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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

Roosevelt's Note

It is doubtful whether the head of any state ever made a shrewder move than Roosevelt when he sent his letter to Hitler and Mussolini asking them to give assurance that, for a minimum of ten years, their armed forces will not attack or invade the territory of the thirty-one nations he mentioned in the letter. It is immaterial whether Hitler and Mussolini answer the note or what they say if they do answer. Regardless of what they do or say the letter will have served its purpose.

Consider all that the note does for Roosevelt and how it advances his general policies and you will recognize what a superbly clever gesture it was to send it.

It puts Hitler and Mussolini on the spot. Because, obviously, a refusal to reply or a negative reply to such a reasonable request as not to invade the territory of other nations is equivalent to an admission of having aggressive intentions. Hitler and Mussolini may attack the hypocrisy of the note and they of course will be right; they may point to the well-known fact that the so-called democracies, including the United States, have done quite a lot of invading on their own hook, and in that they will utter a self-evident truth. They can pour ridicule on the note, but no such tactics will help them; they must give the required assurance or furnish Roosevelt and Chamberlain and Daladier with powerful arguments.

An affirmative reply, just as a refusal to give the assurance requested by Roosevelt, plays into the latter's hands. A promise made by Hitler and Mussolini not to invade the territory of other nations not only brings credit to Roosevelt as a great peace-maker; the inevitable breach of such a promise will put Roosevelt in a stronger position to obtain the support of all the glib "peace-lovers" in any war-like move he will deem fit to make.

Not only does Roosevelt put Hitler and Mussolini on the spot. He strengthens his own position at home. He steps forth as a man sincerely devoted to the interests of peace, confounding his isolationist critics who have accused him of being a war-monger. Is he not justified in trying to bring peace to a troubled world and is not his request that Hitler and Mussolini refrain from attacking other nations more than reasonable?

Who but an extreme factionalist can oppose such a noble attempt to save the world from a disastrous catastrophe? Thus will run the refrain of Roosevelt's supporters, well-meaning and otherwise.

Intelligent workers will not be fooled by Roosevelt's latest move. In the first place they will recognize that, even if Roosevelt's "plea" is meant sincerely, the coming war cannot be stopped nor long postponed by any conferences. Neither the British, nor the French, nor the American capitalists are willing to give up anything of value to the German and Italian capitalists. The fundamental rivalries between them must continue until the workers will throw them all overboard and use the resources of the world for the common benefit of all the peoples.

But one must indeed be glib to believe that Roosevelt really thinks that his note will do any good. It is intended to strengthen his hand in his efforts to involve this country in the coming war between the fascist imperialist nations and the "democratic" imperialist nations. He wants to

convince the masses that he is a man of peace in order the more readily to hurl them into war.

The American workers must follow their own path to achieve real peace. They must take their destinies in their own hands and call upon the workers of all other countries to follow them and peace will be assured through the union of socialist republics.

Diego Rivera

It is with deep regret that we see Diego Rivera withdraw from the revolutionary workers' movement.

We are profoundly grateful to him for the invaluable aid he gave in securing comrade Trotsky asylum in Mexico. We are grateful to him too for the many personal sacrifices he made to secure comrade Trotsky's safety against the machinations of the G.P.U., and for his personal assistance during the grave difficulties which beset our forces while it was being proved to the whole world that the Moscow Trials were frameups.

We consider Diego Rivera one of the world's great artists, probably the greatest ever to stand in the ranks of the revolutionary movement. We think that posterity too will regard him and his artistic productions in this light.

Our break with Diego Rivera and his resignation from the Fourth International came for political reasons only—genuine revolutionists who keep their revolutionary ideals ever before them can always compose the personal irritations that inevitably arise even among the most cool-headed. No, the break did not come because artistic temperament and vaulting imagination could not overlook the small annoyances of daily existence.

The break came because Diego Rivera sponsored a petty-bourgeois political party in Mexico, helped organize it, and accepted the post of secretary in it. This is a most grave political error in our estimation and irreconcilable with the principles of the Fourth International.

It is our belief that Diego Rivera has allowed himself to become deeply discouraged by the successive major defeats of the working class on a world scale, the defeat in China, the defeat in Germany, and now the last tragic defeat in Spain. Reaction seems to him to roll on with all the might and power of a colossal juggernaut crushing out all democratic rights without which art and culture are impossible; and the forces of the Fourth International seem to him too weak to stop it.

