

SOCIALIST APPEAL

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Join the Pledge Fund

The Socialist Appeal has been making great strides towards becoming the voice of militant labor in America. Not only did the Appeal successfully complete its campaign for funds necessary to launch the new Appeal, but the semi-weekly paper is now an established, solid reality. It is here to stay—that is, until our next great success demands more frequent publication.

Dozens of letters are received each week praising the appearance and contents of the Appeal. Our subscription list mounts steadily; mass bundle-order circulation is growing; the Appeal is being sold wherever labor fights. In the organized labor movement the voice of the Appeal is increasingly heard.

But we must confess that there is still one stumbling block in the path of our continued progress. The Appeal now runs at a deficit each week. This deficit arises from greatly increased costs of printing, mailing, labor, etc. It is a drain on our reserve fund. We have been reducing the amount of the deficit steadily, but without the help of our readers we cannot expect to cut it down to zero.

This week we are writing to all regular Appeal subscribers urging them to join our Monthly Appeal Pledge Fund. We request our readers to give this letter their careful and sympathetic attention. We are counting upon a real response in organizing this Pledge Fund. Especially with present needs, a small deficit cannot stand in the path of our growth. Join the Monthly Appeal Pledge Fund and help raise the voice of militant socialism in the four corners of America!

Stalin and Non-Intervention

A very short dispatch from Moscow to the press on March 4, reported the withdrawal of the Soviet government from the Committee on Non-Intervention in Spanish affairs, "because the London committee has not functioned for a considerable period of time and has lost the reason for its existence."

That the committee lost the reason for its existence—with Anglo-French recognition of Franco—is true; but that it did not function for a considerable period of time is not true. On the contrary it functioned systematically, precisely for the purpose of paving the way for recognition of Franco, and Stalin's endorsement and participation in the committee immeasurably facilitated its work against the Spanish people.

We predicted upon its formation that the committee would serve Franco. This was quickly verified. But when revolutionists therefore demanded that the Soviet government resign from it, continued support of the committee was justified as a way to fight fascism!

The Stalinists will not like to be reminded of such gems as this from Harry Gannes' "How the Soviet Union Helps Spain": "Rather than to allow collusion between the Nazis and the Tory ministers to confront Spain, the Soviet Union strove to do all it could within the non-intervention committee to stop fascist arms from being shipped to Spain." Rather than to allow such collusion, Stalin preferred himself to be in collusion with the Tory ministers right up to the recognition of Franco by Anglo-French imperialism.

Let the People Decide!

The American Institute of Public Opinion, of which Dr. George Gallup is director, has just released the results of a nation-wide poll on the war referendum.

According to Gallup's report 58 per cent of the American public favor an amendment to the Constitution which would require Congress to obtain the approval of the people by referendum before the United States can be plunged into a war overseas.

The Gallup poll reflects the sentiment of the middle layers of the American population, the professional occupations, highly skilled workers, and small business men. The lower layers of the population, such as unskilled labor, the ordinary factory worker, the farm

laborer—all those who will be shot down first in the approaching war—are not reflected to any considerable extent in the poll.

If the Gallup survey shows a majority favoring a referendum, then we may be sure that all those who will lose the most in the coming world blood-bath, those who will die in the field, those whose homes will be shattered by tragedy, are absolutely opposed to war and want somehow to prevent the coming carnage.

Nevertheless, despite this overwhelming public sentiment against war, Roosevelt last week came out against any kind of war referendum, however mild.

Roosevelt does not want so much as the disemboweled shadow of a referendum to lead the American workers and farmers into believing that they have the final word on going overseas to die.

Their shock at discovering that they did not exercise that right, Roosevelt believes would overthrow his regime. That is why he opposes even this year's version of a war referendum as proposed by a group of 12 in the Senate.

The tremendous war machine constructed by Roosevelt is almost finished. All it lacks is the steel-helmeted rows of American workers and farmers to march through its bristling maw to die for profits.

