

DANGER SIGNAL!

The Twice-a-Week Appeal Is Threatened with Suspension

We are compelled to warn all comrades that the Twice-a-Week Appeal is threatened with

immediate suspension. Two facts tell the whole story:

1. Publishing expenses are double those of the weekly.
2. Delinquencies of Bundle Order payments are the main source of the back-breaking deficit which has eaten up our reserve fund and

brought us to the brink of disaster.

3. Unless the branches make heroic efforts to pay their bills up to date within the next ten days we cannot guarantee further continuation of the Twice-a-Week Appeal.

It is not necessary to speak here about what a calamity for our movement such a suspension would mean. Everybody understands it, our enemies as well as our friends.

The decision is up to the branches which owe bundle order accounts. The branches have the floor! They must say their word within the next ten days.

**NATIONAL COMMITTEE,
Socialist Workers Party**

**BUILD WORKERS'
DEFENSE GUARDS**

Socialist Appeal

Official Organ of the Socialist Workers Party, Section of the Fourth International—Issued Twice Weekly

**WORKERS OF THE
WORLD UNITE!**

VOL. III, No. 36

FRIDAY, MAY 26, 1939

107

3c a copy

SILENCE SHROUDS RELIEF SLASHES

Father Coughlin's Lies Do Not Cloak His Rabid Anti-Semitism

Despite Demagogic Denials There Stands Out the Fact that America's Number One Fascist Is a Vicious Anti-Semite

By GRACE SAUNDERS

In the growing wave of anti-Semitism sweeping this country, Father Coughlin is in the forefront of those who pander to the vicious race-hating propaganda of fascism. Despite this fact, Father Coughlin—who rants constantly about Jewish bankers, Jewish radio-owners, Jewish communists, the Jewish-controlled press, etc., etc.—has the impudence to claim that he is not really anti-Semitic.

Listen to the pious Father:

"If and when anti-Semitism shows its ugly head here, I shall be the first, without hope of receiving reward, to condemn it both by voice and deed." (Father Coughlin, September 19, 1938, reprinted in "Social Justice," May 1, 1939.)

"We disavow all participation with those who hate Jews because they are Jews." (Social Justice, May 1.)

The Real Coughlin

Against these disclaimers, the real Coughlin, thoroughly anti-Semitic, can be seen in the following quotations picked at random. Hundreds like them could be cited:

"Eventually the Jew, Lenin, died..." (Social Justice, May 1.) The minor matter that Lenin was not Jewish, of course, doesn't prevent Coughlin from making this statement. The priest doesn't wince at telling a lie.

"Jews Boycott Hearst..." (streamer headline on front cover of Social Justice, May 22.)

"Out of this Jewish censorship... sponsored by the General Jewish Council..." In addition to scurrilous editorials in the Jewish press...

"Leslie Hore-Belisha, the only Jewish member of the British cabinet..." (Page 3 of the same issue of Social Justice.)

"The Franco-Soviet Pact... drawn up by the French Jew, Leon Blum, and the Russian Jew, Maxim Litvinoff-Finkelstein..." (Same issue, same page.)

Methods Are Simple

And so on and so forth. Coughlin's method in putting across his anti-Semitic propaganda is simple. Those he attacks, he labels Jews, if he can possibly get away with it, whether they happen to be Jewish or not. Likewise in picking his adversaries, he always tries to find a Jew to pillory. For instance, in his phoney attack on bankers, by which he seeks to exploit the anti-Wall Street sentiment of the Middle and Far West, he concentrates his fire against the firm of Kuhn, Loeb and Co., rather than J. P. Morgan and Co. and the others. He says a "distinguished partner" of this firm (he means Henry Morgenthau, Sr., father of the Secretary of the Treasury) "played a major role in bringing about the Russian Revolution in 1917." As a result of this and similar false statements, Coughlin's broadcasts were banned from radio station WMCA of New York. Kuhn, Loeb and Co. have also been singled out for attack by Major Gen. George Van Horn Moseley, U.S.A. (retired), anti-Semite who is reportedly planning to set up a fascist state with Atlanta as the capital.

In furthering his anti-Semitism, Coughlin also resorts to the indirect method of printing lurid Jew-baiting in his "Letters to the Editor." We quote from one such letter (Social Justice, May 15):

"Your issue of April 10th explained the foul use that Hollywood masqueraders make of honest Anglo-Saxon names to hide their identities. You listed Chaplin (for Tonstein) Muni (for Weisenfreund)... Burns (for Birnbaum)... Eddy Cantor (for Izzy Iskowitz)... Edward G. Robinson (for Emmanuel Gold-emburg)..."

"If the Hollywood worthies want to change their names, the law should make them adopt names which are representative of their own nationalities, such as Brandeis, Frankfurter, Goldberg, etc." (our emphasis)

Draws a "Distinction"

Note the last paragraph and compare it with Hitler's recent decree compelling all Jews to take the name Isaac, all Jewesses the name Sarah.

How is it possible to harmonize Coughlin's disclaimers of anti-Semitism and his flagrant anti-Semitic propaganda? For Father Coughlin, known neither for his honesty nor his consistency, the task is simple. He draws a distinction between religious Jews, who are good people, and irreligious Jews, who are damned. According to Coughlin, 95 per cent of Jews are irreligious. So 95 per cent of the time, Coughlin can spew forth his anti-Semitic filth. That gives him a lot of leeway.

Says Social Justice (May 1): "The information was deduced (from Father Coughlin) that of the world's Jews about 5 per cent qualify as 'orthodox religious Jews,' while 95 per cent had left the strict faith of their fathers to take up various degrees of 'liberalism'—ranging from 'democracy' to outright atheistic Communism."

We wonder what would happen if pogroms should be instituted in this country. Presumably, if such a time ever comes, a Coughlinite thug with one hand tightly clutching the hair of an unfortunate Jew would pause long enough to ask his victim: "Are you religious?" If the victim answered "Yes," the Coughlinite would naturally know he was lying and give him an especially brutal clubbing to teach him to tell the truth.

Why does Coughlin feel called upon to deny charges of anti-Semitism? Is he, by chance, feeling the draught? Anti-Semitism in the mind of the average American is closely associated with Hitler's despised Nazism. Perhaps Coughlin's own followers are

(Continued from Page 1)

Appeal Salesmen Challenge Coughlin

(By Staff Writer)

NEW YORK — Refusing to permit the Coughlinites who have been selling their anti-Semitic, labor-hating newspaper openly in Times Square to go unchallenged, squads of Socialist Workers Party members went to 42nd Street on Saturday afternoon and evening, stood directly next to Coughlin's fascist filth peddlers, and sold hundreds of copies of the Socialist Appeal in which Father Coughlin was exposed as the would-be Hitler of America.

