#### SOCIALIST APPEAL

May 23, 1939 Vol. III. No. 35 Published twice a wook by the

SOCIALIST APPEAL PUBLISHING ASS'N. at 116 University Place, New York, N. Y. Telephone, Algoritation 4-8547

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for six months. For eign: \$3.00 per year, \$1.50 for six months. Bundle orders: 2 cents per copy in the United States; 3 cents per copy in all foreign countries. Single copies. 3 cents. Bronx and Manhattan subscriptions are: \$1.50 for a months: \$3.00 for one year. "Reentered as second class matter February 16, 1939, at the post office at New York, N.Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879."

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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.
- 8. 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
- 5. Thirty dollar weekly old-age and disability
- 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.
- 19. An independent Labor Party.
- 11. Workers' Defense Guards against vigilante and Fascist attacks.

#### Shoot To Kill!

News dispatches from Harlan County, Kentucky, where Governor A. B. Chandler has sent National Guardsmen to break the coal strike at bayonet point and open the mines to gun-carrying scabs, report that Brigadier General Ellerbe Carter, commanding officer of the military strikebreakers revealed he has been given the following orders by Chandler:

"The troops are under orders to SHOOT TO KILL when necessary. There will be no pushing around of soldiers on duty."

Although there were absolutely no disturbances in Harlan County, and the coal miners were peacefully exercizing their right to picket, these troops have set up loaded machine guns on the public highways and in the residential

They march through the streets in armed squads and shove the civilian population about with fixed bayonets as if they had been turned loose by a fascist dictator to terrorize the public.

Governor Chandler, in brief, is doing everything possible to provoke bloodshed. President Roosevelt, although he has full power to curb Governor Chandler's armed violence, so far has done nothing. Nor will he lift a finger to safeguard the civil liberties his kind of democracy is supposed to guarantee unless a mighty wave of mass indignation forces a change in the intoler-

The capitalists and THEIR government-Chandler is a typical capitalist politician-without the slightest hesitation resort to violence, terror, and the shedding of blood in order to perpetuate profits at what they think is a reasonable rate.

There is no lesson more important to the worker than this one Chandler is giving in Kentucky; namely, that American capitalism is absolutely rathless.

It lives by VIOLENCE and TERROR.

If the capitalist stockholders thought it would open the mines over which they have gained control, the machine guns in Harlan County would mow down the miners and their wives and children tomorrow as mercilessly as they were mowed down by Franco's capitalist mercenaries in Spain.

What Harlan County needs is a detachment of WORKERS DEFENSE GUARDS to protect the lives of the people who are menaced by Chandier's National Guard - the National Guard of which Franklin D. Roosevelt is Commander-in\_Chief.

President Roosevelt denies Arthur Krock's story that the President had sounded out Premier Mussolini, and through him, Reichsfuehrer Hitler on a plan for the three to meet either at sea or near some neutral island in order to arrive at a solution of the European crisis. It's too bad it's not true. It would be a good idea perhaps to get the leaders on an island and let them go to work on each other, instead of getting us blockboads to do their fighting for them.

#### Reduce The Hours

A new world production record was set on May 4 by the Carnegie-Illinois Steel Corporation's \$75,000,000 Irvin Works plant when a crew of six men in an eight-hour shift turned out 446.6 tons of tinplate on a 52-inch, five-

stand tandem cold reducing mill. On the old style hand mills a crew of five men 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.

averaged about ten tons daily.

Thus ONE man now produces in a day what it formerly took a little more than 37 men to produce.

Yet hours per day have remained at a complete standstill and instead of 37 men retaining their full wages and dividing up the time saved by the machines, the companies have fired 36, given their wages to the stockholders, and kept one man slaving at the ancient schedule of

Since 1926 in the steel plants alone, the introduction of 27 new type mills, according to Research Director Harold J. Rutenberg of the C.I.O. Steel Workers Organizing Committee, has thrown 85,000 men out of jobs.

If the length of hours worked were RE-DUCED WITH NO REDUCTION IN PAY. all these men could have the jobs they are en-

Every union in the country must inscribe in its program of demands from the boss a sliding scale of hours with no reduction in pay! Then every one can have a decent job at a living wage.

As the use of machinery and more efficient methods increases, the number of hours to be spent on the job decreases l

That will kill the lay-offs and stop machines, which can be a boon to mankind, from replacing men on the payroll!