But not even the most fertile and ingenious mind can create out of a solely temporary conjuncture of forces—even though they seem progressive for the moment—new principles of revolution and a new way to preserve democratic rights. Marxism and the Marxist party of the workers still point out the only road to socialism, to genuine proletarian democracy.

Despite its apparent smallness in numbers and the apparent strength of its enemies, the Fourth International is the only force in the world that can shatter capitalism, the only movement which will eventually gather to its banner the teeming millions of the earth's toilers, and crush all the iron strictures that capitalism in decay binds about art and literature and civilized living.

Diego Rivera in a petty-bourgeois party is a tragic figure. In this he represents the tragedy of all those revolutionists who have grown disheartened and start searching for a short cut from the difficult road the socialist revolution must travel.

We believe that Diego Rivera has made a grave political mistake. We hope that he will recognize it and with revolutionary integrity return to the ranks of the Fourth International.

But we cannot suspend a single one of our political principles for any man no matter how great he is in his own right and in his own domain.

Draft the Profiteers!

Representative Osmer's of New Jersey has introduced a bill in Congress which would make it mandatory when war breaks out to draft first of all, the President of the United States, the Vice-President, the Cabinet, all members of Congress who vote for war, the directors of corporations selling war munitions, and the bankers who make war loans.

Representative Osmer thinks that if his bill passes, it will keep the United States out of war. He believes that if those who intend to plunge the country into war were compelled to be the first to face the bayonets of the "enemy" they would never declare war.

And the Congressman is right. He knows his cowards. The capitalists do not intend to fight any war . . . personally. They intend to leave that bloody job with all its risks and its horrors for the workers while they sit back comfortably at home and rake in the profits.

These same capitalists control Congress. They have doomed Osmer's little bill in advance just as they have doomed legions of workers in advance to die for capitalist profits.

Only a workers' revolution in the United States can prevent the President, Congress, the bankers, and the Wall Street moguls from marching the workers of this country into the onrushing world carnage.

WHAT THE WALL STREET MOGULS GOT IN "WAGES"

A Condensed Account of What the Bloodsuckers Paid Themselves for Draining Profits, Which Are Only Partly Listed, Out of the Workers' Sweat and Toil

The United States Treasury Department recently made public a list of corporation salaries over \$25,000. We print below both the names of the corporations and their chairmen. It is to be noted, however, that these "salaries" do not include additional "earnings" from other enterprises.

American Telephone & Telegraph Co.—W. S. Gifford—\$209,650. A. T. & T. is notorious for its refusal to permit union organization of the telephone operators. Mr. Gifford, however, is reported doing very well.

American Tobacco Co.—Geo. W. Hill, \$380,976. And Mr. Hill's Lucky Strikes are still non-union cigarettes.

Borden Co.—A. W. Wilbur, \$95,000. LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee revealed that Borden employed the Railway Audit & Inspection Company, a notorious labor espionage service.

Chase National Bank—Winthrop W. Aldrich, \$175,000. Mayor LaGuardia, labor's friend, cuts relief to pay Mr. Aldrich interest on city bonds.

Continental Can Company—C. C. Conway, \$72,860. Employed Pinkerton labor spies in his plants.

Fight Unionization Crucible Steel Company—F. B. Hufnagel, \$125,000. Fought the S.W.O.C. for months before a union contract was signed.

Diamond Match Company—W. A. Fairburn, \$100,000. At various times employed Corporations Auxiliary Service, which specializes in supplying finks.

General Electric Company—Owen D. Young, \$235,000. Regularly uses the seven anti-union propaganda services of the National Association of Manufacturers, such as radio's "The American Family Robinson."

Guaranty Trust Company—W. P. Conway, \$107,551. The Bank owns some of the largest slum properties in New York City.

International Business Machines Corporation—Thomas J. Watson, \$419,396. Mr. Watson

"earns" his salary by thinking up labor saving devices. Among other things, Mr. Watson plasters his offices with the legend, "Keep Smiling."

International Telephone & Telegraph Company—Sosthenes Behn, \$66,240. Owners of the Telephone Building in Barcelona, which the Stalinists gave back to Mr. Behn during the May Days of 1937.