Roosevelt can permit nothing to stand in the way of that death march. He and the small minority of economic royalists he represents cannot let the people decide. That is why he opposes a war referendum!

Monahan's Campaign

Senator Reynolds' speech in the Senate against Mexico, reported elsewhere in this issue, is part of a systematic campaign being conducted from the law offices of Roy P. Monahan at 49 Wall Street. Mr. Monahan heads a committee which, according to the N. Y. Times Jan. 22, demands use of "our whole armed might" to "bring about restoration of American properties in Mexico and the elimination of Nazism from that state."

Mr. Monahan makes a crude attempt to link up the fight of the oil corporations against Mexico with the fight against Nazism. Too crude you might say? But Mr. Monahan dresses up his "anti-fascism." As chairman of the Americanism committee of the Disabled American Veterans, the Times goes on to report, "Mr. Monahan was the complainant against the German-American Settlement League, six officers of which were recently tried for violation of the State Civil Rights Law."

Thus Monahan, aided by the publicity of the Times, makes a cheap gesture against the Nazis in order to justify a campaign of intervention against the Cardenas government.

But not only the Times aids him in this crooked maneuver. The central organ of the Communist Party, the Daily Worker, also endorses Mr. Monahan's credentials as an "anti-fascist." In a front-page story, March 8, headlined, "Bund's Menace Lashed by U. S. Vets Leader," Mr. Monahan is copiously quoted by the Daily Worker in a patriotic attack on the Nazis. Like the Times, the Daily Worker retells the story of Monahan's haling the Nazis into court.

In their mad hunt for "democratic allies" the Stalinists take anybody who will give lip-service to anti-fascism. That the anti-fascist language is nothing but "idealistic" justification for reactionary politics, does not repel the Stalinists.

Their build-up for Monahan will help him in his campaign against the Mexican government, just as Stalinist build-ups have helped the Daladier, Azanas, Miajas, etc., to cut the throats of the workers to whom they were recommended by the Stalinists.

The President

A few readers of the Socialist Appeal have asked us why in our articles and editorials exposing the role of the Roosevelt administration as the instrument of American imperialism we have not more sharply criticized Franklin D. Roosevelt as a man and analyzed the personal qualities which have pre-eminently fitted him to act as President of the United States.

These comrades point to his oratorical skill which hypnotizes the workers and farmers, his remarkable finesse in telling the lies which delude them, the ruthlessness with which he builds his war machine and slashes relief rolls—other personal traits which make him probably the most skillful agent the capitalist class of the United States has yet placed in the White House.

Why doesn't the Socialist Appeal debunk Roosevelt the man and show him for what he is?

To a Marxist, no leader can do more than express the economic and cultural interests of the class which places him in power. He may lend a special twist to particular circumstances and perhaps alter the time sequence of events. But he cannot change the basic direction nor drive of the forces he heads any more than a headlight on a locomotive can prevent the freight train behind from rushing through a tunnel.

One might speculate at times as to what decaying social forces could bring an intelligent person to believing in or fighting for private property and the accumulation of profits in this day and age. But it is the task of the party organ to avoid speculation. Its columns must be devoted to analyzing the concrete forces and events through which Roosevelt maneuvers and to fighting with all its energy against the war, the hunger, and the tragedy which he as the head agent of capitalism is organizing.

We know that if any other agent of capitalism were in the White House his agenda now would be substantially the same as Roosevelt's, gentility or no gentility. Not all headmen are alike. Some are dour, some pleasant and sympathetic, but all lift the axe in conformity with their orders and skillfully or unskillfully bring its edge down upon the neck of the victim. One headman or another—what difference do his personal qualities make to the one who dies under his blade?

Our task does not lie in analyzing the distortions and limitations of the minds of the enemies of world progress except insofar as such an analysis might help in the struggle to free humanity. Our task as members of the working class lies in action on the road to the socialist revolution.

A Short History of Liberalism



Coughlin Spain Film Showing Is Gathering for Fascist Gangs

(Continued from Page 1)

reference to St. Patrick's Cathedral as the "Shrine of St. Bingo" has come to the attention of even the "Christian Front."