### God Save the King!

There is a move in Congress to halt all discussion on foreign policy while the King of England visits these shores, for fear that some Congressman might inadvertently say something about Great Britain that would not prove to the liking of His Royal Highness.

It is difficult to see why Congress doesn't go the whole hog--what occasion could be more auspicious than the King's visit to admit that we were wrong after all . . .

That we want to return the thirteen colonies which our ancestors took away from Great Britain by means of such a violent bloody revolution.

That we are sorry for protesting Great Britain's impressing American seamen in that little war of 1812, and if the king wants to he can burn down the White House again while he is

Also that we take back all the nasty things we said during the Civil War about Great Britain running through Abraham Lincoln's blockade of the slave states.

That we're so glad in fact to make amends for our past errors that besides the thirteen original colonies, we offer to return to England the 35 states that have joined the union since, and toss in Alaska, Puerto Rico, Guam, the Hawaiian Islands, and the Panama Canal.

All we humbly ask the King is that he give us better treatment than he accords his subjects in India, Ceylon, Jamaica, South Africa, and Palestine. Otherwise Congress couldn't guarantee that the King wouldn't have another subversive movement on his hands like 1776.

God save the King!

#### Browder and Miaja

In his speech to the mass meeting opening the 9th convention of the Young Communist League, Earl Browder referred to the "Casado-Besteiro Council of Capitulation" which opened the gates of Madrid to the fascists. Can it be that Browder has forgotten that the Council was headed by General Jose Miaja? Not at ali. He remembers it only too well, and the memory is a most painful one. General Miaja, you see, was a leader of the Spanish Communist party. Browder hasn't forgotten this for one moment. But he sure would like everyone

#### June New International

A keen analysis of the new theory of the state now being put forward in the Soviet Union, is made by Leon Trotsky in his feature article for the coming issue of the New International, "The Bonapartist Philosophy of the State." An interest. ing contrast is made in the analysis between Stalin's present "philosophy" and his theory of "socialism in one country."

Among other articles in the June issue, which is to be off the press this week, are:

Class Politics in Palestine, by L. Rock, as well as an article by the editors of the Palestine journal, Haor, on the situation in that country, and letters from readers-all of which make up a symposium on the Jewish and Palestinian ques-

Martov and Bolshevism is the subject of a debate between Albert Goldman, who recently reviewed Martov's posthumous pamphict, and A. Alper, of South Africa.

A correspondent in China writes an extremely revealing letter on the real situation in China and Japan, and the status of the war in Asia, Another contributor. A. Origiasso, of Sydney, writes on "Australia Cognita." Jan Buchar, a Czech militant, writes on the "National Question in Central Europe."

Max Shachtman, in "Old Garbage in New Pails," writes of the arguments being made by the "labor" war-mongers in favor of the coming war. and compares them with the arguments advanced twenty-five years ago for the last "democracy" crusade.

The editors, in their monthly comments, deal with a number of topical questions, above all, the growth of the Coughlin movement in the United

Dwight Macdonald continues with his popular

## Whipping Up the War Spirit--It's All in the Mobilization Day Plan

With M-Day Not Far off the Generals Have Perfected The Methods of Propaganda and Censorship Which Will Be Used in Mobilizing the Morale of Workers for War

By HAL DRAPER

Mobilized Our Consciences." Today, before the war crisis, ives of drafted men.

Bernard M. Baruch, the "theoretician" of the Industrial Mobilization Plan, likes to speak of the "five M's" which have to be mobilized; these are: men, money, maintenance or food, material resources, and morale. Assistant Secretary of War Johnson states: "To conduct a modern war successfully, a nation must provide men for the armed forces. military supplies and equipment, and a supporting public opinion. Securing all these things is our problem,"

The new emphasis which is placed upon morale on the home front was expressed by tion. Baruch before the Army Industrial College (training school for the army's I.M.P. men): "I need hardly bring to your attention what must be done by a nation in arms—the discipline and mobilization of its moral and material forces. Judgment born of experience shows that the moral or spiritual is the greater of the two forces. . . . Ludendorff bitterly complained that his military front remained impregnable long after what he called 'the home front' had crumbled. Napoleon said: 'In war, the mora) is to the physical as 3 to 1. Civil morale therefore is fully as important as military mu-

The problem of "civil mo- WILL WORK rale" is divided into two aspects-negative, that is, cen-

all existing mediums of public-|fendors may be punished." ity. . . . To coordinate the pubworld may look for proper and The President has the power to al honor. . . ."