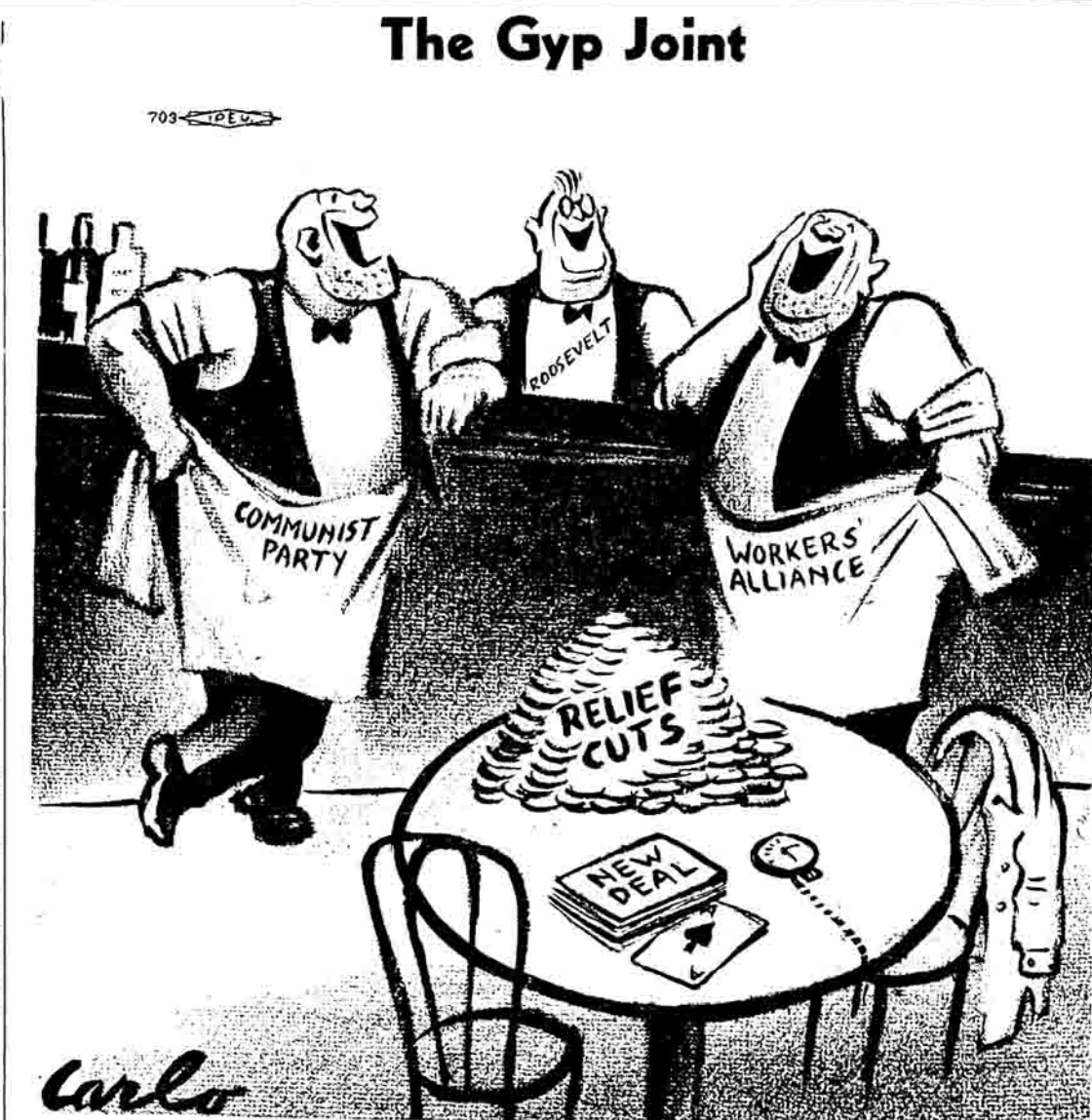
Thousands of leaflets warning the workers of New York City against the fascist demagoguery of Coughlin were distributed throughout the Times Square area.

Four Arrested

Four comrades who were selling the Socialist Appeal were arrested when they refused to abide by the arbitrary order of the police forbidding any mention of Coughlin's name as they hawked the paper. The Appeal salesmen were even denied the right to call out the headline of the paper: "Father Coughlin—the Agent of Fascism in America." The police even commanded that nothing except the name of the paper and the sale price might be mentioned. As the Appeal salesmen were arrested their places were taken immediately by others who continued with the sale despite the interference of the cops.

Police allowed the Coughlinites who were selling their poison sheet "Social Justice," to shout Jew-baiting, labor-hating slogans as loud and as often as

(Continued on Page 3)



MILITARY RULE TIGHTENS IN HARLAN COUNTY

The military rule of President Roosevelt's National Guard was tightened in Harlan County over the week-end as General Ellerbe W. Carter, commander of the militia, prepared to carry out his orders from Governor Chandler to "shoot to kill."

Machine guns set up on the national and state highways sporadically sprayed the hill-sides with bursts of fire, and militiamen took possession of additional roads.

(Continued on Page 2)

Huge Protest Meeting Against British Plan

New York Jewry held a huge protest meeting against the British White Paper at the Hippodrome last Sunday afternoon.

Nearly seven thousand filled the great auditorium, while three thousand others stood outside, unable to enter.

It was a meeting in which young people predominated. Young people with undiminished hope burning in their eyes, seeking a way out of the terrible blind alley in which Jewry finds itself—undergoing physical destruction in the totalitarian countries, not permitted to enter the democratic

countries, with ominous signs of the onrush of fascism in the "great democracies" and, now, Britain's death-blow to Zionist hopes for a Jewish Homeland in Palestine.

They were seeking a way out. But they were told of no way out by the speakers who monopolized the platform all afternoon. For all these speakers merely repeated the old tune of the Zionist leadership.

The Socialist Appeal, in its last issue, outlined the consistent British policy in Palestine: in all the years since 1917 it has been a policy hostile to the

(Continued on Page 4)

Security Bd. Figures Show Extent of Cuts

C.I.O. Fails to Back up Lewis Request With any Action Campaign—Relief Funds Drop Despite Cutting of W.P.A. Rolls

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

WASHINGTON—The Administration's war against the unemployed has spread from the W.P.A. to direct relief, it is revealed by figures released last week by the Social Security Board.

In addition to the hundreds of thousands dropped from the W.P.A. rolls—the W.P.A. administration has already

reduced the rolls from the October figure of 3,350,000 to a figure of 2,600,000 and plans to reduce this to 2,000,000 by July 1—those on direct relief are also being dropped.

Eight per cent less was spent on direct relief in April as compared with March, although simultaneously several hundred thousand were dropped from W.P.A. rolls and applied for direct relief, while employment figures showed less than the usual seasonal increase.

What the cuts in the W.P.A. rolls mean in stark hunger and suffering is indicated by the fact that figures released by the Social Security Board disclose that in January, 1939—before the big slashes of W.P.A. jobs came—the W.P.A. accounted for over 49% of the total income of persons receiving public aid. With a 40% cut of W.P.A. from October by July 1, the major item in relief is being cut to pieces, and millions of workers and their families are thus being condemned to starvation.

And all this is done amid a conspiracy of silence! Not a word has been said in either Congress or the Senate about President Roosevelt's W.P.A. message to Congress, April 27, proposing the one-third slash and limiting the number of W.P.A. jobs for the coming year to 2,000,000.

Not a word has been said about these proposed slashes by the bosses of the A.F.P.L.

Not a word has been said about these War Deal assaults against the unemployed by the pro-Roosevelt Workers Alliance and its master, the Communist Party.

In response to the widespread demands for action from the ranks of the C.I.O., John L. Lewis has sent a letter to the House Appropriations Committee, calling for 3,000,000 W.P.A. jobs for the coming year. But his letter studiously avoided reference to Roosevelt's slash proposals, the letter received perfunctory attention in the C.I.O. press, and has not been followed up by any campaign. So far, Lewis' move is nothing but a gesture for the record.

