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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 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

Kinks In The Cotton

Consider the business of growing and selling cotton and see if any sense can be made out of it. Page the defenders of the capitalist order and let them try to explain.

The Roosevelt brain trust wizards who were going to solve our economic problems and at the same time preserve the capitalist system intact are giving themselves and everybody else a headache with their schemes to solve a problem which cannot be solved under the present system.

In order to keep up the price of cotton, the Roosevelt magicians decided first to cut the amount of cotton planted and to pay the cotton grower for not planting cotton. That didn't help, so they then hit upon the plan of lending the growers approximately nine cents for every pound of cotton, the cotton being collateral for the loan.

Eleven million pounds were put in hock with the government. For a while the price was kept up, so well in fact that the foreign market disappeared almost completely. Now there is another huge surplus and the price is down again.

To dispose of the surplus, to regain the foreign market and to get the government out of the mess, Roosevelt proposes a subsidy for exporting cotton. This conflicts with the Hull trade policies.

Some Congressmen, not satisfied with the Roosevelt scheme, insist upon letting the growers take back the stored cotton at five cents a pound—the government to suffer a huge loss. Under this scheme the cotton growers must promise to cut their acreage still more.

Meanwhile there are hundreds of thousands of workers, their wives and children, who are in dire need of garments. Tens of thousands of workers are being dismissed from W.P.A. thus cutting down still further the market for cotton.

When will this vicious circle come to an end?

Only when we put into practice the simple idea that cotton should be produced for the use of the people instead of for the profit of plantation owners. And that will be done by the workers when they decide to take over all the industries of the nation, abolish this crazy system, and establish socialism.

Curb Them at Home

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee is now busily engaged in removing one more small pebble in the path of Roosevelt's well-lubricated war machine. That pebble is the present neutrality legislation which does not hand over to Roosevelt all the "discretionary" powers he wishes in the matter of labelling "aggressors," instituting economic boycotts, and declaring war without the consent of the American people.

As first step in revising the present neutrality legislation the Committee is conducting public hearings and inviting various "witnesses" to point out what the Roosevelt Administration holds to be the defects in the legislation.

First witness was Henry L. Stimson. The American people should remember this spokesman of big finance without difficulty. He was Secretary of State under President Herbert Hoover. He has been an untiring and vigorous

opponent of any and all popular referendums which would permit the American people to decide for themselves whether they want to enter the path of world war.

Stimson has always advocated a "positive policy" on the part of American imperialism, the building of huge armies, the launching of military intervention in Asia and Europe whenever American imperialist interests are threatened. In the Committee hearing he again stated these views.

The *Daily Worker* applauded Secretary Stimson. Like the Wall Street financiers, the *Daily Worker* editors believe that the American people should be sent abroad to die on foreign battlefields in defense of American imperialism and—incidentally—in defense of the Stalin regime in Russia. Stimson's statements naturally tasted like sweet honey on the bristling tongues of the *Daily Worker* editorial staff.

Stimson and the *Daily Worker* denounce the "war mongers" most vehemently. We too are against the war mongers. The first step in fighting the REAL war mongers, we suggest, is the establishment of a few curbs right here at home.

That is why the war-mongering *Daily Worker* and the war-mongering ex-Secretary to President Herbert Hoover are so bitterly opposed to a curb on the war mongers in the form of a popular referendum on war.

They want to send the American workers to die on foreign battlefields and they will leave nothing undone to accomplish that end.

German Gold

Mr. "Augur," who enjoys the reputation of being semi-official spokesman for the British government, asserts in an article dated April 6 that one of the factors which has changed Prime Minister Chamberlain from a "gullible" protagonist of "appeasement in Europe" to the "starkly determined leader of a movement to resist Herr Hitler by force if necessary" is—the Irish bombings.

Chamberlain's Cabinet, according to Augur, has discovered a "precise indication of a direct connection" between Hitler gold and the Irish revolutionaries who have been planting bombs throughout England in an attempt to free Ireland from British oppression.