Pays \$13 Wage R. H. Macy & Co.—Percy Straus, \$100,320. The average salary of a sales clerk at Macy's is \$13 a week. And girls are fired regularly for attempting to organize their co-workers.

Manufacturers Trust Company—Harvey D. Gibson, \$127,151. Another of Mayor LaGuardia's friends. Mr. Gibson doesn't approve of the slogan, "Give the Bankers Home Relief."

National City Bank—James H. Perkins, \$103,199. Mr. Perkins doesn't approve either.

Ohrbach's Affiliated Stores—Nathan M. Ohrbach, \$52,000. Mr. Ohrbach has at various times employed the Pinkerton labor espionage service in his stores. Mr. Ohrbach's slogan, by the way, is "A Business In Millions. A Profit In Pennies."

Radio Corporation of America—David Sarnoff, \$83,333. Mr. Sarnoff used labor espionage and finks in strikes at his Camden plants.

United States Steel Company—W. A. Irvin, \$141,300. Owners of Little Steel subsidiaries which broke the 1937 C.I.O. strikes.

Money for Babs Metropolitan Life Insurance Company—Frederick H. Ecker, \$150,000. At the present time Mr. Ecker is trying like all mad to break union organization of Insurance Agents.

Prudential Life Insurance Company—E. D. Duffield, \$100,000. Mr. Duffield sees eye to eye with Mr. Ecker.

F. W. Woolworth—C. W. Deyo, \$200,414. Mr. Deyo runs the shop for Countess Babs, sells Japanese goods on the side and fires girls who want a union.

Aluminum Corporation of America—Arthur Victor Davis, \$115,000. Ran a company union for a while, used finks to intimidate workers and gave Mr. Davis a chance to earn his daily bread.

Jones & Loughlin Steel Co.—H. E. Lewis, \$100,000. Another of the corporations which broke the Little Steel Strike in 1937.

General Motors Corporation—William S. Knudsen, \$247,210. Flint, Michigan, where Mr. Knudsen conducts shop, hasn't got a free city hospital, hasn't got one city ambulance, allows unemployed workers 3 cents per square meal.

Remington-Rand—James H. Rand, \$145,181. Mr. Rand made extensive use of industrial munitions explosives and labor espionage to balk unionization at his plants in New York, Connecticut, Ohio and Pennsylvania.

Wage Cut for Workers Pennsylvania Railroad Company—M. W. Clement, \$100,450. Mr. Clement's principal activity at the present time is directed towards getting around the union's demand that he halt his plans for a 10% wage cut for all railroad workers on his line.

William Randolph Hearst, \$500,000. Jingo, union smasher, all around reactionary and (they say) a good family man.

International Harvester Company—Sydney G. McAllister, \$131,569. In thick with National Association of Manufacturers; has almost complete monopoly on production of farm implements.

Standard Oil Company of New Jersey—W. S. Farish, \$119,791. Mr. Farish recently had Mr. Donald Richberg argue his case with President Cardenas for the return of the oil fields which the Mexican Government expropriated. It's tough going, Mr. Farish.

Sears, Roebuck Company—Major R. E. Wood, \$100,000. The Major, in a recent Boston speech, declared that it wouldn't be a bad idea if every American boy and girl spent six months in a labor camp.

sea-mines and cleverly concealed "suicide squads" of machine gunners guard the island," says the N. Y. Times.

50,000 men are now employed on warship construction in government naval yards and private shipbuilding plants according to figures made public by the Navy Department on April 16.

An offer will soon be made by the U. S. Government to exchange 2,000,000 or more bales of cotton and up to 100,000,000 bushels of wheat for large war supplies of tin and rubber. The offer will be made to Britain, the Netherlands, Belgium and possibly other countries.

War-risk insurance underwriters have withdrawn all quotations on shipments to the Reich and to Italy; also on German and Italian vessels bound for any port. Rates on other shipments were raised from 100 to 200 percent. War, predicted the underwriters, is likely to result from efforts by the "democracies" to bottle up the Baltic and the Mediterranean. With the war tension becoming more severe daily, new rates will be issued each day.

