000 men! That is four times the size of the expeditionary army which Britain sent to die in France in 1914.

The crosses in Flanders field will quadruple their rows in the new war. That is what capitalist democracy means! The "unforgettable past" will avenge itself with four times its fury on those who did forget.

Why did Hore-Belisha assure the people of Great Britain last year that his war plans did not contemplate sending them to die in France? Any capitalist diplomat can provide the answer to that question. Public opinion was not yet drugged enough. The war machine was not yet ready to be launched at the throats of the opposing capitalist camp.

Now a year later the time draws swift at hand when the ordinary people, the workers, the farmers, must lift rifles for their masters. England is almost ready. She has divided the country into twelve districts each with its totalitarian dictator. She is putting the finishing touches on the greatest assembly of death dealing machines in the history of the British Empire.

Now the people must be informed that they are to die.

"History sometimes repeats itself, but rarely in the same context." Yes, Mr. Hore-Belisha, history does repeat itself . . . on more violent and bloody levels. And the blood bath you are preparing will end in drowning you and all your kind in the coming workers revolution in Great Britain!

**Why I Decided to Quit the Communist Party**

**Carl Hichin, Former Prominent Member of the Canadian Communist Party, Tells the Full Story of Doubts Which Brought Him to 4th International**

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

TORONTO, Ont.—Publicly repudiating the Communist Party for its social patriotism, Carl Hichin, former prominent member of the Canadian section of the Third International has joined the Fourth International as announced in the last issue of the *Socialist Appeal*.

His complete statement calling upon all militant workers to join in building the true party of revolutionary Marxism—the 4th International—is as follows:

"May this serve as the public announcement to the labor movement of my complete organizational and political severance from the Communist Party of Canada (Third International) and its now irrevocable reformism, and may it also serve as a declaration of my accord, politically and organizationally, with the Socialist Workers' League of Canada (Fourth International)—the one Canadian party and International adhering to revolutionary Marxism."

**LABOR MOVEMENT**

"As one who had been publicly associated with the Communist party of Canada and its organ for several years, and one who had been active in the labor movement for more than 20 years, I gave long and serious consideration to the question of transferring my party allegiance, before actually taking the step. As early as 1935, I told the Communist party District Bureau through Jock McN, that the party was 'prostituting the name of Communism' in relation to its 'fight against fascism.'"

"Even after being removed from the *Clarion* by a decision of the Political Bureau in May 1938, I hesitated for more than six months before making a public announcement of my break with the party. During those six months, let it be said, to keep the record straight, I declined several invitations to renew my party activity, resigned from the party in July and as late as January 1, 1939, declined an invitation to rejoin the party, extended through two of the party's prominent members, C.M. and A.C."

**BEGAN SERIOUS INVESTIGATION**

"Particularly during those six months did I give myself over to a serious investigation and study which had previously been restricted by pressure of party work. I considered it necessary, before making any public announcement, that I satisfy myself, beyond any possible doubt, that the Communist International had abandoned revolutionary Marxism, as I had frequently suggested, and that thorough bureaucratization of the Third International had made it impossible to accomplish rectification by inner party work. Then, of course, arose the necessity of satisfying myself that the party of my new allegiance was a revolutionary party. The statement given above,

announces my firm convictions.

**C.P. STRENGTHENS FASCISM**

"My decision to make a public break with the Communist party of Canada was made early in December last. However, I found it impossible to get any publication to make public my decision in the terms I desired and not wishing to join in the red-baiting then prevalent, I withheld all public announcement until after the Toronto municipal elections. Even then, as we shall see, I failed to find a satisfactory medium."

"Here, space requires that I touch upon only one central point, illustrative of the Communist International's abandonment of revolutionary Marxism, its embrace of reformism and the consequent victories of Franco and the strengthening of fascist and war forces in almost every country, and particularly in France."

"It has been obvious, particularly since the 1935 Communist International Congress, that Stalin's 'socialism in one country' had led him and the Communist International into satisfaction with the international status quo, complete abandonment of the international revolution, and the changing of the Communist International sections into reformist parties whose main task was to act as Soviet border guards—'We do not seek an inch of foreign soil, neither will we surrender an inch of our own.'—Stalin."