Naturally Augur does not bother to offer the slightest proof in support of this slander of the brave Irish youths who have gone to prison shouting defiance of Great Britain. Augur accuses without facts or proofs in the traditional manner of a paid liar in the propaganda department of an "honest and upright" capitalist democracy. He is busily engaged in carrying out propaganda job No. 1—smearing revolutionary tendencies inside the nation with the black hues of the foreign "enemy."

Augur is very voluble about German gold financing Irish bombers. He is not so voluble—quite understandably—about Britain's ruthless bombings of women and children in Palestine and India. These gruesome and indefensible mass murders are all financed directly and precisely by British gold. Only direct and precise recipients of this same British gold are silent about that.

Behind Barbed Wire

Harry Hopkins, Secretary of Commerce, and Roosevelt's ace appeaser of big business, has on his payroll as right hand adviser in carrying out the practical steps of big business appeasement, General Robert Wood.

Last week at the Young Men's Supper Club in Boston, the General expressed his beliefs on American youth and its place in the American capitalist democracy. "It might not be a bad idea to imitate one thing in the totalitarian states," stated the General, "and to FORCE every youth to give six months or a year of his life to the state, either in labor service or military service or both. Of course, the cry of regimentation would be raised, but I am convinced it would be a fine thing for our youth."

The New Deal's idea of the exact place for American youth thus becomes more clearly expressed as war approaches closer. American youth will be sacrificed as a burnt offering to appease big business, and the place selected by New Deal democracy for the sacrifice is either a forced labor camp like Hitler's, fenced off with barbed wire, or a rat-infested trench behind a razor-sharp, needle-pointed bayonet on a slimy battlefield.

If Roosevelt has his way, big business will be appeased and youth will end its days under the whip in a forced labor camp or suffer a foul death defending capitalist profits.

American youth can respond to this prospect in only one way—by openly and courageously taking for themselves the program of Socialism in America. Only revolution, the overthrow of the capitalist class, and the complete smashing of all the ancient bone-bags, who think youth is a commodity to be bought and sold for cannon fodder, can open up a new and bright future for the youth of America.

Ireland Recalls Anniversary
Of Easter Week Insurrection

The Tradition of James Connolly, the Great Marxian
Revolutionist, Who Led the Uprising Against Britain
In Dublin, Still Lives in the Hearts of the People

By BILL MORGAN

Easter Week! Red Easter! With these magic words on their lips thousands of Irish patriots and revolutionaries are this week—amid the bursting of bombs—celebrating the twenty-third anniversary of the 1916 Uprising—the Uprising, which in the middle of the Great War, set free the forces of revolution throughout the world and marked a new chapter in the 700-year-old struggle of the Irish people to free themselves from the most powerful and most ruthless landlord in the world—Great Britain.

There have been many attempts to explain the revolution which took place in Ireland in 1916. All give different reasons. To some it was a romantic adventure of a few poets, while others claim it was a "putsch" engineered by desperate terrorists—and still others claim that it was a plot hatched by German Generals to break the military front of the Allies.

These explanations are not only false but reactionary. Any study of the many attempts of the Irish people to wrest national independence will reveal the development of the movement and will make clear as day the real significance of Easter Week.

Every effort of the Irish people to break the chains of British imperialism can be translated in terms of their direct economic and political relationships. While Ireland was merely an agrarian country the main question was that of Home Rule. And many efforts to win Home Rule were made. Under O'Connell the people were led to believe that through purely legislative efforts Home Rule such as Scotland or Canada could be won. When these methods failed and the people were ready to fight, O'Connell abandoned his leadership.

Then there arose the Young Irelanders. They advocated revolutionary tactics. They adopted military drill and uniforms and their paper, "The Nation," urged resistance to Britain and made no secret of their belief that freedom could be won only by force of arms.

During the famine of 1848 when people were dying by the thousands, although there was enough food to feed them, the Young Irelanders worked untiringly to save the people. They called on the people to keep the food in the country. The British then began to crack down on them. Their leaders were shot and driven from Ireland. Their ranks were thinned by the famine. John Mitchell, their leader, was arrested and sent to Van Diemen's land for life.