The Stalinist editor of the C.I.O. News, Len De Caux, has the effrontery to run a minor editorial in the May 22 issue, blaming the W.P.A. slashes on "the Tories" and thus absolving Roosevelt, the leader of the slashing campaign.

One must tell the unemployed the frank truth. Unless those on the W.P.A. or relief rolls or seeking to get on, make clear in unmistakable ways to the Administration that the unemployed will not starve without a real fight, then starvation is certain to be their lot.

(Continued on Page 2)

The Lesson of the Memorial Day Massacre

Meet Boss Attacks with Workers Defense!

Two years ago this Memorial Day ten strikers fell dead under police bullets at Republic Steel's South Chicago plant. Scores of their fellow-strikers were wounded.

They had come, several hundred of them, in peaceful parade to demonstrate their demand for union recognition. They carried banners such as "Come on Out—Help Win the Strike." Two thousand of their sympathizers watched them march towards the factory.

They were met near the plant by a solid line of cops provided Tom Girdler, president of Republic Steel, by Chicago's city administration.

Leaders of the parade approached the police line. They asked to speak to the cop in charge. They were shunted from one cop to another. Of a sudden and without warning the cops lifted their guns and fired into the paraders' ranks. Many dropped immediately,

wounded by gun-shot. Those who didn't fall under police fire were viciously slugged as the blood-thirsty police ran riot over the unarmed strikers' lines. Wounded workers were dragged by the feet "as though they were dead dogs." Squads of cops fell on isolated individuals and pounded them till blood flowed.

Photographs show the full horror of the attack. A news-film recorded virtually every moment of the slaughter. This film was banned at first. Later, after it had shocked a senatorial investigating committee with its horrible and undeniable record, it was shown to the public. The last shot in the film showed a cop dusting himself clean, a big smile spreading over his face—satisfied with a day's work well done for his employer.

Enraged public sentiment demanded action against the murderers. An Indiana State

Court and an official coroner's jury of Chicago questioned the police. Confronted with a mountain of evidence proving beyond any doubt the unprovoked assault of a police-mob on a group of unarmed strikers who were demonstrating their legal right to strike and to picket, the court and the coroner's jury upheld the police.

We Have Not Forgotten

That was two years ago. But the martyrs who lost their lives then in the workers' cause are as fresh in our minds and hearts as though Memorial Day, 1937 were today. And lest we forget, every day of boss rule piles added horrors before us.

We remember all those who fell in battle. We commemorate their sacrifices—not, however, by idle sentiment, but by determination to carry on in the fight for workers' rights, workers' freedom and by seek-

ing the means to fulfill this determination.

Bosses yield in their offensive against us only to the extent that we are organized and prepared to fight. The bosses own the courts; the police do their bidding. They hem us in from every side. We have only our own strength to rely on, but ours is an invincible strength.

Against the armed might of bossdom, against the armed forces of fascist hatred, let us pit the organized ranks of working class militants, banded together in Workers Defense Guards, ready to defend workers' lines from murderous assault.

That is the way, brothers and comrades, to avoid Memorial Day massacres. That is the way to commemorate the working class martyrs of Memorial Day, 1937. That is the pledge we must make on Memorial Day, 1939.

In the World of Labor

By Paul G. Stevens

Around the War Preparations: A Curious Spectacle of High Jinks

Popular unrest over the war preparations has become particularly marked in the British and French empires. Concrete indications of it have been cited in this column and elsewhere in the *Appeal* in recent issues. In Great Britain, the trades unions have had to come out officially against conscription, a London conference reaffirming this position only last Friday. In the French empire, the victory of Ta-thu-Thau in the Saigon elections and of the Algerian People's Party in the Algiers elections—both reported in the last issue of the *Appeal*—show that, despite the tremendous social-patriotic pressure, the masses are far from being in tow.

The disparity between the mood of the masses and the needs of the ruling class—which is still groping for the final war line-up and therefore cannot yet afford to show its stark totalitarian face—leaves the reformists in a most uncomfortable spot. They want with all their souls to support the war-mongering foreign policy of their respective bourgeoisies, but they can't support specific internal measures that such a policy requires because their rank and file won't let them.

Under the slogan of "Collective Security" the Labourites have been able to put over the government's A.R.P. (Air Raid Preparation program) and even the so-called National Register, although with some difficulty. But conscription is too much for their following to swallow—especially since they still have fresh in their memories the manner in which Daladier used the conscript army against the French general strike last November. Hence, the Labour Party makes a peculiar spectacle of itself in parliament.

Chamberlain Quotes Leon Blum Against the Labour Party

In the House of Commons, Chamberlain makes his just complaint against his Labour opponents. You urged me to give up "appeasement" for your policy of "collective security," he says—well, I did. "Collective Security," our French partners tell us, he continues, requires that Britain raise a conscript army. Why, all French politicians—including Leon Blum's socialists and even the Communists—demand British conscription. Where is your socialist consistency?

The Labour benches remain quietly embarrassed. At party meetings, a Scotch labor paper informs us, "organizers, watching the perplexed faces of the audience that used to be told: Workers of the World, Unite, tell the speaker at the conclusion of his oration: 'For God's sake don't deal any more with foreign affairs, stick to Old Age Pensions.'"

"Internationalism" in Action: Reformist and Stalinist Variety

It is interesting to note the difference in the reactions of the reformists and the Stalinists when Chamberlain challenged them to inter-

national solidarity, so to speak with their French counter-parts.

Old and experienced, the reformists are used to the type of internationalism in which the labor bureaucracy plays its role according to national needs. When Chamberlain quotes Blum against them, they may be embarrassed but they merely shrug their shoulders, calm and well-behaved.

Not so the Stalinists. For instance, when Chamberlain cites the French *L'Humanité* (central organ of the C.P.F.) as approving conscription, William Gallacher, M.P., jumps up excitedly and shouts: "I repudiate that completely." Gallacher is the only C.P. representative in parliament. As a new-blown opportunist, he naturally lacks the good manners of his reformist fellow-opportunists. He has to show demonstratively that his "internationalism" doesn't mean a thing.

No Gratitude for Blum From the French Bosses

One would think that Leon Blum would at least get some recognition from his ruling class for his attempt to get the British Labourites behind conscription. But there is no gratitude in politics. *Le Temps*, the semi-official French government paper addresses itself to the former People's Front premier about as follows:

You say that "(British) conscription is one of the capital acts upon which the peace of the world hangs." True. You point out the "inexplicable contradiction" between Labour's policy of firmness against the "aggressors" and its present attitude. Quite correct. But isn't there an "inexplicable contradiction" between the foreign policy which your party advocates and its opposition to Daladier's decree-laws? Aren't they too "capital acts" upon which the struggle against the dictators depends? Don't you suffer from the same contradiction as the Labourites?

And Blum finds it very difficult to answer these embarrassing questions. The trouble is that like the British fakers, he would gladly go the whole hog and probably will, at the critical moment; only there are the working class followers to reckon with—they are not ready for everything as yet. What he and his like can't understand is why the bosses embarrass them so, why they don't sympathize with them in their plight—why they are so ungrateful. That is because reformists and labor opportunists never learn from history. They don't want to realize that the bosses act like class conscious bourgeois rulers and never—no matter what the "national danger"—forget to pursue their fight against the working class; never miss an opportunity to split its ranks and to demoralize it.

