

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Vol. III, No. 55 August 1, 1939

Published twice a week by the SOCIALIST APPEAL PUBLISHING ASS'N. at 114 University Place, New York, N. Y. Telephone: ALgonquin 4-8547

Subscriptions: \$2.00 per year; \$1.00 for six months. Foreign: \$3.00 per year, \$1.50 for six months. Single copies: 2 cents per copy in the United States; 3 cents per copy in all foreign countries. Single copies: 2 cents.

FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY FOR:

- 1. A job and a decent living for every worker. 2. Open the idle factories—operate them under workers' control. 3. A Twenty-Billion dollar Federal public works and housing program.

Better Than Silence

Bernard Tasser, A.F.L. publicity chief, wrote in the July "Labor Chronicle," organ of the New York Central Trades and Labor Council:

"I have a very definite opinion relative to those persons, no matter how high their positions, who have tried to smear the building workers by calling their refusal to work a strike against the government."

"I believe this opinion is identical with that of every union man in the country, and I am convinced that no worse blunder could ever be made by any public official than to try to outlaw the present highly effective peaceful protest stoppage of the building trades."

President and Congress

How extraordinary was the action of the State Department in denouncing America's treaty with Japan, may not appear at first glance.

But the incident is well worth studying, not for any new light it throws on Roosevelt's drive toward war, but the way in which the President is shouldering an insufficiently compliant Congress out of the way.

Just a week or so before, the President had sustained a very serious defeat at the hands of Congress on precisely this issue: he sought abrogation of existing neutrality legislation and Congress refused to go along with him.

At that point not the New Deal but the "Tories" insisted on going ahead with one phase of the President's program of abrogating neutrality legislation: arch-reactionary Senator Vandenberg pressed in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for denouncing the Japanese Treaty in order to pave the way for subsequent legislation for an embargo against Japan.

But the committee hesitated to act. Here is how the New York Times of July 27 puts it: "There were some indications that leaders of the proposal (to denounce the treaty) preferred not to force the matter to a vote at this delicate juncture unless absolutely assured that there would be a unanimous vote in favor of the resolution."

Why did they fear a mere vote or two in opposition? The Times doesn't say. But the reason is obvious: The senators and representatives, generally speaking, are for Roosevelt's war program. They vote for appropriation after appropriation for

the insatiable war machine. But they have constituencies at home whom they must mollify. These constituencies, as the Gallup poll has proven, are overwhelmingly opposed to fighting any war on foreign soil, and they trust Congress so little that they want the decision for war or peace to be taken out of the hands of Congress and submitted to a popular referendum of the people.

Roosevelt, on the other hand, also hesitated to accept the responsibility for this move. He would have much preferred to have the Senate get out in front.

As a matter of fact, if Roosevelt abided by the spirit of the American Constitution, he would have had to consult the Senate on abrogation of a treaty when Congress is in session. According to the Constitution the Senate's consent is necessary before a treaty goes into force, and the converse is necessarily implied.

Furthermore, the legislative body, the law-making body, is by that very token the policy-making body. According to democratic principles, the legislative body and not the executive should determine the policies of the government. This principle is of course constantly violated by Roosevelt, but he does not do so lightly.

This was the situation which the New York Times of July 27 described as follows:

"Officials said that it was the disposition of the State Department to await action by the Foreign Relations Committee at its meeting today on the resolution of Senator Vandenberg favoring denunciation of the treaty, but when the committee postponed action to a later meeting President Roosevelt and Secretary Hull decided to act at once."

"It appeared to be their opinion that further delay was not only not warranted but also might be taken by Japan as evidence of timidity or divided counsels between the executive and legislative branches of the government. Action, accordingly, was taken immediately."

But there were divided counsels between the executive and legislative branches. The individual senators and representatives might agree with Roosevelt but as a body they feared their constituencies. Thus the counsels were divided in actuality. So . . . Roosevelt took the decision into his own hands.

In other words, Roosevelt decided that where a division exists between the legislative and executive bodies, the executive will have the deciding word. In other words, he has acted on a theory of the supremacy of the executive over the legislative body.

Are the American people awake to the implications of this action? How long is the road between this action and the action of wiping out altogether the powers of the legislative body, as Hitler and Mussolini have done?