In 1848 there was an attempted insurrection. In the midst of famine and persecution, with people dying daily on the roadsides, Smith O'Brien in Tipperary rallied the remaining Young Irelanders and began the fight. But again Britain was prepared. The leaders were arrested and four of them sentenced to be hanged, drawn and quartered; but this sentence was later commuted to life imprisonment.

FENIANS WORKED FOR A REPUBLIC

After this there came the Fenians. They too prepared to establish an Irish Republic. James Stephens was the chief organizer. The Fenians grew by leaps and bounds. Even the English Army and Navy were honeycombed with this new revolutionary movement. A revolt was planned to take place during February 1867. It was postponed because of certain organizational difficulties but word did not reach all sections. Kerry rose in arms and was isolated. Later the uprising took place as origin-

ally planned. But the isolation of Kerry and the arrest of many leaders in Kerry, plus the lack of arms and the heavy snow storm in Ireland's history—all combined to crush the attempt.

The Fenians continued to be a force, however, and in 1913 they once again organized their ranks. This time, in the Irish Volunteers, they trained the youth of Ireland to prepare for the revolt which was inevitable. John Redmond was their leader.

At the same time, in Dublin, the great strike of 1913 led by Larkin and Connolly made clear the necessity of workers defense guards. Under the leadership of James Connolly and Captain White the workers armed themselves and trained for military service. They went a step further than the Fenians, however. They had learned the lessons of the Dublin strike and realized that mere Home Rule would not solve the problems of wages, hours and conditions. Connolly had long before realized that Irish bosses and English bosses were not any different. He knew that not only national independence but a workers' republic would answer the pressing demands of the new Irish working class. It had been the Irish bosses like Murphy in Dublin and the reformers like the right wing of the Fenians who were afraid of this bold step. Connolly became a Marxist and openly advocated socialism for Ireland.

When the World War began, the Irish leaders knew their chance was drawing near. The reformers began to break under the pressure of British demands for troops to fight for "democracy" and John Redmond split the movement by recruiting soldiers for England. Connolly stood firmly against the war. He openly denounced the imperialist powers and when the Second International collapsed and advocated support of the war, Connolly denounced the fake "socialists" and called upon the Irish workers to make ready for revolution. He planned a revolt which he hoped would start the masses of Europe on the road to revolution and socialism.

"NEITHER KING NOR KAISER"
The Uprising was organized and led by Connolly. He had to argue continually with the leaders of the Volunteers and push them to act in agreement with the Irish Citizen Army—the workers' defense guards of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union. He was not afraid of being called a German spy. Over the entrance to Liberty Hall, the headquarters of the union, there hung a huge banner—"We Serve Neither King nor Kaiser!" and he let this speak for itself.

On the appointed day—Easter Tuesday—the notice for full mobilization was countermanded. Eoin MacNeill of the Irish Volunteers backed down—he thought the time was not ripe and that lack of arms from Germany would doom the attempt. But word did not reach all the sections in time and Dublin, under the command of James Connolly, proceeded to carry out the plan.

Less than 2,000 men took up arms in Dublin. Some say only 1,200. For six days and nights they held their posts against a powerful and brutal British army. The story of their bravery and courage is history never to be forgotten by revolutionists the world over. They withstood heavy bombardments of artillery, even when their positions were burning to the ground. They held off a force twenty or thirty times their number. Men, women and youngsters fought with a fury that impressed the world. And when it was over the reac-

tion can be compared to the terror which followed the Paris Commune. A whole section of Dublin was destroyed in the house-to-house search for hidden arms. On the judgment of secret court martial sixteen known leaders were executed. Connolly, twice wounded in the fighting, had to be propped up in a wheel-chair to face the firing squad. 200 others were condemned to death and nearly 2,000 were deported or interned in Great Britain—all without appeal.

NEW STRUGGLE IS NOW AHEAD

Today the Irish are preparing for another revolt. There has been a renewal of the struggle despite the betrayal of DeValera and the others who have abandoned Ireland for Irish security. Within the old Irish Republican Army there has arisen the Irish Republican Brotherhood. And this I. R. B. carries on the fight not only against Britain but DeValera. They have organized a series of bombings to attract attention to the Army of Occupation now in Ulster. They demand the dissolution of the division between Ulster and the South.