Yet, hope for the future of humanity depends upon just this realization and upon the logical conclusions drawn from it. Before the British and French workers can really plunge into the final struggle against the bosses and their wars, they will have to cast aside their reformist and Stalinist leaderships. Such leaderships only lead . . . to fascism. Victory depends upon a consistent class struggle policy, a policy which is today upheld only by the Fourth International.

Appeal Salesmen Challenge Coughlin

(Continued from Page 1)

they liked. Police were assigned to "protect" the fascist salesmen, while an additional squad of thugs stood by, ready to attack anyone who "annoyed" their sellers.

Attract Crowds
Appeal salesmen attracted huge crowds as they sold the paper shouting "Coughlin's fascist aims exposed," "Coughlin wants to be the American Hitler," and "Read the truth about the Jew-baiting, labor-baiting fascist—Father Coughlin."

Threatened with beatings at the hands of the fascist hoodlums, the Appeal salesmen were protected by squads of Anti-Fascist Labor Guard members who patrolled the Times Square area. With the Guard present, the fascists did not dare attack.

The Socialist Workers Party is going to continue its campaign to drive the fascists out of New York. Further articles exposing Coughlin will continue to appear in the *Socialist Appeal* and the S.W.P. comrades will be back on Times Square to sell them.

The Socialist Workers Party is sending a protest to Mayor LaGuardia condemning the actions of the police and demanding an answer from him on whether or not he is going to tolerate suppression of the *Appeal* while the fascists are afforded every protection by the police.

Newark SWP, YPSL Defy Coughlinites At "Four Corners"

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
NEWARK, N. J., May 20.—Leading the protest of Newark labor to the provocation of followers of Father Coughlin who were shouting Jew-baiting, union-smashing, and Negro-baiting slogans in the heart of this city, members of the Young People's Socialist League (4th International) and the Socialist Workers Party defended themselves successfully from attempts by the dupes of the Detroit fascist leader to drive them from Newark's "Four Corners."

Determined to arouse the workers of the city against the growing insolence and provocations of the Coughlinites, the Socialist Workers Party and the Young People's Socialist League issued a leaflet calling attention to the menace represented by the Coughlin fascists and calling for the organization of Workers Defense Guards.

Party and youth members appeared at Four Corners where the Coughlinites were engaged in their activities, and began the distribution of the leaflet and of the *Socialist Appeal* and *Challenge of Youth*. Eighty-five copies of the *Appeal* and 100 copies of the *Challenge* were sold to workers gathering around, and over 2,500 leaflets were handed out. More papers would have been sold had there been a larger supply on hand.

Police intervention and Coughlinite provocations failed to break the solidarity of the S.W.P. and Y.P.S.L. comrades, who had the sympathy of hundreds of workers attracted to the scene. One spontaneously made a contribution on the spot to the youth comrades in support of their paper, the *Challenge*.

Father Coughlin Is A Vicious Anti-Semite

(Continued from Page 1)

balking at being branded as disseminators of race hatred. This is a healthy sign. Catholic workers know from their own first-hand experience that they have no quarrel with their Jewish fellow-workers.

Catholics likewise know what has happened to their co-religionists in Hitler's Germany. They know that Catholics are being deprived of their rights.

Jew-Baiting Is a Fascist Sign

The overwhelming majority of American workers are anti-fascist to the bone. Jew-baiting is one of the fascist weapons by means of which the Hitlerites and the Coughlinites seek to divide the working class and thus prevent the united front of all workers, all unemployed, all youth, against their common enemy, fascism. The growth of Jew-baiting is the surest sign of the growth of the fascist movement. Fascism means the straitjacketing of the labor movement, concentration camps, and slavery.

As the opening gun in the campaign against fascism, race hatred and anti-Semitism must be fought wherever they raise their head. The Socialist Workers Party calls upon every anti-fascist—Catholic, Jew, Protestant or atheist—to join hands against the Jew-baiting provocations of the fascists and their mouthpiece, the Detroit spellbinder, Father Charles E. Coughlin.

Dewey 'Cracks Down' on Fritz Kuhn---For Failing to Pay Taxes

The "democracy" specialists of the New York City administration have finally decided to crack down upon fascism, if the jubilant cries of the liberal and Stalinist friends of Mayor LaGuardia and District Attorney Dewey are to be believed.

The "cracking down" took the form of a subpoena served last week on Fritz Kuhn, Fuehrer of the German-American Bund, the organization of the Nazi scum in the United States. The paper, issued by Dewey in consultation with LaGuardia, orders Kuhn to appear before the New York County grand jury to answer charges arising out of an investigation of the Bund and its affiliates in connection with alleged shortages in their funds and failure to pay their city tax liabilities and penalties.

The Bund, three of its related corporations, and eight of its individual figures, are involved in a report and affidavits submitted by Commissioner of Investigation William B. Herlands. One of the individuals, a Fritz Schweierring, is said to have skipped to Germany without a passport; others, including the malodorous Kuhn, were prevented from making a similar trip by LaGuardia's appeal

to Secretary of State Cordell Hull against releasing passports to them.

Farcical Investigation
How farcical the investigation of the Bund is from the standpoint of a blow at fascism in this country, which the Daily Worker and various muddle-heads pretend to see in the Dewey subpoena, may be judged from the following considerations:

1. Even formally, Dewey and LaGuardia are "cracking down" on the Bund not because it is a fascist organization, but because it is alleged not to have given the city the legal rake-off due to it from Bund's racket. In other words, the fascist "business" is all right, so long as it is run in accordance with the financial set-up of the government.

The action—if it may be called that—now being taken against the Bund leaders is on all fours with the heroic measures finally taken by the Federal Government against Al Capone. The gang leader went unscafed for years during which he murdered and pillaged without let or hindrance, and amassed a huge fortune from the bootlegging and associated rackets. The "G-men" finally got him for fail-

ing . . . to pay his income tax!

2. The campaign against the Bundists is not based on the fact that they are fascists, or even dangerous fascists. The truth of the matter is that as a fascist organization, the Bund plays a far less important role than such outfits as the Coughlinites or the Silver Shirts, that is, the "native" fascists.

LaGuardia does not lift a finger against the Coughlinites, for fear of losing a few votes. For the same reason, all his condemnations of fascism have been directed specifically and exclusively against German fascism and have been significantly silent about the Mussolini variety. On the contrary, for the sake of some good Italian votes in the city, LaGuardia has even appeared at out-spokenly fascist celebrations, such as the one organized by the Blackshirts at Columbus Circle a couple of years ago.

The Bund is the target of clever demagogues like Dewey and LaGuardia because it is a German outfit. And it suits the chauvinistic, war-mongering aims of such people as LaGuardia to take a fall out of anything or anybody connected with Germany, especially when such action is facilitated by the almost universal disrepute in which the slimy Bund is held. In other words, fascism is not so bad in the eyes of the "democratic" American authorities provided it is "native" and, above all, patriotic.

Why Deceptive
3. The "action" against the Bund—which is no action at all, in reality—is deceptive from another and perhaps the most important aspect. LaGuardia and Co. realize, especially after the famous counter-demonstration of the workers at the Nazi Garden rally, that the masses feel an increasing restlessness at the growth of the fascist movement in this country. They fear that these masses, learning from the mistakes of their brothers in Italy, Germany and Austria, will not wait forever, allowing the fascists to gather momentum, on the one hand, and the phoney "democrats" to talk about "anti-fascism," on the other.