According to official Italian figures, there are now 950,000 troops in active service in Italy, Ethiopia, Libya, the Dodecanese Islands and Albania, exclusive of the Fascist militia which can be mobilized in twenty-four hours. The classes of 1918, 1919 and 1920 are under arms; that is to say, the young men of nineteen, twenty and twenty-one years. The Italian fleet, numbering about 200 units, is believed to be concentrated along the Mediterranean, especially near France.

ON THE WAY TO THE TRENCHES

With no reasons given the U. S. Fleet was suddenly ordered to return to the Pacific. Roosevelt personally approved the order. Not even ranking officers of the navy were given an explanation of the order. In some circles, however, it was interpreted as a move to offset the position of the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo axis.

With the European powers concentrating on the Mediterranean, the move was obviously taken to demonstrate U. S. determination not to allow Japan to expand any further in the Pacific.

War Department inspections show that the National Guard has attained a war-time efficiency. Its equipment will soon be modern in every respect. \$45,000,000 will be spent during the coming fiscal year to purchase modern weapons for the Guard—tanks, anti-aircraft guns, field artillery and semi-automatic rifles. Its aircraft units will be increased to 21 squadrons, each comprising 14 planes of the latest design. 200,000 men are now enrolled.

Intense military and naval activities are proceeding at Gibraltar. Great defense booms which were erected during the September crisis and later removed have been put back at both entrances to the harbor which it is now forbidden to enter. At the cost of \$150,000,000 a deep tunnel is being dug into solid rock for air raid shelters. Scores of caves on "The Rock" are being converted for similar use. Food supplies are being stored. Royal Air Force detachments are rushing completion of a landing field. Additional forces are being sent to Gibraltar to buttress those already there. . . . Four French warships anchored at Gibraltar. The commanders debarked and visited the British naval authorities. No report was made on the purpose of the visit.

A fully armed company of regulars has been sent by the British war office to Tanga, Tanganyika, the seaport near the Kenya frontier. Governor Sir Robert Brooke-Popham announced a scheme for supplying reinforcements to Kenya. Lady Brooke-Popham is in

charge of 3,000 volunteers in the Women's National Service.

Emergency regulations for the arrest and detention of aliens in concentration camps without trial were decreed by the British Empire's Hong-Kong government.

U. S. war supply factories are so busy filling European orders that China is finding it difficult to purchase supplies.

The House approved on April 13 additional funds totalling \$45,024,000 for drydocks, supply depots and other "public works" projects connected with national "defense."

Border troops of the Netherlands have been called up for military duty because of the international "war danger." Augur, N. Y. Times London correspondent, refers to the "extraordinary military precautions" taken by the Netherlands government. The mobilization scheme includes the laying of mines under bridges and roads.

In Malta, keystone of the British Mediterranean defense system, all officers and seamen were called to report for duty by an emergency summons. Only 55 miles from Italian Sicily, the island which lies across the direct route between the eastern and western sections of the Mediterranean, is bristling with guns. "Hidden guns, electrically controlled

Their Government By James Burnham

On January 3rd, in his annual message to Congress, President Roosevelt announced the slogans under which he was asking the American workers to get ready to give their lives to the Sixty Families. They were three: For Religion; For the Sanctity of International Law; and For Democracy.

Somewhat or other, now that the war crisis looks as if it might break into the open any hour, something seems to be going wrong with these slogans. Of course, even in January there were a few cynics who thought that the slogans contained just a touch of demagoguery—particularly when they looked back only a month at the unusual kinds of democracy which had been represented at Lima; but today the gap between the slogans and reality seems to be spreading so wide that even a few honest men are beginning to wonder.

For example, the war nearly began two weeks ago over the Italian occupation of Albania. No one will deny that the Italian venture was an act of piracy. Nevertheless, though this has apparently been overlooked by the daily press, Albania has never been known as a model of democracy. It was ruled over by a king who, before gaining the throne, was a notorious bandit; and he ruled, after taking office, with the same bandit and gangster methods in which he had been nurtured. Oddly enough, Zog reigned as the direct dependent of Italy. And, still more odd, this arrangement had been supervised and decided upon by Great Britain.

The religious issue, also, is a little curious in the case of Albania. Protestant England is the main objector; Catholic Italy the conqueror; and the victims are most of them Mohammedan.

International law was no doubt violated. But international law was no less rudely upset, at Versailles and after, in the creation of Albania.