They are today burning the hated "Conscription Books" which England is planning to use for the defense of British "democracy." Long and severe sentences are being given to Irishmen who are arrested for what they may be thinking.

A revolutionists must come to their support. The Stalinists call it a Fascist plot. But Marxists can only assist the Irish in their new struggle and not confine themselves to pious condemnations of the bombings.

Easter Week and its traditions belong now to the workers of the world. Honor to the memory of the men who gave their lives for a revolutionary cause!

UNIONS DISCUSS ACTION AGAINST ANTI LABOR BILL

(Special to Socialist Appeal)
ST. PAUL—To fight Governor Stassen's anti-labor bill, more than 750 delegates came here on April 3 for a special convention of the Minnesota Federation of Labor—the largest convention in the history of the state federation.

The bill, already passed by the lower house of the legislature, would establish in Minnesota the same anti-union provisions as have been adopted in Oregon and Washington.

The bill is to be debated in the Senate this week. On March 31 it passed the house by a vote of 85-37. Representative W. F. Bennett, Farmer-Laborite, who has carried the burden of labor's opposition to the bill in the house, voted for the bill in order to be in a position to move for its reconsideration.

Labor Pressure Begins
When, while the state federation convention was in session Monday, Bennett moved for reconsideration, he lost, but the vote was 72-53, indicating that pressure of the union movement on the legislature was beginning to tell.

Stassen's bill contains a provision especially designed to destroy the famous Minneapolis teamsters union. It would make it unlawful "to interfere in any manner with the operation of a vehicle or the operator thereof when neither the owner nor operator of said vehicle is at said time a party to a strike." This would mean that any number of scab trucks could come in to break a drivers' strike.

The bill also makes sit-down strikes illegal, outlaws any attempt to compel another person to join a union, requires a union to give twenty days' notice before a strike, and—if the strike is "affected with a public interest" such as public utilities, food establishments and (again aimed at the teamsters) involves transportation or delivery service—the union cannot call a strike until 30 days after the appointment of a three-man investigation commission by the governor.

These commissions will be empowered to subpoena "evidence" including the books of a union.
The state convention made clear its irreconcilable hostility to these anti-labor provisions. Out-of-town delegates were busy during the ensuing days making their home-town legislators see the light.

WORKERS' FORUM

S.W.P. IS ONLY CHALLENGING FORCE

Editor:
I wonder if you could send me literature concerning your party.

Although I was born and brought up in comfortable circumstances I have long been troubled by what is known as a social conscience. In my high-school days I believed in the Socialist Party, but recent years have shown that it contained several weaknesses.

It seems to me that your group is the only challenging force to any system of exploitation. The Moscow Trials have

shown how utterly corrupt and insincere the so-called communists are. To think that they didn't lift a finger against that crazy Bund meeting! Furious with indignation I went there myself and words cannot describe how inspiring it was to see your party there, protesting against this organized band of German butchers. I will never forget the speech of one of your members, called, I believe, Mr. Burnham. In that tense sidewalk atmosphere his words rang out like a trumpet call.

Sincerely yours,
MILDRED SH.

New York

Their Government
By James Burnham

The present session of Congress is giving us a new, and very revealing chance to test out the theory of Labor's Non-Partisan League, John L. Lewis and the Stalinists as to how labor should intervene in politics. The results of the test are just the same as followed before in the history of this country and in the thousands of examples that could be drawn from other nations.

The advance of the L.N.P.L. policy over the older "reward your friends and punish your enemies" theory made famous by Gompers is to be found in the effort to build up an independent political organization comprising primarily workers and especially organized workers. At the same time, however, much of the Gompers theory has in other respects been retained.

The leadership of L.N.P.L. has resisted and fought any attempt to transform the League into a fully independent political party, that is, into a Labor party. They have restricted it, on the whole, to a labor appendage to the New Deal.

The tactic of L.N.P.L. has been to throw organized labor support to candidates on old party tickets who are held to be "progressive" and "friends of labor." This has usually, though not always, meant supporting the candidates of the Roosevelt wing of the Democratic party.