Growing numbers are realizing that the only way to crush fascism is to organize and consolidate the fighting solidarity of the workers, to give the fascists a dose that they will not quickly forget. The "democrats" fear the organized militancy and class independence of the workers a thousand times more than they fear fascism.

It is for the purpose of preventing this militancy from materializing that our "democrats" make their futile legal gestures "against fascism."

If labor waits for the professional democrats to save it from fascism, it is doomed as surely as were the German and Italian workers. Labor has no "saviors" outside its own ranks. It is from these ranks that it must organize, immediately, a mighty Workers Defense Guard—labor's shield against the fascist barbarians.

Kuhn Addressing His Fellow "Bundits"



Anti-Fascist Labor Guard Defends S.W.P. Meeting

(By Staff Writer)

NEW YORK—Threatened by fascist hoodlums with beatings if they attempted to hold a street corner meeting on the corner of 46th Street and 13th Avenue, Brooklyn, the Borough Park branch of the Socialist Workers Party last Friday night held one of the largest street meetings ever held in the neighborhood as they were protected by two squads of the Anti-Fascist Labor Guard.

Two weeks ago, a street corner meeting held by the S.W.P. at the same corner was broken up by the fascist scum, who kept shouting "Kill the Jews and Build a Christian world." Threats were made at that time by the fascists that they would beat up any S.W.P. member who tried to speak again.

Hooligans Silent
On Friday night, as the S.W.P. street corner meeting opened, Anti-Fascist Labor Guards stationed themselves around the platform. Scores of fascist hooligans who had made threats to stop the meeting were noticed in the crowd, but when they saw the Guard ready to protect the meeting, they remained quiet.

One fascist in the crowd threatened to "wash the speaker's mouth with soap and give him a dose of castor oil right here and now if he mentions Father Coughlin's name again." The speaker kept on exposing Coughlin's anti-Semitic campaign. The fascist saw the Anti-Fascist Labor Guard present and he slunk out of the crowd like a rat.

Several young anti-fascists who witnessed the splendid way that the street corner meeting was protected from the hooligans, expressed their desire to join the Anti-Fascist Labor Guard.

Quit S.P.; Join 4th International

NEW YORK—Since the statement issued two weeks ago by fourteen members of the Socialist Party and its youth organization resigning from those groups and joining the Socialist Workers Party, Mitchell Rafter and Ernestine Simons, two additional members have left the S.P. youth organization and joined with the Fourth Internationalists.

The effect which these resignations is having within the ranks of the S.P. and its youth can be seen from the fact that the leadership of that organization found it necessary to take the unprecedented step of publishing what they call the "political biographies" of the resignees, in which they attempt to show that the four teen comrades were, at heart, always Trotskyists.

At Your Service
THE APPEAL
POSTER SHOP

HOLLYWOOD MERRY-GO-ROUND

We've always had our own idea about the English private school system. The Chamberlains, the cynical Churchills, the fastidious Edens are, of course, its products. From the time each young upper crust snob enters the private school until he leaves, ready to take the lumps for King and Empire, he is drilled in the manners and habits of his parasitic forebears. Attired in his straw hat, his starched collar and his white gloves, the young English snob is about as fine an example of the well-dressed cootie as one can find in the animal kingdom. His name, hyphenated to stretch beyond the horizon, is more often than not appended with that last, endearing index to pedigree—Junior. In other words, the sun never sets upon a shaven British chin.

As if all this were not enough to make one scorn the playing fields of Eton, there is still the matter of the schoolmaster to reckon with. And for that final reckoning, we are indebted to Mr. James Hilton and Metro-Goldwyn—Mayer for their "Goodbye Mr. Chips."

English Pattern

Mr. Chips is less an individual than a type. Stolid, deadpanned, he is as institutional as the British tweed. He is, indeed, the stodgy essence determining the ducal pattern of Cliveden sets, fox hunts and imperial polo. In the larger matter of Empire defense, the schoolmaster is the gear in the wheel. He stands ready. He raises his voice an octave higher for God, King and Country. With a last, full measure of his devotion, he pushes, nay urges, his exquisite brood into the fray. Ah, England, that England, that land, that realm, that spot of earth, that other Eden, that jewel set in the silver sea.

"Goodbye Mr. Chips" attempts to humanize the impersonal, fatuous, English pedagogue. The film winds a whimsical way from diapers to dotage, ending with a moist cheek and a blurred eye for dear old, wise old, moldy Mr. Chips passing westward. Robert Donat, as Mr. Chips, makes the versatile change from bib to whiskers with all the proficiency of a Paul Muni in one of his life cycle performances. On the whole, it's fair to muddling rugby.

NAT LEVINE

Statement of S.W.P. Rochester Branch

The Rochester Branch of the Socialist Workers Party publicly declares that since April 1, the date of his resignation, Richard Posner has not been connected with the Socialist Workers Party and any political actions of his since that date have been on his own responsibility.

Join the Socialist Workers Party

SOCIETY NOTES

Millionaire Heiress Finds Publicity A Bitter Boomerang

All over the country people are wondering if Brenda Frazier has a press agent—if she's spent thousands of dollars to secure the national publicity that has transformed her into the nation's No. 1 "Glamor Girl."

Brenda has no press agent—and it hasn't cost her a single penny to secure the newspaper and magazine "build-up" that has been the envy of many movie stars who do have press agents.

Brenda is easy on the eyes—what they call "photogenic," and don't overlook the fact she's heiress to four or five million dollars.

But other debutantes resent Brenda Frazier's publicity. The jealous ones have "ganged-up" to keep Brenda from being invited to parties.

First evidence of this campaign was when she failed to get a "bid" from the Junior Assemblies—goal of all Grade A New York debutantes.

That was only the beginning. Poor Brenda can't understand why other girls of her own age—some of them richer—should be jealous of her. Brenda Frazier is discovering that publicity can be a bitter boomerang!

If You Wait 10 Years Charity Will Provide A Cemetery Lot

Ten years ago a textile mill mechanic from Ohio brought his young bride, Geraldine, to Augusta, Georgia, where he had located a job. The nostalgic girl sickened not long afterward and died.

His wages too low to pay funeral expenses, the young husband left her body at a mortuary and returned to his home with hope he would soon earn enough to provide burial. Came the Fall of 1929. Jobs grew scarce. The young mechanic wrote he must delay.

During the depression other notes pleaded for added time. The undertaker waited grimly. Then another note—the mechanic had broken his leg, had no job. He failed to answer further letters from the undertaker.

Recently when Mortician John Curtis had concluded arrangements for a pauper burial, Judge Henry C. Hammond heard the story of Geraldine and her ten year wait for a grave. His Southern hospitality aroused, he promptly offered a cemetery lot. Other Augustans gave money for the novel burial. Geraldine was then interred with Episcopal rites and a small group who never saw her alive mourned.

On the Line . . . with Bill Morgan

Once upon a time there was a great prophet who wore a long beard. This prophet was known the world over for his wisdom and ability to teach great lessons. And although he died many hundreds of years ago his fame has never dimmed because of one particular lesson taught to a herd of wild animals.

It seems the prophet came across this gathering of beasts on the edge of a wide desert. Asked the prophet, "What would an animal require for a three day journey across the desert?"

"Six bundles of hay and three bags of water," they replied.