Play on Prejudices Mr. Walsh then introduced speakers who in turn played on the prejudices of the audience by fantastic stories of "nuns being openly raped in the streets of Madrid and Barcelona by Red Armies sent to Spain by Trotsky and Stalin" and of "willful destruction of private property and works of art by hordes of Anarchists, Socialists, Communists and other kinds of atheists." Urging the crowd to watch the film carefully to observe the faces of the Loyalists, speakers thus tried to prove that only Jews opposed General Franco in Spain.

This lie and others were refuted completely by the film itself, which, although partly taken by fascist cameramen, was captured by Franco after the defeat of the Loyalists at Teruel and showed many scenes of the activity during the early days of the uprising in Madrid and Barcelona.

Stirring and inspiring shots of the P.O.U.M. militia, the C.N.T. and F.A.I. troops and tanks, young Socialists marching to the front, mass-meetings in the huge bull rings and the arrival of the first contingent of foreign volunteers, all were deliberately distorted in the running comments of the editor of the film, to make it appear that "international Jewry" conspired to destroy "beautiful and peaceful Spain..."

Mum on Franco Butchery The destruction of churches and palaces, the desecration of art and public buildings were all blamed on the "Reds" and "Jews" but not one word on the cold-blooded murder of women and children by Franco's bombers from Italy and Germany. The bombing of Guernica was denied by the film editor who claimed that the city had been destroyed by the "red anarchists" who then shot their own children and women in order to win sympathy from the unsuspecting people in America.

There were no pictures of the Moors who won many a battle for General Franco and who were responsible for the Fascist victory along with the Nazi and Italian Fascist troops. Instead the whole campaign of the butcher of Burgos was called, "the greatest religious crusade against atheism in history..." And there were many scenes of bishops and priests blessing the soldiers of General Franco and everywhere welcoming the Fascist soldiery who were officials of the Vatican City.

Many feet of film taken by Franco's photographers, were devoted to showing prisoners captured after various battles. These, doomed to death or worse, were evidently divided into two groups and the cameramen were careful to show only those whom they described as Jewish soldiers in the uniform of the Loyalist armies.

Whenever such pictures appeared on the screen, the audience would react by cat-calling and yelling. "Oy! Oy! Look at the Kikes! The Christ-killers! Mock 'em!"

Calls for Organization The film ended with a warning

that, "forces similar to the ones just shown, forces like the so-called Loyalists, socialists, communists, anarchists are organizing here in America under the names of American League for Peace and Democracy, the Socialist Workers Party, the Friends of the International Brigade, the Jewish War Veterans, and the United Hebrew Trades and that all 'Christians' must unite now to crush these groups before it is too late." "Organize now!" repeated the commentator, "and stamp out these people while they are still small and unprepared!"

Attacks S. W. P. Immediately following the film the chairman rushed to the platform and announced that, "we have been informed that an agent of the Socialist Workers Party is in our midst..." Whereupon the "Christians" began to look all about and yell, "Kill the s---! Where is he? Let's get him!"

The chairman, before introducing the main speaker of the evening, then went on to attack the Socialist Workers Party, the 4th International and Leon Trotsky. He charged the Trotskyists with having attempted to break up the meetings of the German American Bund all over the country and he charged Leon Trotsky with having organized not only the Red Army of Russia, but the International Brigade which fought in Spain. He went on and accused Trotsky of having conspired with Caballero, Prieto and Stalin to bring what was left of the International Brigade to Mexico where he ("Trotsky") and Prieto had built a fortress and were preparing to invade the United States when the revolution began here.

Reveal Ignorance The ignorance and bigotry of the speakers were revealed in each violent attack on the labor movement and on the Loyalist Government of Spain. One speaker claimed that 10,000 Spanish babies were removed to Russia where they are to be taught "Ideology" and then sent to South America to foment rebellion!