**DEFENSES SOVIET UNION**

"Defense of the Soviet Union from the blows of capitalist enemies is, of course, the elementary and imperative duty of every honest labor organization. But it must also be borne in mind that the fate of the Soviet Union will be decided in the long run not on the maps of army staffs but on the map of the class struggle, and that the task of the proletariat is not the perpetuation of existing imperialist boundaries and states—including those that beset the Soviet Union—but their revolutionary abolition."

"Similarly, in order to utilize the imperialist contradictions of the day, there is not the slightest need for idealizing as champions of peace and liberty, say, France and England, both of which are far from being 'democratic' in their colonial exploitation. Instead, if this is done, then the sections of the Communist International are transformed into political agencies of imperialism in relation to the masses."

**EXPLAINS C.P. DEVIATIONS**

"That, in fact, is the miserable role of the Third International today. Browder has put it quite bluntly—open support for Roosevelt's 'billions for armaments' and promise of Communist party support for the United States government should it become involved in a war with Japan—and presumably Germany."

"This is the 'fight against fascism' now substituted by the Communist International for its old stand that the 'only alternative to fascism is the proletarian dictatorship.' It follows of course that

to follow this new line in time of war, it must be started in time of peace. Indeed, this calling upon the workers to support their own bourgeoisie has begun. We find it in the 'unions sacrees' and coalition cabinets known as the 'Popular Front governments,' in the fawning at the feet of Roosevelt and Kind, in the complete embracing of reformism and the abandonment of revolutionary class struggle."

**HITLER FEARS**

"Surely Mr. Buck knows that what Hitler fears most is not the verbose declarations of 'democratic' bourgeoisies but the sounding of the tocsin on the barricades of France, and then perhaps Germany. But Buck blithely goes along creating a Canadian 'union sacree' and blessing others. As late as February 2, in the *Daily Clarion*, he quoted a Roosevelt dictum that the 'first duty of our statesmanship today is to bring capital and man power together,' and hopefully added: 'Can this be done in Canada? I say: Yes.'"

**APPEALS TO C.P. MEMBERS**

"It would be difficult to imagine a more brazenly outspoken desertion of the revolutionary class struggle. Surely those thousands who joined the Communist party of Canada in the firm belief that they were joining a revolutionary party must now see into what a treacherous blind alley they have been led, and surely they will hasten to join in repudiation of such rank reformism and social patriotism and turn to building the only present party of revolutionary Marxism, the Fourth International."

"I mentioned above the difficulty I experienced in gaining suitable publicity for the announcement to my revolutionary colleagues of my break with the Communist party of Canada. Finally, after the Toronto elections, I felt constrained to resort to Maclean's and the *Winnipeg Free Press*, and to a treatment that was far from satisfactory. For that sharp criticism is due. Liberties taken by the editor with my article made matters even worse. I therefore specifically repudiate the impression left in the article that the Communist party of Canada still secretly pursues revolutionary policies."

**FOURTH INTERNATIONAL**

"I think I have made it clear that the Communist party of Canada has in fact embraced reformism and that any duplicity that exists is directed towards maintaining control and leadership of those honest workers and party members whose greatest desire is to help in achieving the revolutionary emancipation of the world proletariat. To the latter, I have already addressed my appeal, that they too, publicly repudiate the Communist International and join in building the true party of revolutionary Marxism—The Socialist Workers League of Canada (Fourth International)."

—Carl Hichin.

**SP's Rev. Sec'y Burt Joins Anti-Labor Pastorate to Bring "Heaven on Earth"**

MINNEAPOLIS—Rev. Roy E. Burt, elected National Secretary of the Socialist Party at its last convention and still, therefore, officially the chief executive officer of Norman Thomas' party, has become assistant pastor to Dr. George Mecklenburg, pastor of the prosperous Wesley Temple Methodist church of this city.

News of his appointment was published by the local press on March 4. The biographical information provided by Rev. Burt to the press, as published by the *Journal and the Star*, was:

"He has held pastorates in Illinois and Wyoming, served as young people's secretary of the board of education in the Methodist church and worked for the board of home missions. He will have charge of the youth program at the church and will assist Dr. George Mecklenburg, pastor, in pastoral work."