There is a French book on aims and activities of the Cov- sary." As a result of the twingthe last war called "How They ernment. . . . To combat disaf- ing of the Congressional confection at home. . . . To combat science, some of the later I.M.

1. Division of Administra MAKING YOU Division of News—domes-

tic; foreign. 3. Division of Pictures -

tographs; scenarios.

tion-speakers; women's organizations; war expositions. Division of Advertisingradio; newspapers; magazines;

billboards; builetins. in any "national emergency." HOW CENSORSHIP

The Plan's reference to a be. . . . "voluntary" censorship of the sorship, and positive, that is, press is of course an official are the agencies of domination propaganda. The Plan puts joke. The meaning of this gag . . . It is rare-it is neverboth of these functions into the was explained by Herbert Bay- that a nation is instantly galhands of an Administration of and Swope, testifying before vanized into the vast emotionthe War Policies Commission alism that is needed in war. Even through the official several years ago as a World statements in the Plan itself War expert in "public rela- citative, must be brought home can be seen the Iron Heel tions." Censorship of the press, to each. Every manner of apwhich will be set upon the he said, "can be brought about peal must be employed. . . . masses in wartime. The I.M.P. in part by voluntary agreeoutlines the functions of the ment, but behind this there ever naive at times, shall pro-Public Relations Administra- must be some sort of licensing claim our virtues, sublimate tion as follows: "To mobilize system established so that of- our aims and accentuate our

licity programs of the various licensing system. Any business achievements. . . . Government agencies. . . . To "over which Government conact as a bureau of information irol is necessary" must secure wars are defensive and all are to which the public and the a license in order to operate. based upon questions of nation-

reliable information concerning decide whether it is "neces-

of the I.M.P.

The radio is taken care of by pose. So in the philosophy of the Communications Act of war opposition becomes disobe-1934-a measure carefully fos- dience to the divine will-sacritered and piloted through Con- lege-as well as unpatriotic . . gress by the Roosevelt Admin- assuming a nation to be actiistration. By the terms of this vated by a nearly universal im-Act, the President can take oulse, sharp measures can be over all radio and wire offices taken against the few opposing the national will-however in-

"Censorship and propaganda

successes and indict the vices The Plan itself contains the of the enemy and minimize his

quartermaster supplies and the of the newspaper and periodi- This is the "priority" provision, according to which the The Pian further proposes government can deprive a givthat the Administrator gather | on newspaper of paper, ink and together a personnel compris- all other supplies, and thereby ing "capable journalists, adver- punish it if it refuses to sub tising councillors, writers, mo- mit to the "voluntary" censor tion-picture experts, and others ship. Nye's own investigation whose practical experience and committee made a point of whose influence in their respect proving that this entails the tive fields are extensive and power of censorship, and the whose professional and business | War Department admitted it at associations give them intimate the hearings. The War Departknowledge of and access to the ment further admitted that Important mediums of public- "any ingenious man, familiar

The Public Relations Admin-| could in two hours work out 40 istration will be divided into different ways to establish a five divisions, with appropriate press censorship" by the terms

LOVE IT

4. Division of Civic Coopera- the Congressional committee: "The desire for victory must become universal. To win is to carry out the will of God in the popular mind; to win becomes the great national purtellectual, however honest however courageous they may

#### working class rose in Parliament to express his solidarity with the Prime Minister of British in perialism! He did not, as Karl Liebknecht would have done, use the national tribune for the purpose of unmasking the whole dirty imperialist gang and above all, its spokesman, Chamberiain. On the contrary, he used it to summon the working class to get behind Chamberlain.

The scandal was too outrageous to remain without repercussions in the I. L. P. National Secretary Fenner Brockway, aware of the truly and war and anti-imperialist spirit of the membership, solved the problem very simply. He issued a personal statement politely dissociating himself from the position taken by Maxton. That's all! No use creating bad blood between comrades, you see. and above all, no sense in offending your parlia mentary leaders.

But the rottenness revealed by the Maxton speech could not so easily be passed over, and the whole affair came up for review at the recent national convention of the party. And it was there that the complete hopelessness and worthlessness of the I. L. P. was crudely revealed.