The Congress that permitted this is a body which can be trusted little more than the President. Today, in theory, this Congress has the final authority on determining whether this country shall go to war or not. But the Japanese treaty incident shows that in substance the Congress will surrender its power to the President.

One thing is immediately clear: the Japanese treaty incident is a further warning to the people to demand a popular referendum on war. Neither the President nor Congress can be trusted with this vital decision. Those who must die in the trenches or starve at home in the event of war—they must decide.

Let the people vote on war! Let the people decide!

Officials of the Standard Oil Company of New York looked to Washington as the last hope for defeating Japanese moves to wipe out the American and British petroleum industry in north China. Oil company representatives were convinced that legal arguments in north China were worthless. American interests, Washington, i. e., the representatives of the bosses, wants YOU for a target.

"The one hope of the world today is that the nations turn to God and apply these (Buchman's moral rearmament) principles not only to national life but to personal, business and civic life," reads a resolution of the Minneapolis city council, welcoming Frank Buchman. It surely looks like the nations are turning to God, for it's well known that God is on the side of the largest armaments.

An official delegation of Nazi storm troop officers in Rome watches a guard at the entrance of the Palace of Venice "super-ump" into the goose step Italians borrowed from Germany. (The guard's foot was level with his shoulder.) I can see one good thing about the goose step. When Soldiers and workers learn to shoot in the right direction all this goosestepping will be helpful in giving a boost to the officers and the bosses. That's the kind of booster I like.

McNutt, Hoosier Hitler, Pushed Forward by F.D.R. in 1940 Drive

By PAUL FIELDING

President Roosevelt once again paid touching tribute to Democracy by appointing the Hoosier Hitler, Paul V. McNutt to head the Federal Security Administration.

McNutt, the governor of Indiana who kept Terre Haute under martial law for months, will have charge of administering the Social Security Act. He will, no doubt, show the same regard for the unemployed, the aged and the sick as he showed for the workers of the Hoosier state, who under his rule asked whether they lived in the United States or Germany.

In naming McNutt to this important governmental post, Roosevelt has indicated that this Fascist-minded New Dealer is his present choice for president in 1940. Barring the possibility of a third-term, Fuehrer McNutt is Roosevelt's man for the Democratic nomination.

The professional and amateur cheer-leaders for the New Deal will have to talk fast and hard when they try to pawn off this scissor-bill as a friend of the "Forgotten-man."

McNUTT HAS AN UNSAVORY RECORD

A quick look into McNutt's record will uncover a reactionary, labor-bating past that will match the worst the Republicans have to offer. And it will also show the kind of men Roosevelt wants to carry on his War Deal.

After studying law for one year, McNutt became an associate professor of law at Indiana University, and, before the rest of the faculty knew what happened, he had retired the Dean of the Law School and taken his post.

The other professors wondered whether he had bought the university, according to those who witnessed the transaction.

In 1928, he was elected national commander of the anti-labor American Legion. He considered himself a "veteran" because of his presence in a training camp, no less than 3500 miles away from the front. His good work in the "war to make the world safe for hypocrisy" won him the title of major.

In all his relations with workers, he seems to act as though he still wore a uniform.

In his campaign for governor of Indiana in 1932, his Re-

publican enemies called him the "lawyer who never tried a case and the soldier who never fired a shot" — which is very close to the skillet's calling the kettle black.

While governor of Indiana, he had as much power as Huey Long had in Louisiana, according to reporters who covered his administration, though this is probably a slight exaggeration.

WHY BIG BUSINESS LOVES McNUTT

He won the everlasting friendship of Indiana businessmen and industrial barons by the following record:

Sent the national guard to break strikes the greatest number of times in the history of the state.

Introduced and had passed a law which made militant strike action by milk farmers a felony.

Increased the size of the state police force.

Suspended all municipal elections in every community in Indiana for one year when his power was slipping.

Reduced property taxes by more than 50 million dollars.

Levied income tax for all incomes over \$1000 to place the burden of taxation upon the workers.

Levied a tax-sale, which he passed off by the phony name of a "gross-income tax."

He further distinguished himself by encouraging his local henchmen to stifle all free speech. He was a member of the national committee of the Catholic organization to combat communism. His side-kick here was Senator Carter Glass of Virginia.