In his first appearance before the church congregation, which was broadcast over the radio, the Rev. Burt ended his prayer with: "Bring thy Kingdom on earth in our time."

**Pastor Anti-Labor**

Burt's superior, Rev. Mecklenburg, is a notorious enemy of the trade union movement. In June he devoted his Sunday afternoon radio broadcast to a denunciation of Minneapolis unions as racketeering organizations. On June 23, he opposed Vincent R. Dunne, organizer for General Drivers Union Local 544, in a debate: "Min-

neapolis Labor Racketeering: Fact or Fancy?"

"Labor is gouging capital," declared Mecklenburg in the debate. "It is piracy, buccaneering." He claimed that Minneapolis workers had come to him with information about union racketeering, and that legitimate business was paying tribute to the unions.

But the demand of Vincent Dunne and questioners in the audience, that Mecklenburg cite specific instances of racketeering, was evaded by the reverend with

**AMERICAN FUND ASKS NAMES ON INDIAN PETITION**

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

NEW YORK, Mar. 8—Thousands of signatures are being gathered by the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees to a petition addressed to the President and Congress, demanding that all natives of India residing in the United States be granted the right to become naturalized citizens.

The petition was drawn up by the India Welfare League, a working class organization, which represents the interests of more than 12,000 persons born in India who have immigrated into the United States and who under the provisions of the Exclusion Act of 1917 are denied the right to become naturalized citizens.

Write to the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees, Room 1609, 100 Fifth Avenue, for blank petitions to circulate among your fellow workers.

the assertion that the information was given him "in the confidence of the confessional," and therefore he could not divulge it.

Two nights later, Dr. Mecklenburg made an appeal over the radio to all persons who might have information against the General Drivers Union to get in touch with him.

In 1932 Mecklenburg incurred the enmity of organized labor by attempting to channelize the unemployed into a "self-help" organization under his control at the church. He paid the unemployed for their work in scrip exchangeable for food and clothing at fancy prices. The labor movement finally drove Mecklenburg out of this scam enterprise.

**Strikebreaker Preceded Burt**

Burt's predecessor as assistant pastor, Rev. Brown, tried to block the famous July-August, 1934 general strike of truckdrivers by calling a rump meeting of drivers. The Drivers Union marched in and took over the meeting.

The Wesley Temple congregation is one of the wealthiest in this part of the country.

Rev. Burt, as the National Secretary, was Norman Thomas' chief aide in expelling the left wing of the Socialist Party in 1937. The expulsion was designed to prevent the left wing from taking over the party at the next convention. Those expelled constituted the Socialist Workers Party.

Horror Item: "Chief of the organization (of Nazi propaganda) is cultured Dr. Goebbels, probably the best educated and most talented member of the Nazi upper circle."

**IN THIS CORNER**

By Max Shachtman

In a letter to the editor, Mrs. Mary D. Brito of New York takes us to task for a reference to the American Civil Liberties Union occurring in the *Socialist Appeal* article (March 3) on "Should Fascists Be Allowed the Right of Free Speech?"

We said in the article that the "A.C.L.U. rushed into print to insist that the right of free speech be extended to the Hitlerites." But the capitalist press did not mention, says Mrs. Brito, that "the Union requested the same protection for the demonstrators as for those holding and attending the meeting. . . . I think a correction in the columns of the *Socialist Appeal* is in order."

Our correspondent also encloses the Press Service Bulletin of the Union which quotes from its letter to Police Commissioner Valentine as follows: "In conformity with our firm belief that the only way to preserve Americanism is to protect the rights of assembly and free speech of all groups, no matter how unpopular or undesirable their doctrines may be, we wish to request you to give full police protection to both those holding and attending the meeting, and to all persons and groups who may wish to protest the same by picketing or other lawful means."

**The C.L.U. Blew the Police Whistle**

The full statement of the Civil Liberties Union does not seriously change the situation, especially when it is considered in the light of what actually happened around Madison Square Garden on the night of the Nazi mobilization.