"That is indeed a fair price," said the prophet, "but I have work for only one beast and I will not pay six bundles of hay and three bags of water. Who will go for less?"

Why Donkeys Are Asses

The animals then withdrew to a distance and held a meeting. After considerable discussion and heated debate they elected a spokesman—a fox—who then announced to the prophet that the price of a three day journey across the desert was still six bundles of hay and three bags of water.

However there were some animals who had not taken part in the conference of the animals. These were the donkeys. They decided to act as free individuals. They approached the prophet and each offered to undertake the journey for less than the others.

One donkey offered to go for six bundles of hay and only two bags of water. Another asked only six bundles of hay and one bag of water. One especially long-eared donkey stepped out and under-cut all the other donkeys by agreeing to make the trip for but one bundle of hay.

Said the prophet, "Thou art a disgrace to the animal kingdom. No beast could possibly make such a dangerous journey on only one bundle of hay and no water. Thou art an ass."

"True," said the donkey, "but I only wanted to get the job."

And from that day to this donkeys have been known as asses.

And from that day to this there have been many human beings who have also been known as asses because they "merely wanted to get the job."

These "donkeys" have never really stopped to think about what can happen to a man who is not paid enough to live decently. All they are worried about is the job. The pay and the conditions—these are secondary matters. And when a man falls ill on the job or the kid's cough develops into TB these donkeys figure it is the hand of fate or the will of the Almighty or something equally remote.

And when their fellow workers on the job organize to get better pay and conditions the donkeys get scared to all hell. Right away

SOCIALIST APPEAL

Vol. III, No. 36

May 26, 1939

Published twice a week by the
SOCIALIST APPEAL PUBLISHING ASS'N.
at 116 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: 5 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 six months; \$3.00 for one year.
"Entered as second class matter February 16, 1939, at the post office at New York, N.Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879."

Editor: MAX SHACHTMAN
Associate Editors: HAROLD ROBERTS, FELIX MORROW
Staff Members: EMANUEL GARRETT, JOSEPH HANSEN
Business Manager: S. STANLEY

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.
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 vigilantes and Fascist attacks.

The Peace Front

When the New York Times speaks coldly and authoritatively in its editorial columns about political problems, it may be considered the voice of American capitalism laying down the "line."

Political agents, propagandists, and professional apologists of capitalism will take their cue, therefore, from the leading editorial in last Sunday's edition of the Times and make the following change in the slogans to be used in recruiting cannon fodder for the impending world war:

Instead of "Defend Democracy" change the slogan to read—"Defend the Peace Front."

"Democracy," states the Times, is too difficult to explain and requires too much apologizing. The new term, which was coined by Premier Chamberlain last week is "better than any other. It avoids the pretense that all governments which want peace are 'democratic' or 'liberal.'"

"Neither Poland, nor Turkey, nor Greece is a democracy," points out the Times. "There is no pure democracy south of the Panama Canal. The British in India, the Dutch in Java, the French in Africa have not achieved pure democracies."

(Naturally—the capitalists are too busy plundering those countries to concern themselves with whether they should establish a pure or an impure democracy under their rifles.)

Without wasting any time to explain or to apologize for its term "pure democracy" or to name a single spot on the globe where "pure democracy" exists, the Times asserts "The interests of the United States link us firmly with the 'peace front,'" and then advocates backing up the military strength of the "peace front" with our industry and raw materials.

Against whom and for what?

"Against the 'central dictatorships,'" explains the Times and for "economic power."

It's no longer the "democracies versus the dictatorships" for capitalist markets and capitalist profits.

It's the "peace front versus the central dictatorships" for capitalist markets and capitalist profits.

Strike up the band, war-mongers!

Bankers of the World, Unite!

The workers have no fatherland, and neither have the international bankers. In these hysterical days and star-spangled nights, when every one from Dorothy Thompson to Earl Browder is so exercised about defending what they call "democracy," it is refreshing to breathe the atmosphere of international finance a moment. Up here, the air is clear and things appear as what they really are—not as the cloudy abstractions of liberal-patriotic rhetoric. In this businesslike realm, no one bothers to pretend that an abyss yawns between democratic capitalism and fascist capitalism.

Even patriotism, the supreme virtue of our

age, is taken rather lightly in these upper regions. The European ruling class for many months now has been shipping its gold to this country for safe investment, though never has a strong gold position been so vital for the defense of their various fatherlands. In September and October of last year almost \$1,000,000,000 in gold was shipped into the United States from Europe, and the stream has continued ever since. So serious has this drain become for the British government and its Bank of England that Sir John Simon, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, has been issuing appeals to the "patriotism" of English brokers, bankers, and investors to "Buy British" in stocks and bonds as well as in pots and pans. The *N. Y. Times* of May 18 reports that "Simon's unofficial ban" on the buying of American securities may well become, in the near future, an official governmental edict. It is safe to predict that until this step is taken, the tophatted gentry of "The City" will continue to put class interests ahead of national interests.

An even more dramatic example of the realistic approach of finance capital to international politics may be found in a dispatch from Otto D. Tolischus in the *Times* for May 16, reporting that the banking representatives of the democracies have just renewed the "standstill" moratorium agreement on the \$276,000,000 Germany still owes them and their clients.

"This agreement," bluntly writes Mr. Tolischus, "will continue to help finance the Reich's foreign trade and therewith the armament of the Axis powers. . . . The financial representatives of the democracies proceeded on a strictly business basis and completely disregarded all the political considerations that dominate the economics of the totalitarian states."

The head of the American delegation, Harvey D. Gibson, a leading New York banker, told the press that "the greatest possible consideration was given by debtors and creditors alike to the requests of each other." The Reichsbank told the press that the negotiations "were again conducted in a spirit of mutual understanding." And Walter Funk, successor to Schacht and one of the chief devils in the Nazi hell, gave a special reception for the democratic bankers and personally thanked them for "their thoroughgoing consideration of the German proposals."

Whatever their political puppets may say for public consumption, these gentlemen understand each other perfectly. Bankers of the world, unite! You have nothing whatever to lose!

Strip Act

President Lebrun of France recently signed another of Premier Daladier's arbitrary decrees against the labor movement.

This decree makes it mandatory that an unemployed worker who is offered a job ANYWHERE in the country at ANY wage, at no matter what trade, must take that job; if not, he will be thrown off the relief rolls.

Democratic Marianne seems not only to have doffed the Phrygian cap for a steel helmet, but to have doffed other garments as well, leaving this democracy in a state that must be quite embarrassing to the "war for democracy" fakery.

Representative Sam Hobbes (D., Ala.) said the Japanese airplane that bombed and sank the United States gunboat Panay in China was powered by fuel taken from California's maritime oil fields. Well, business is business, as the bosses say.

Robinson-Rubens Case

On May 2 a Federal grand jury in New York found three men, associates of the "Robinson-Rubens" couple now imprisoned in Moscow, guilty of a conspiracy to obtain fraudulent American passports. The three have been sentenced to two years each in the penitentiary. The government prosecutor has declared that the men were acting for a foreign espionage service. The men offered no defense.

Eighteen months ago Stalin's organs, Pravda and the Daily Worker, declared that Rubens and his associates were Trotskyist agents of Hitler. If so, why did the Daily Worker fail to send a reporter to the trial in New York and fail to print a line about the trial? Eighteen months ago the Freiheit charged that some "Trotskyite" Yiddish writers were involved in the Rubens ring. Now that three members of the ring have been convicted, why does the Freiheit fail to name the Yiddish writers who would immediately be subject to arrest?