Such candidates are not, of course, labor candidates. They are capitalist candidates, running as representatives of and on the ticket of a capitalist party, a boss party. The tactic of L.N.P.L. means, therefore, the organizing of labor support for certain selected boss candidates.

Ingratiate's Sharp Tooth

The L.N.P.L. tactic is advertised by the League's officials as the only "realistic" method of labor politics. How, then, does it work out, from the point of view of the interests of labor? Let us judge it by results.

The results were clear enough long before the present year started. In 1936, the tactic led to support for Martin Davey in his campaign for the governorship of Ohio. The tactic was "successful" and Davey was elected. He rewarded labor, a few months later, by calling out his troops to smash the Little Steel strike.

Exactly the same thing happened in Iowa. Kraschel was elected governor with the help of L.N.P.L., and last year proved his friendship for labor by smashing the Maytag strike.

These sobering experiences did not, however, discourage the realistic officials who direct the destinies of L.N.P.L. Last November they went right ahead with the same theory and the same tactic.

In Illinois, for example, they swung labor behind Scott Lucas, the bright young Roosevelt candidate for the Senatorship. Victory! Lucas was elected by a big majority, and took his seat in the august Senate chamber.

From that day until this, Lucas has in debate and vote lined up on the most reactionary side of every measure that has come before Congress. In his very first month, he played an important role in keeping the W.P.A. deficiency appropriation down to \$725,000,000. Needless to say, he is a prominent member of the economy bloc whenever it is a question of cutting off funds that might benefit labor or the unemployed.

An even more impressive example is that of Alben W. Barkley, Senator from Kentucky. Barkley is leader of the Democratic party's forces in the Senate. He is Roosevelt's own man, and got the post of leader only through Roosevelt's insistence. He was up for election last Fall, and was dutifully given L. N.-P.L. support. He won hands down.

Last week it was Barkley himself, in person, who arranged the deal in the Senate Appropriations Committee whereby the \$100,000,000 figure for W.P.A.—the figure that means starvation for hundreds of thousands of persons—was reported out to the floor of the Senate.

How Can Such Things Be?

Is there some mystery here? Why are "labor's friends" always stabbing labor in the back? Is everybody nowadays a "traitor"?

No, there is no mystery. The explanation of these incidents—and they could be multiplied indefinitely—is simple: in politics, class interests come first. In fair weather, when things are going smoothly, everybody can be friendly. Promises are cheap enough. But when the situation gets hot, when class lines are drawn sharp by a strike or a war or a revolution or a showdown between business appeasement and adequate relief, then a politician has got to fall into step with the class which he represents. This does not make him a traitor; he would be a traitor if he did anything else.

These "friends of labor" are political representatives of boss parties and through those parties of the boss class. It doesn't make any difference who supports them at the polls or how much they promise. In every crucial issue they are and have got to be loyal to their class. And being loyal to their own class, the boss class, means striking blows at labor.

They are not traitors to labor. The traitors to labor are the Lewises and Browders who tell labor to support these representatives of the enemy, and hide from the workers the results which follow and will always follow from this tactic.

Labor will advance its own interests in politics only when it forges its own party. The only real labor representatives in politics will be those from labor's own party and labor's own ranks.

Labor Looks Through The Press

By Arthur Hopkins

Untold hardship will result from the reduction in W.P.A. workers scheduled to be made the first week in April. W.P.A. administrators of seven states agreed at a conference in St. Paul. But it won't be untold, with the Socialist Workers Party on the job.

Department of Commerce figures for 1937 recently released, show that Minnesota's industries employed 89,925 workers who received \$107,393,009 in wages for producing goods valued at \$937,462,797. Figures for 1935 show that 76,241 workers employed in Minnesota industry got \$77,974,350 for producing goods valued at \$746,350,564. Thus, in 1935 the workers got one-tenth the value of their product, while in 1937 they got one-ninth—an improvement of one and one-ninth percent. Evidently trade unionism doesn't quite answer all the problems of the workers; we have got to have a revolutionary party which will get rid of the exploitation.