The accompanying news release of the Union, which is dated Feb. 25, that is, after the meeting had taken place, notes with apparent satisfaction that "In line with a request by the New York Civil Liberties Committee for adequate police protection both to the Nazis and those picketing in protest, 1,700 members of the police force were assigned to the meeting."

The Union, however, ignores completely what actually happened—not in the realm of its liberal wishful thinking, but at the Garden itself. In spite of almost two decades of activity in the field of civil liberties, it has not yet penetrated the liberal mind that the police are not an above-the-battle institution impartially conferring the benefits of democratic rights upon all and sundry. We have held, and still do, that the police are an institution, like all the armed forces of capitalism, for the suppression of the working class and the protection of its enemies.

Hence, whoever blows the whistle for the cops in a dispute between labor and its opponents, is willy-nilly calling upon the police to do the dirty job for which it is organized and maintained. That is precisely what the A.C.L.U.—oh, with the very best of intentions!—did with its statement; that is why we attacked its action.

How can there be any doubt of this when the realities are kept in mind?

**Cops Did Not Protect Workers' Rights**

The unprecedented police guard made it possible for the fascists to organize their first large public mobilization of anti-labor thugs. Without that guard, the Nazis could no more have carried through their impudent provocation of the workers than thugs at a company game can, generally speaking, carry through a strike-breaking job without the benevolent protection of the police. Swinging their fists and clubs and tramping upon the pickets with their horses, the police did indeed give the Nazis all the protection they wanted and . . . needed.

On the other hand, the same police, who came to the Garden on their mission with the blessing of the Union liberals, were not at all concerned with the rights of free speech and assembly of the workers who came to protest against the Nazi gangsters. Quite the contrary. It was the workers who were deprived of their rights. It was the workers who were slugged and wounded. It was the workers who were arrested.

That sums up the entire affair. The police made possible the reactionary Nazi mobilization against labor. The police brutally dispersed the labor mobilization against the Nazis. If the police did not act in accordance with the request of the Civil Liberties Union, it did act in accordance with its natural and "proper" function in capitalist society. If the liberals are shocked at the results of their request, it is only because they refuse to understand what this function really is, and to act accordingly.

**Where Was the C.L.U.'s Protest Delegation?**

But come to think of it, we haven't noticed anywhere that the Civil Liberties Union was shocked by the Garden affair. Is it possible that it considered its aim achieved when the Nazi meeting was peacefully concluded? For it has not come to our attention that the Union, after the meeting, addressed an indignant protest to the New York Police Commissioner and Mayor LaGuardia against the vicious anti-labor conduct of the police cordon around the Garden.

As is known, Acting Mayor Newbold Morris, the illustrious partisan of Democracy, gave a protesting delegation organized by the Socialist Workers Party the run-around at City Hall, and refused to see or hear it. Did the Civil Liberties Union also send a delegation of protest to City Hall? If it did, we have heard nothing about it. It would be interesting to learn if it had as much success in protesting against labor being deprived of its rights, as it had in getting the police to assure the "rights" of the Nazis. And in the alternative case, it would also be interesting to learn why the Union made no protest at all.

**Labor Looks Through The Press**

By ARTHUR HOPKINS

"I have read my Bible every day of my life since the days of my youth, in the days of peace and the days of war," declares Major-General W.G.S. Bobble, who heads the defense of Singapore. Wonder what he does when he comes across the fifth commandment?

Secretary of State Cordell Hull says: "The present form of American government, in which congress has the final control over declaration of war, has proven its wisdom and practicability. There was no question more acutely before the minds and purposes of the founding fathers of this republic than of keeping the American people out of war." Lying like a scholar and a gentleman to save the honor of his whorish mistress—American imperialism.

**WORK AND PRAY—LIVE ON HAY**

John E. Edgerton, president of the National Association of Manufacturers, explains how he gets efficiency from his workers. "I am proud to say that morning prayer exercises in my factory (in Tennessee) have had the finest economic effects. Workers are producing far more good than before the prayer system was started some years ago." See Joe Hill, the Wobbly song-writer, for comment.