The party leadership, in its report, coolly endorses Maxton's speech and there is a motion to congratulate him! The radical rank-and-filers, a minority, quite correctly and consistently deman-Maxton's expulsion, A third point of view proposes a repudiation of Maxton. A fourth motion timidly proposes to refer back that part of the leadership's report which endorses Maxton, that is, tacitly, a

All motions are defeated! The reference back is voted down by 66 to 43, the motions to repudiate to congratulate, to expel, are voted down in turn In a word, things remain exactly as they were.

#### Principles Don't Matter

How can such a thing happen? Are the members, or even the delegates, for Maxton's position? Obviously not, as is indicated by their refusal to congratulate Maxton on his speech. But why then did they not at least condemn him for it, if not expel him? Because they are poisoned by the policy of Lovestone's darling, Fenner Brockway,

The Maxtons and McGoverns have merely to hint that a critical resolution will mean their departure from the party, and Brockway capitulates! The Leader must not be offended. Principles? The struggle against war? That's all right for holiday occasions, for ceremonial rites, but not for everyday struggle. Those are phrases, with which you feed the ranks, but not rules that are imposed upon the "leaders."

To make Maxton toe the line, even the thin, trembling line of the I. L. P. - that would be "Trotskyist sectarianism."

It should not be hard to judge, from Maxton's the magazine, a rounded-out number which is sure to interest all readers. Advance orders, the manager requests, should be sent in immediately to 116 University Place, New York, N. Y.

Interest all readers are compelled to pretend astonishment, for the Command Paper ISSUED the simple reason that they have never told the Zionist landers are compelled to pretend astonishment, for the Command Paper ISSUED the simple reason that they have never told the Zionist landers. But the Converted into a Jew-Zionist leaders are compelled to pretend astonishment, for the Command Paper ISSUED the simple reason that they have never told the Zionist landers. Appeal in September and from the way the L.P.

Speech in September and from the way the L.P.

Converted into a Jew-Zionist leaders are compelled to pretend astonishment, for the Command Paper ISSUED the simple reason that they have never told the Zionist landers. Appeal in the Socialist Appeal

#### enemy propaganda at home P. bills exempt the press from the government frankly consid. and abroad. . . . To establish the licensing provision, but all ers your Conscience-your Mo. rules and regulations for cen- of them (including that of Senrale they call it as an article sorship. . . . To enlist and su- ator Nye) include another proto be mobilized along with pervise a voluntary censorship vision which is just as effective.

with the newspaper business.

As for the propaganda angle of "public relations," we can give a foretaste here by quotfilms; posters; cartoons; pho- ing Herbert Bayard Swope on the art of propaganda, before

# By Concealing the Truth Zionism Played Into the Hands of Britain

(Continued from Page 1)

weight in England's favor in and building. the war) could secure in writing in the Balfour declaration, was the phrase: "the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people." Simultaneously the British assured Arab leaders that the against a Jewish State by its provision that "nothing shall be done which may prejudice the in Palestine." The same phrase.

civil liberties. four Declaration recognized hopes. was not precluded by the terms of the declaration." But the leaders then got this viewnamely from the British government spokesmen, who were telling them that precisely this

with "the blurred line" capable was, however, not itself the land's policy and, on the conof future re-interpretation. This beginning of the whittling away trary, have deliberately conis true both of Sir Henry Mc- of the Balfour Declaration but, cealed from them the full Mahon's letters to the Arabs in fact, merely recorded what meaning of England's policy. and of the Balfour Declaration had already been achieved by British colonial authorities in leaders any illusions they The most the Jewish leaders Palestine itself, where from might have had in 1917 about

years, but successfully fought tal policy. Jews were told, meant merely off by the Arabs; it served the assurance of civil rights to British, however, in accustom- that the Zionist leaders will Arabs in the ordinary sense of ing Zioniats—who were pre- continue this deceitful policy. pared tacitly to accept parti- When Winston Churchill arises The White Paper hypocriti- tion-to the idea that at best pext week in the House of Comcally states that the British only part of Palestine would mons to speak against the 'do not wish to contest the ever be theirs. Now the White White Paper, the Zionist leadview . . . that Zionist leaders Paper completes the 22-year ers will hall him-and fail to at the time of issue of the Bal- process of destroying Zionist remind their followers that

that an ultimate Jewish State British Consistency Significant 1922 Command Paper. When underline the fact that Britain's men will join Churchill on this Paper omits where the Zionist has been a consistent policy, question, the Zionist leaders for from an understanding of will gurgle with joy-and not this fact follows a complete bring up the fact that the Passties. Now the Paper brazenly doing and getting ready to do of England.