Sweet Freedom of Polish Democracy In the present crisis, Poland has been the focus of the chief avowed attention. Great Britain, which managed to dry its tears over the gobbling up of Manchuria, Ethiopia, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Memel, has promised to take up the sword of an avenging angel if one hair is touched on Poland's tender little head.

There is much, perhaps, that might be said for Poland. But one thing, I am afraid, that cannot be included by even the wildest imagination is that Poland has ever tainted her governmental practices with the slightest touch of the heresy of democracy. Since the formation of modern Poland—by virtue of clauses in international law written by the guns of the victorious Allies—she has never swerved from reliance upon the firm hand of military dictatorship. The few years during which opposition parties were permitted a nominal and pathetic existence have long been ended.

And the tortured persons of her Jews will provide a comment upon Poland's attitude toward the sacred rights of religion. There are, indeed, few nations in the world that have a more brutal record than Poland's in the consistent repression of democratic rights.

We Are All Democrats Now

As I recall, it was hardly yesterday that Chamberlain and the prelates of the Church of England were telling us that Russia was the most hideous tyranny in history, and, besides, with atheism as its state policy, was the anti-Christ. Now Russia is the most wooded of potential allies.

Atheism and tyranny are words to use when the masses sense some hope in a new social system; but arms and airplanes are more to the point when it comes near to the time to fight the war for democracy. Matters of ideology, said Chamberlain the other day when answering a questioner in the House of Commons, "do not concern us in a question of this kind."

Greece, too, has now been brought toward the fold of democracy. Chamberlain and Daladier, with the blessing of Roosevelt, have informed the world that if Greece is threatened the war for democracy will begin.

Greece, if I recall correctly, not many years ago, after a long history of military and semi-military dictatorship, was definitively transformed into a totalitarian fascist state under General Metaxas.

Not to Speak of the Back Yard

Such are among the files that are spotting the slogan-ointment, democratic brand, which our masters are spreading over the diseased face of the war into which they are taking us.

It would be downright unkind to add to these any reference to the even more extraordinary democracy which prevails in India, Indo-China, the French Sudan or even Puerto Rico. When Roosevelt is next sending communications to selected rulers of the world, and asking about intentions and pledges they are willing to give, he might include brief notes to Chamberlain, Daladier, and himself. He might enquire: What are your respective intentions as to India, Indo-China, the Sudan and Puerto Rico? Are you prepared to pledge that in such and such a time you will free them and their hundreds of millions of inhabitants from the frightful and shameful yoke under which you now oppress them?

Yes, it is harder today than in 1914 for a gang of imperialist robbers to be convincing when they talk about making the world safe for democracy—or for anything else except their own bloody profit. As the opening of the war gets close, while each clique runs madly in its last desperate scramble for allies, the camouflage drops off, and the war shows itself for what it is: a new world struggle for the re-partition of the world among the major imperialist rivals, a struggle to decide who will have first choice in the exploitation and oppression of the great masses of mankind. All the fine moral ideals, from democracy to religion to national independence, are, for the imperialists, only so much grist to the mills that turn out the cynical demagoguery whereby they hope once more to delude the people.

Politics and personal bias, instead of scientific jurisprudence, the justice department said recently, often dominate the decisions of criminal court judges, both federal and state. This conclusion was reached by the department in a survey of judicial practices, made public by Attorney-General Murphy and covered 270 federal, state, municipal and county court judges. See how our neighbor lifts his nose, to tell what every striker knows.

Enrollments in R.O.T.C. classes at Harvard are up 50 percent, with 450 students registered for the next term, compared with the 297 presently enrolled. This is as accurate a barometer of conditions as the New York Times business index, since the cons and sycophants of the bosses, in their own peculiar way, are as "hep" as we Marxists.

New Books American Medicine Mobilizes—James Rorty . . . \$3.00 Imperialism—J. A. Hobson . . . 2.75 The British Common People—G. D. H. Cole and R. Postgate . . . 4.00 War In Our Time—Spicer and Kahler . . . 3.00 The German Ideology—Marx and Engels . . . 2.50 JOURNEY TO THE END OF THE NIGHT—L. F. Celine . . . 59c Add 3c per book for postage LABOR BOOK SHOP 28 East 12th Street New York City