The answer is simple. The Stalinists are silent because it has been proven beyond the shadow of a doubt that the Rubens ring is Stalin's ring.

Now the G.P.U. must begin to manufacture a new lie to cover up Stalin and his blunderers. They will do this with as little consideration for the fanatically devoted trio who are going silently to prison as they showed for their Yezhov or their Yagoda. They will not hesitate, if it suits them, to declare that this convicted Stalinist trio is really a Trotskyist outfit. Whether the prisoners will play the game as prisoners do in Moscow courts is, however, another question.

Bow Down! Their Majesties Are Coming--to Weld War Relations

The Heads of an Imperial "Democracy" Whose History Is Written in Blood Have Been Sent Here on a "Good-Will-War" Mission by Britain's Real Rulers, the Bankers and Merchants

By SHERMAN STANLEY

Wafted along by a gale of ballyhoo and expensive propaganda, His Majesty, George VI, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, Ireland and the British Dominions beyond the Seas, King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India, and his Queen, Elizabeth, are well entrained on their month-long tour of Canada.

On June 7th Their Imperial Majesties will enter the United States—the first time such an event has occurred in the history of the British Empire. They will proceed to Washington, there to be entertained royally by our democratic F.D.R. at a garden party whose cost has been estimated at a cool \$15,000! From Washington, our royal guests will be taken by special train to Red Bank, N.J., and then embark upon a destroyer which will land them at the tip of Manhattan island. A short visit to the World's Fair will be followed by ceremonies at Columbia University over which the perennial Nicholas "Miraculous" Butler will preside. Then comes the return trip to the isles of Britain and "home" in Buckingham Palace.

WHO ARE THE REAL RULERS?

Who are George VI and his queen, Elizabeth? In the eyes of the American press which is in danger of over-straining itself in its task of pumping up their majestic virtues, while at the same time attempting to depict them as ordinary, "homey" folks (just like you and I) they appear as symbolic representatives of the world's greatest Empire. They are the leaders of our closest and no blest allies, the British. They represent "white supremacy"—the rule of Anglo-Saxon civilization. The American press, deliberately interested in fostering the Chamberlain "peace front" conception, is engaging in a high-pressure campaign to put across Their Majesties.

We can easily understand the difficulties involved in this scheme. The British Empire, like all world empires, is ruled over by a handful of bankers, industrialists and coupon-clippers. The imposing facade of royalty can serve only as a deceptive front, covering up the naked imperialist banditry behind it.

HISTORY OF BRITISH "DEMOCRACY"

Secondly, every thinking person knows that there is no such thing as British democracy. How can a "democratic" government be presided over by a feudal king who sucks up countless millions each year of his futile existence? Has not everyone heard of the role of "Perfidious Albion" (the world's cleverest double-crosser) in world affairs? The entire might of the Empire rests upon the 500,000,000 native peoples who slave and sweat in the colonies of India, Ceylon, Africa, etc. The crown resting so precariously upon the head of George VI was carved and bejeweled by handicraftsmen of India. It will be toppled off by the mighty uprising of these enslaved Indian workers and peasants. The story of British imperialism rule in its colonies is one of endless murder, violence and treachery against the colonial masses.

And finally, in the very personalities of these imperial representatives we have a fine reason for the natural repulsion that every American worker feels towards them. Surrounded by countless lackeys and flunkies whose sole task appears to be an endless scraping and bowing (except when they have to change His Majesty's clothes, which apparently happens continuously), George VI emerges as a completely colorless, lifeless and dull personality.

England in its time produced dramatic and colorful kings. But in its period of decline, the British Empire can only be represented by this impotent, stammering dolt who only reminds us of the imbecilic "king" in the famous Russian puppet film, "The New Gulliver." To witness his feeble attempts at majestic posing in the newsreels, to listen in on his nervous, empty and useless efforts at speechmaking is to come face to face with the realities of this so-called king.

INTENT OF VISIT

IS CLEAR

As for his wife, Queen Elizabeth, it is apparent that she is endeavoring to supply what is lacking in George VI. What would the American capitalist press have to say if not for her! This daughter of a Scottish earl, whose entire family is

connected with British industrialism—her brother is the chairman of an important English mining company—dominates the events of the visit. Her job is to prop up the failing king! At the host of petty and ridiculous functions that go to make up regal life, Queen Elizabeth tries bravely to cover up the deficiencies of her weakling husband.

Let the sob-sisters pile up column upon column of "human interest" stories! Let the press editorialize on their kingly virtues! Nothing can hide the obvious intent of these Canadian and American visits.

Canada over a period of years has evolved along lines that have made of it an independent capitalist nation in its own right. It is only nominally a part of the British Empire, much as King George is only nominally the ruler of the Empire. Actually, American imperialist interests are far more important in Canada and have much more to say about Canadian political affairs. The king's visit to Canada is a theatrical gesture having as its motive the effort to tighten up the loosening ties that bind her formally to England. The masses of Canada have long ago expressed their unwillingness to send men overseas to fight in another British war for the preservation of its imperialist hegemony. Chamberlain, more aware than ever of the cracking-up of the British Empire, is seeking support among the Canadian rulers for his war aims. That is why he has sent his royal puppets on their visit.

As for America—here too the motive is crystal clear. Chamberlain and the imperialists whose tool he is, realizes that he must depend to a large extent upon Roosevelt and the more powerful capitalism of America for support not merely in the approaching war, but especially in the suppression of the colonial revolts that are inevitable in the near future. Chamberlain seeks a tightening of the Anglo-American alliance because he needs American imperialism as a source of supplies in the suppression of the colonial movements. He needs America as an ally to help preserve the British Empire. Hence we are blessed with the visit of his "good-will" agents.

Huge Protest Meets British Plan To Reduce Jews to Ghetto Status

(Continued from Page 1)

building of a Jewish Homeland. But the Zionist leaders have deliberately hid from the Jewish masses the true facts about the hostile British government policy in Palestine. The *Appeal* ventured a prediction: "It is a safe wager to predict that the Zionist leaders will continue this deceitful policy."

And precisely this happened at the Hippodrome meeting. Not one of the speakers told the anxious, queuing audience that nothing can be expected from British imperialism and that the fight for the defense of the Jews from reaction must be fought with a clear recognition that to Britain the Jews are only a pawn on the political chessboard.

The Conservative, Liberal and Labor Parties—whatever politicians have ruled on behalf of the capitalist class of England—have all carried out the consistent British policy during these twenty-two years. It will be the policy of Britain so long as it remains a capitalist regime and controls Palestine.

But not a hint of this crept out of the speeches at the Hippodrome.

Mayor LaGuardia—who spoke after consultation with Zionist leaders on his speech—blamed the Holy Land situation not on imperialist Britain but on the "general confusion in Europe" and expressed faith in the "fair play, generosity and understanding" of Britain. His advice consisted of "don't lose your head," "keep cool," etc., and to "let the British people know what is going on in Palestine now." He concluded with the hope that "reason will come to those invested with the responsibility of guiding the destiny of the British empire."

Senator Wagner appealed to "British power and British honor" not to yield to the Arabs. "I cannot believe that

the British people will ratify such a decision," for "the real England" will thereby suffer. A message from Cyrus Adler made this contribution:

"I can only express the hope that the action of the present British Government does not indicate the will of the British people and that another and more just policy will come into being in the not too distant future."