Only because Indiana has a law which prevents governors from succeeding themselves, he was forced out of the capitol. But he picked Governor Townsend, who carried on the dictatorship, though with hardly the talents and gusto of New Dealer McNutt.

A COLONIAL RULER FOR ROOSEVELT

Not to be shoved out of the limelight where he wanted to remain to run for president in 1940, he was appointed High Commissioner of the Philippine Islands by Roosevelt.

He got off to a flying start in the Philippines by telling the natives who want independence that democracy in the Philippines is "only a matter of form

and not of substance."

As High Commissioner he was a vital cog in the Roosevelt war plans, which call for raising an army of 500,000 natives, four times the size of the U. S. standing army. The natives were granted "semi-independence," so that they could have the privilege of paying for the army and other military costs.

Soon after he arrived in Manila, he knocked any notions of real independence out of the natives. The move he made which reached most front pages was to demand that High Commissioner McNutt be toasted first in all state functions. Following him, the president and other small fry might be mentioned.

There was wailing and gnashing of teeth among the bright young men of the New Deal when McNutt was named to his new post in Washington.

Those who placed their faith in Roosevelt for salvation felt they had been betrayed when this man, whom they call a Fascist, got the choice political plum.

Like the foolish maiden who is being continually seduced by the nicest men or the sucker for horse races who is always playing long-shots, these people thrive on betrayals and run-arounds. No sooner do they get their fingers burned, than they stick them back in the fire.

Unable to see beyond the ever narrowing confines of capitalist politics, they choose the lesser-evil. And this time they got a Fascist-minded politician.

It is safe to predict that he will be white-washed in short order. McNutt is a clever politician. He can speak liberal while acting reactionary.

He can and did denounce Germany for its treatment of the Jews, while grinding down strikers in Indiana and, later, natives in the Philippine Islands.

In his new post, he will speak high sounding words about aid to the aged, help to the unemployed and assistance to the weak and infirm. And under cover of this, he will try to cut to the bone the meager benefits of the Social Security Act.

He has learned a lot from his boss, Roosevelt. That's why he got the job. That's why he is such a fine candidate for the New Deal in 1940.

Watch out for McNutt—he's no boob.

Quotas Set For Branches Of S.W.P.

WAR REFERENDUM PAMPHLET

Table with 2 columns: Branch, Quota. Lists various cities and their respective quotas for the War Referendum Pamphlet.

APPEAL CAMPAIGN SCOREBOARD

Table with 2 columns: Branch, Quota. Lists various cities and their respective quotas for the Appeal Campaign.

Table with 2 columns: City, Quota. Lists various cities and their respective quotas for the National Youth Group.

National Youth Group Forms Defense Guard

Formation of Anti-Fascist Defense Guards was authorized by the recent annual convention of the Avukah, national Jewish student organization, the Avukah "Student Action" announced in its July 28 issue.

After describing Coughlinite assaults on anti-fascists and the connivance of police and courts with the fascists, "Student Action" states:

"These factors, the violent anti-semitic campaign of the Coughlinites and other fascist groups, together with the refusal of city officials to end a flagrant pro-fascist tone of a large section of the courts and police, have produced the need for anti-fascist defense groups to protect anti-fascist action such as distribution of literature exposing the real nature of the 'Social Justice' movement."

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MODEL PETITION

Here is the text of the petition which is being circulated for a people's vote on war. We urge readers of the Appeal to secure copies and circulate them.

A PETITION TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

We, the undersigned, hereby petition Congress to submit at once to the several States, in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, an amendment to the Constitution of the United States which will provide that any proposal for the declaration of war, or armed hostilities, against any nation or people shall be submitted to a direct referendum vote of the people of the United States.

IN THIS CORNER

By Max Shachtman

A letter just received from a friend visiting Paris gives an interesting picture of what is going on in France today.

"For about an hour and a half I watched the communist demonstration on July 14, in honor of the Great French Revolution. It was the usual 'united front' demonstration—the two dozen Stalinist stooge organizations joining the C.P. in a 'united front.' The socialists and the official trade unions refused to join the Stalinists who bemoaned the fact that the great Popular Front demonstration of 1935 could not be repeated. That's right—it could not be repeated. Daladier, one of the leading figures in the demonstration of 1935, is now ordering the workers to work longer hours and more efficiently; he is currying the communists what they can and what they cannot do; he is giving the big bourgeoisie the services it demands, thus, for a while at least, making unnecessary a resort to fascism.