(notably those of America who 1918 on they had revealed a the Declaration, or in 1922 had in exchange for these systematic hostility to further about the Command Paper. pledges thrown all possible ance of Jewish immigration But when, in 1931, after having And 1922 is but one in a long rectly characterized the Passseries of dates recording syst field White Paper as designed tematic British destruction of to destroy the Jewish Homethe Zionist dream. Another de- land, they then went on to excisive step in this destruction plain it away with the help of was the Passfield White Paper a face-saving letter from Ramof October, 1930, which Stephen say MacDonald, they were no Declaration protected them S. Wise then correctly de- longer under any illusions. scribed as designed to "undo They were deliberately hiding and eventually destroy the from the Jewish masses the Jewish National Home." And true facts about the Palestine civil and religious rights of ex- other step was the partition situation, above all the true isting non-Jewish communities scheme, pressed during the last facts about British governmen-

It is a safe wager to predict Churchill is the author of the It is extremely important to the British Labor Party spokescondemnation of the policy field White Paper of 1938 was

pursued throughout by the a Labor Party document. was embodied in the Balfour Zionist leadership. The note of Though the various groups in outraged astonishment with Commons will jockey for Jew-The White Paper ignores the which these gentlemen are ish support, they are all at one fact that from 1917 until 1922 calling the White Paper a on fundamental policy in Palthe Zionist movement declared "breach of faith" and a "be- estine: the consistent policy a countless number of times trayai" is ludicrous; nobody that has been pursued throughthat Palestine was to be a should be astonished that the out, whether Conservative, Lib-Jewish State, without any con- English imperialist rulers con- eral or Labor politicians ruled tradiction by British authori- tinue to do what they have been on behalf of the capitalist class



By Max Shachtman

The question of the war danger dominates all

the other problems of the labor movement. Any

working class organization, any working class

leader, that fails to pass the test of war, isn't

worth a cent. Big talk, even militant talk, and the

most solemn resolutions, have none but a decep-

tive meaning unless they are translated into the

daily practise of a consistent fight against im-

Next to revolution itself, war is the greatest and

most difficult test to pass. Even before it breaks

out, the whole weight of organized bourgeois pres-

sure is brought to bear upon all the varieties of

war opponents. Cajolery and threats the latter to

an increasing extent-are employed to shatter the

resistance of the masses, to deprive them of ar-

ticulate spokesmen. The chauvinist lash is swung

to whip the masses and their leaders into line, and

for those who remain unyielding in their opposi

tion, there is the mailed fist of brutal and uncon-

The varieties of pressure used to convert oppo-

nents of war into active or passive patriots, are

infinite in number. One is tipped off that opposi-

tion to war means the suppression of the organiza-

tion which he and his comrades spent so many

hard years to build up. Another is made to fee

the increasing frigidity of "social" ostracism, and

there are, alas, many "labor leaders" who wince

at the thought of being snubbed by "respectable

Still another is assured that be would be sur

prised to learn how friendly the government and

the army are to his radical views, but that they

simply find themselves forced to take military

measures because a "critical national emer-

gency" has supervened. Some are simply bribed;

others are blackmailed or browbeaten. At the

crucial moment, their opposition collapses and

A case in point is the political degeneration of

the Independent Labour Party of England on th

eve of the war. The party leadership has been

talking loudly for some time against the war and

war preparations. At the same time, in contrast to

our "sectarianism," the party has continued to

tolerate not only in its ranks but in the leadership

a collection of parliamentary politicians who have

demonstrated over and over again that they have

nothing in common with revolutionary politics and

that they would never stand up in time of crisis

The test-a preliminary but quite decisive test

-of this leadership and this policy was made last

September, Chamberlain came flying back from

Germany with the results of his "appeasement"

policy, triumphantly offering England that imper-

fallst "peace" which is at once mere interlude be-

tween two wars and part of the preparations for

Now the real leader of the I. L. P. in England

is James Maxton, member of the House of Com-

mons. This "representative" of the revolutionary

"Solving" a Serious Problem

then begins a series of the most pathetic explan:

tions for the turn-about-face.

the one that is to come.

perialist war and the war-mongers.

cealed persecution.

How It's Done