The other speakers spoke in similar vein. And in the same tune, a resolution was adopted at the end, appealing to the "conscience of England."

The same tune is played everywhere by Zionist leaders. Ben Gurion, the Histadrut leader in Palestine, wrote Friday in Davar: "This document is not the final word of the British people. . . . The conscience of Britain can still be awakened."

Rabbi Stephen S. Wise issued a statement to the press on Friday in which he set himself up as a better manager of the British empire's interests than Chamberlain:

"Chamberlain may cancel the Balfour Declaration but he cannot repeal the true and abiding purpose of the British Empire."

Why Zionists Lied
Why have the Zionist leaders concealed from their following the fact of this consistency of British policy? Why, after every British move, have the Zionist leaders first bewailed, then devoted themselves to assuring their followers that the move is an accident, the next cabinet will repair it, the move

isn't really so bad, etc., etc. First and most immediately, because every British blow has been followed by a virtual collapse of Zionist income from voluntary collections; and so the Zionist Organization proceeded to reassure its followers that they should give money because the British blow was not what it appeared to be.

The Main Reason

But secondly and more fundamentally, the Zionist leaders have concealed from their followers the consistent course of British policy because these leaders have never been, nor would they now be, willing to transform the policy of the Jewish nationalist movement as it would have to be transformed, if hope in Britain were recognized to be futile.

They will turn to the Great White Father in the White House and implore him to change Chamberlain's mind. They will begin a new series of the back-stage conferences so beloved by Weizmann, hoping against hope to get Chamberlain to retreat an inch, and get ready to hail that as a great victory.

Even in the Jewish Agency's protest statement, they characterize themselves as "Britain's friends," and deplore the White Paper because "it delivers Britain's friends into the hands of those who are biting her." The tragic Jewish youth in Palestine, misled by the Zionist leaders, will fight now and many of them will die at the point of British bayonets; but the Zionist leaders will continue, as ever, hanging on the coat-tails of the British government.

They will not, cannot let go, because to break with the British implies a new kind of policy which these respectable bankers and businessmen of the Jewish Agency cannot and will not undertake and carry out. For that new policy, an entirely new kind of Jewish leadership will be required.

NOTICE

A very important meeting of all party and Y.P.S.L. members of local New York will be held on Wednesday, May 31, 8:00 p.m., at Beethoven Hall on East 5th St. All members are instructed to attend. Admission by card only.

Their Government

By James Burnham

The speech on the 1940 elections delivered by Earl Browder to the Ninth National Convention of the Young Communist League, and immediately issued as a pamphlet, carries the very impressive title, "How the People Can Win". Nowhere, however, is it specified what it is that the people can win, nor what people are going to win it, whatever it may be.

The speech was reported in the general press as advocating the re-election of Roosevelt. This is not strictly accurate. Week by week, the Stalinists grow more modest in the "demands" that they put to the American ruling class. The ruling class doesn't like socialism, so they give up socialism. A labor party might stir up class divisions, so they abandon the labor party. A popular front is rather advanced for the United States, so Roosevelt and his special brand of "democratic front" will do as a substitute. But even Roosevelt is a bit leftist for these days, so the Stalinists will be content with whatever the "New Deal wing" of the Democratic Party has to offer.

Browder as Democratic Elder

A candid reading of Browder's speech might easily suggest that Browder is making a bid for a place on the Democratic Party's national committee. More than half of it is devoted to explaining how the Democratic Party can win the 1940 election. Jim Farley is doubtless studying it carefully between stops on his tour. Jim, after all, is hardly more than an amateur in these questions; and, besides, does not have the benefit of the private Kremlin cables.

"The progressive and democratic majority" in this country, which put Roosevelt into office, "is a coalition between the Democratic Party and the independent radical one-third of the electorate". The Democratic Party can win the next elections if it continues this coalition through defeating the Garner-Glass-Wheeler combination in the convention. "The radical one-third of the voters," for whom Browder so authoritatively speaks, "find it necessary, therefore, to wish for and work for victory for the Roosevelt wing in the Democratic Convention".

Here, then, is set the task of the Stalinists and all other men of good will for the next period: to wish for and work for victory for the Roosevelt wing in the Democratic Convention. You can see now why any attack against the Roosevelt relief slashes is obviously the work of the U. S. Fifth Column.

Looking the Gift Horse over

But what is it that "the people" are going to win by dutifully returning the Democratic Party to office? and what have they won by keeping it there during the past six years? Search most minutely, and you will have a hard time finding any answer to these seemingly appropriate questions in Browder's speech.

The people, one would imagine, want to end unemployment and to get jobs. But not a word does Browder say about unemployment and jobs, not a single word. Can it be that "the people" to whom Browder is talking already have their jobs?

Browder can hardly, at this date, pretend that the New Deal has ended unemployment. Nor does he feel called upon to claim that it is going to. Browder's policy is firm: it is not going to be affected by a little item like ten or fifteen million unemployed.

You might think that "the people" would be interested in the campaign against the democratic rights of labor that is now advancing on a national scale. But there is no mention of it in Browder's speech. Indeed there is no mention of any economic or social issue, save for a housing program which Browder discusses not to advocate but only to argue that such programs help and do not hurt capitalism.

In fact, the outstanding point of Browder's speech is not his brazen, shameless acceptance of outright capitalist politics, but the appearance in this speech of the sharpest criticisms in several years of Roosevelt and New Dealism. That these criticisms directly contradict his conclusions does not, of course, bother so old a hand at dialectics as Browder.

He goes out of his way to stress the "retreats" of the New Deal, which "unquestionably weaken and demoralize the mass support of the New Deal, and open the way for reactionary demagoguery". He opens the way for reactionary demagoguery by objects to "the weakening and partial withdrawal of governmental intervention in economy, the retreat made by the New Deal under the pressure of monopoly capital's attack". These are strong words from Elder Statesman Browder, not heard for many a moon.

Browder Names His Price

But the tone gets really sharp in discussing foreign policy: "We cannot fail to note and criticize those mistakes, weaknesses and inconsistencies in the Administration's execution of these policies in practical life. Gravest of these was the unforgivably stupid and criminal surrender to the Chamberlain 'non-intervention' policy toward Spain, brought to a climax by the indecent haste with which Franco was handed unconditional recognition. . . . Thus did the Roosevelt Administration gratuitously smear itself with complicity in the fascist aggression and destruction of democracy in Spain. . . . by this act the Administration weakened and undermined its own prestige and moral authority. . . ."

Thus does Browder echo Stalin's speech to the Soviet Party Congress, criticizing democratic imperialisms to cover up overtures to Hitler; thus does he attempt to safety-valve growing discontent among his own following with the pro-Roosevelt policy; and thus does he reveal the real crux of his own proposals.

"Thus, it becomes a necessity of American national security to . . . create a solid foundation for the inevitable cooperation between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R."

This is what it all boils down to; the rest is so much hogwash. Give the Kremlin an alliance, says Browder, keep a pro-Soviet orientation in the State Department, and forget the rest; forget unemployment and wages and democratic liberties. Never mind the candidate or even the party. Give me that, and only that. On that basis, I'll go along.

The Fascist Spanish Falange organization in Cuba was dissolved by the government under terms of a decree prohibiting anti-democratic foreign organizations in the island republic.