An Uninspiring Demonstration

"It certainly was not an inspiring demonstration. Neither to the onlookers nor to the participants, as far as I could judge. Certainly not to one interested in leading the French working class to another and greater revolution than that of 1789. There is nothing wrong in principle, of course, for a revolutionary party to celebrate the birth of the bourgeois revolution, especially such a magnificent one as the Great French Revolution. I can even imagine a revolutionary party organizing a celebration on July 4 commemorating the American revolution.

"It is primarily a question of the content of the demonstration. That content must further our present aim of hastening the dawn of the proletarian revolution. To take advantage of revolutionary traditions in order to inspire the masses with a willingness to offer the supreme sacrifice for the socialist revolution is not only permissible for a revolutionary party but absolutely mandatory. Can that be done? Of course! Just think of the heroic days of '89 when the disinherited of Paris, with weapons in hand, proceeded to demolish the institutions of feudal tyranny. It would be so easy to stir up the most exalted revolutionary emotions in the masses of workers showing them that they must follow the example of their forefathers and destroy . . . bourgeois tyranny.

"I need not tell you that the Stalinist demonstration had no revolutionary aim in view. That is why it was so uninspiring, sickening as a matter of fact. There were tens of thousands of really militant workers who would gladly offer up their lives to destroy the Bastille of the French bourgeoisie but these tens of thousands of workers marched meekly around the Place de la Bastille without any enthusiasm because they were not inspired with any great visions of a struggle to create a new world for themselves and their children. They did not even know what they were demonstrating for. There were absolutely no banners with any slogans. Daladier had forbidden the showing of any slogans in any way hostile to the government. And since the Communist Party is compelled to assume a position of hostility to the dictatorial regime of Daladier, in order to keep the confidence of the masses, it had to choose between defying the government, by carrying banners with slogans, or submitting. The C. P. of course does no defying nowadays and so there was a sloganless demonstration.

There Was One Slogan

"I must correct my statement about slogans. There was one slogan much in evidence, the one calling for the completion of the pact between Great Britain, France and the Soviet Union. Streaming banners announced the fact that without the help of the U.S.S.R., France could not defend itself against the fascist aggressors. The tri-party pact would bring peace, liberty and democracy.

"I don't know whether you read L'Humanite these days. If you do you know that, day after day, Gabriel Peri, their star journalist, pours forth his contempt upon Great Britain for its softness to Japan. He demands a firmer stand by Chamberlain to defend British citizens from insult and humiliation at the hands of the Japanese. The British and French attitude towards Germany during the Danzig crisis and subsequently was termed supine and violative of the promises given to heroic Poland. And every single article ends with a demand for the immediate consummation of the tri-party pact. It was therefore to be expected that during the demonstration stress would be placed upon that demand. And since there were no other slogans the demonstration assumed exclusively the character of a demonstration on behalf of the tri-party pact.

"What a glorious opportunity there was of showing the masses the differences between the promises and hopes of 1789 and the reality of 1939. The act of the Daladier government in prohibiting the carrying of slogans against the government showed more than anything else the real character of the present regime. Everything is now settled by decrees without consulting parliament. The chances are that the elections for the Chamber of Deputies, which are to take place next year, will be postponed by decree for two or three years. The Stalinists and socialists are crying bitterly against such a possibility but their opposition amounts to very little. That is the kind of democracy which the French workers are asked to defend against Hitler. Young militants are charged with espionage for attempting to spread revolutionary propaganda among the soldiers. Death can be the penalty if found guilty. Hundreds of thousands of Spanish workers, former soldiers of the Republican army in Spain, are herded together like beasts in concentration camps. A far cry from the fraternity, equality and liberty proclaimed as the foundation stones of the French Revolution.

How Long Will They Remain Quiet?

"Disoriented by the policies of the socialist and communist parties, frustrated by the failure of the Popular Front government, the French workers are quiet, submitting to the arbitrary acts of the government. For how long? It is impossible to conceive that it can last for a very long time. As the burden becomes greater the forces of resistance will come to the surface. The most militant and conscious elements of the French workers, that is, the French Fourth Internationalists, must work feverishly to prepare a party to lead the French workers."