Another roused the crowd to fighting pitch by saying, "I have been informed that the Jews are about to plunge America into a war with Hitler and Mussolini and that Madame Perkins and President Roosevelt are in on the deal..." Playing on the anti-war sentiments of the people, each speaker in turn blamed the war crisis on the Jews.

NEWARK JOBLESS SET FOR ACTION

(Special to Socialist Appeal)

NEWARK, N.J., Mar. 11—Plans were being made by the newly-formed Workers Relief and WPA Union this week to answer the attacks of the reactionary Newark relief authorities on the living standards of the unemployed, and to launch a series of demonstrations against the coming mass lay-offs on W.P.A.

Only 2 weeks old, the Unemployed Union was served with an ultimatum this week by the Municipal Assistance Board that they would no longer be permitted to have their committees enter the

Hit Refugee Admission Attacking the refugees and making "humorous" remarks about the recent pogrom in Germany, one speaker pointed with glee "to the fact that although the President of the U.S.A. feels sorry for the Jews, no one in Russia has invited the victims of Hitler's rage to that country where international Jewry rules." And he asked the audience to write to the President and to Congress demanding that no "scum of Europe be allowed to enter our country."

Again the chairman attacked the S.W.P. and he made no distinction between members of the Communist Party, Socialist Party, Jewish War Veterans. He lumped all together and heaped abuse especially upon "those groups which hide behind the American flag and sing the national anthem." "The Jewish War Veterans can denounce Communism all day and night and they can call themselves Americans but we members of the Christian Front are not fooled—we will deal with these people when the time comes and we will pay special attention to Jews who sing the Star Spangled Banner—don't worry, we will take care of them..." He said that the Socialist Workers Party was organizing a Workers Defense Guard because it was evidently well-informed as to the purposes of the German American Bund and the "Christian Front."

The Old Race Story Stooping to such cheap trickery as, "How would you like your sister openly raped on the street in Brooklyn?" and, "Do you want to see your poor old father and mother taken to Ebbets Field and mowed down by machine-guns in the hands of Reds?" Mr. Kelly, the main speaker, attempted to recruit for the "Christian Front" from the audience. "The 'Christian Front' needs men," said Mr. Kelly. But there were few willing to sign the cards distributed by ushers.

All the speakers lauded Father Coughlin and asked everyone to attend the picket line at radio station WMCA every Sunday until the station officials allow Father Coughlin to spew his anti-Semitic lies and slander over the air.

Scores of ushers wearing badges of the "Christian Front" patrolled the aisles and entrance to the hall during the meeting and at least 200 police and detectives were on duty at the hall.

"It is very significant," said George Breitman, militant secretary of the Union, "that the Municipal Assistance Board, while they were handing down this decision, all had in their hands copies of a mimeographed bulletin, titled 'Retrenchment Program of the Newark Relief Administration.'"

"The reason that I-Am-The-Law Malady, Newark Overseer for the Rich, wants us barred from the relief station is that he knows that we alone are capable of stopping his proposed \$3,000,000 cut in the Newark relief budget. But if Malady and the other Hague stooges thought that they had trouble from the unemployed before, they're going to realize soon enough that they haven't seen anything yet!"

THEIR GOVERNMENT By James Burnham

I was in Chicago at the time when the Fansteel sit-in strike was being smashed. I remember talking about it to a brilliant and thoroughly realistic young corporation lawyer who was a friend of the attorney for the Fansteel company. During the conversation I remarked, "I suppose that with this wave of sit-downs upsetting the bosses there will soon be some new laws passed to declare all types of sit-downs illegal?"

His reply showed an admirable lack of illusions about the function of law in capitalist society. He put it in more or less these words: "There isn't any need for new laws. There are plenty of laws on the books already that prove sit-downs illegal. How could it be otherwise? But when the workers by hundreds and thousands occupy the factories, the letter of the law doesn't settle anything. We would have to bring in machine guns to clear them out, and under the present circumstances we can't do that. Wait until the workers quiet down again, and then you'll see the law get into action."

What the Law Is For

This young man, who has cynically rented out his talents to the highest bidder, understands the task of the law—that is, of the statutes, legal "theory," the courts, police and jails. He knows that the law is an integral part of the state, and that the central business of the state, to which all else is subordinated, is to defend the property rights of the bourgeoisie in the instruments of production. Consequently, in private conversations he does not bother with any hokum about "abstract justice."

The bourgeoisie, in general, is perfectly clear in its own mind about the nature of the law. It uses the law as an instrument in the class struggle, an immensely effective instrument in maintaining its dominance over the masses. The bourgeoisie cannot afford to fool itself with high-sounding phrases.

Most workers, unfortunately, are not clear about the law. Never-ending propaganda assures them that the law administers impartial justice to all members of society. An anti-strike injunction or a Fansteel decision comes as a puzzling shock and disappointment. And, not being clear about the law, not realizing that the law is not "society's law" or worker's law, but solely and exclusively the bosses' law, the workers are handicapped in their unavoidable fight against the law.

The Law and the Factories

For a capitalist, the right to private property means first and foremost the free and untrammelled ability to own and use in any way he may see fit the instruments of production. It means that he shall have at all times free access to these instruments, and that he on his own decision shall be able to grant or refuse such access to others; that he himself shall decide whether or not to employ the instruments to turn out goods; that the entire product of the instruments shall belong to him.

He and his fellow-capitalists have constructed their state to defend this right by all necessary means. However, in the course of the development of capitalism, the original right to private property suffers some modification and limitation.

These limitations are roughly of two sorts: one type is a concession forced on the state by the strength of the workers (for example, the workers' right to strike and picket, both of which are limitations on the capitalist's right to private property); the other and more frequent type is imposed by the bourgeoisie itself, acting as representative of the entire capitalist class, in order to protect the system of private property against being undermined by the too anarchic practices of individual capitalists (for example, "blue sky laws," "fair marketing agreements," laws governing fulfillment of contracts, etc.)

Capitalists, as individuals, usually resent both of these types of limitation, but it is only against the first that they carry on and must carry on a bitter and decisive struggle. The second type is in the final analysis a mode of self-preservation for capitalism—in its last stage taking the form of fascism. The first means a direct invasion by the class enemy, means that the workers are stretching their hands toward the seat of power, toward control over the factories and machines and mines which, if really won, would give them control over society as a whole.

Sit-Downs and the Law

In a sit-down strike, the workers do not merely limit but indeed negate the property right of the capitalist. It might be said that, in a passive way, they establish control, direct physical control, over the instruments of production. From this it is, really, only a small step to active control, to the workers going on to start up the machines again, but as masters, not slaves, of the machines. And that, of course, would be the socialist revolution.

This is why the law, the bourgeois law, would not, could not, will not ever recognize sit-downs as legal. And this why workers, if they are ever to achieve their own emancipation, must throw off the shackles of bourgeois law, to replace it with the workers' law.

Labor Looks Through The Press By ARTHUR HOPKINS

"America is asleep at the switch while democracy is threatened in China. Japan is moving south in China where the democracies hold stakes. The only course open to the democracies is to band together against the aggressor nations, not with arms, but with economic sanctions. Let's do something about it," pleads Anna Louise Strong, in Minneapolis for a series of lectures. It looks like the lady Stalinist wants to defend "our" stakes to the last drop of the workers' blood.

The Supreme Court rules in the Fansteel Corporation case that "the employees had the right to strike but they had no license to commit acts of violence to seize their employers' plant. To justify such conduct because of the existence of a labor dispute or of an unfair labor practice would be to put a premium on resort to force and to subvert the principles of law and order which lie at the foundation of all society."... The United States will eventually recognize General Franco's regime in Spain, officials in Washington indicate, in line with the traditional policy of recognizing governments achieved through revolution. This policy dates back to the time of Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson. Moral for workers: If you have the force, and know you have the force, and are willing to use your force, then anything you do is legal.

DAILY DOUBT

Foreign office experts of England believe Generalissimo Franco in behalf of achieving unity of the people of Spain will be generous toward the great mass of his former foes.