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MAX SHACHTMAN

Editor.

HAROLD ROBERTS FRANK GRAVES

Associate Editors.

S. STANLEY

Business Manager.

**Jobs or Relief!**

The somber plight of the unemployed is again headline news. Chicago, second largest city in the country, has closed its relief bureaus. In Cleveland, where one in every three depends on direct relief or W.P.A., relief has broken down since the end of April and spontaneous sit-downs have occurred. Drives against the workers' living standards and very lives are being conducted all over the country.

In order to live, the workers must have wages, must have purchasing power. This is obtainable only from two sources: either private industry or the government. But capitalism is in a new period, the period of its dotage, of its decline, of its bankruptcy. It cannot profitably give more wages and a better life. It can only give more unemployment and slow death.

This is fully realized in Wall Street. Months before the current depression set in, J. G. Frederick, outstanding financial writer, warned: "Industry will not be able to absorb them (the unemployed)... despite valiant promises. The problem is beyond industry; it is—and will remain—a social, governmental problem."

And what is the government doing to solve the problem? What work and wages does it give the unemployed? Little, very little. Barely enough to keep them quiet. With fifteen million unemployed, Hopkins announced that the W.P.A. will first give three million jobs in the winter. At the most, only one out of five will get a W.P.A. job. And those who do get jobs—at what wages will they get them? In the South, the monthly wage is as low as \$20 a month. In New York City, most of the workers get \$55.78 a month. No man can support his family decently on such wages. Whether down South or up North, they mean slow starvation even for those who do get a W.P.A. job.

These conditions are intolerable. Private industry and the capitalist system of profits cannot furnish jobs. We must prepare to throw this system into the discard and replace it with a system that will give jobs and a decent life to all. We must fight for and establish socialism.

Meanwhile the unemployed need help NOW. We must demand of the government: **JOBS AT TRADE UNION WAGES — OR RELIEF — FOR ALL THE UNEMPLOYED!**

Those who do not get jobs must get PROMPT relief—within 72 hours. In emergency cases—within 24 hours. And the relief budget must not be the starvation budget which it is now!

The unemployed can never get relief by keeping quiet. Militant action—nation-wide sit-ins, mass picket lines, and vast demonstrations that end in marches on the centers of government, now the city hall, then the state capitol, and, when necessary, on the national capitol itself—is needed.

Actions such as these will show the bosses and their government that the unemployed victims of their system mean business.

**"Aiding" the Loyalists**

England, France and the United States—the great "democracies" presented to us by the Communist Party as the friends of the Spanish people—have dug more than one dagger into the back of the Loyalist forces since the beginning of the civil war. One of the latest thrusts is the Chamberlain plan to "evacuate foreign fighters" in Spain in such a manner as is obviously to the disadvantage of the Loyalist side.

Supported by England and the French "Popular Front" government, it was at first denounced by the Stalinist press as equivalent to aiding the fascists. The same press pointed proudly to the fact that Stalin's diplomatic representative in London would have no part of such a dirty deal.

On Wednesday, June 1, the *Daily Worker* put it this way:

"The Soviet Union today again balked at a British Tory plan to aid the fascist armies in Spain under the guise of 'non-intervention'."

"S. B. Cahan, Soviet Embassy Counselor, informed the international 'Non Intervention' Committee that the Soviet Government refused to contribute to the cost of the unequal evacuation of foreign fighters in Spain."

"Moscow has held out single-handed against the other members of the chairman's Sub-Committee of Nine in opposing the entire plan as a 'deliberate attempt' to aid the fascist troops to win a rapid victory, in line with the Chamberlain-Mussolini pact of friendship."

So far, so good. But on June 3, a mere 48 hours later, the same paper prints a new dispatch from London, after Cahan-Stalin have capitulated completely to the "Chamberlain-Mussolini pact," to the "deliberate attempt to aid the fascist troops"—and with a perfectly straight face presents this capitulation as a... Soviet-Loyalist triumph!

"The British plan will be acceptable to the Soviet Government, Cahan announced, only on condition that international observers be stationed permanently in Spanish ports to control and check unloading of cargoes."

"Other points in the British draft of methods of counting foreign troops, division of their forces into four main categories, and control provisions, are acceptable to the U.S.S.R., Cahan said."

In other words, the "Chamberlain-Mussolini plan," the "deliberate attempt to aid the fascist troops to win a rapid victory," is perfectly acceptable now to Stalin if only... it is properly enforced!

And by the way, now that the Kremlin bureaucracy is committed to such an "absolute" embargo on Spain, is it not exceptionally hypocritical for the Brownites to continue shouting in New York and Washington for a lifting of the American embargo on Spain?

We are absolutely in favor of direct and ample aid by the American workers to the workers of Spain. We are just as firmly opposed to the vicious embargo of Mr. Browder's Roosevelt which prevents the Spanish workers from getting arms but facilitates the armament of Franco through Germany. And we are no less firmly opposed to the aid which Mr. Browder's Stalin now proposes to give to the "Chamberlain-Mussolini plan"—those are the *Daily Worker's* words!—for a fascist victory in Spain.

**Socialist Party and the A.L.P.**

After weeks of the most careful negotiation, from which was excluded any representative of the Socialist Party who has or once had the label of a "left winger," the executive committee of the American Labor Party has turned down the appeal for admission into its ranks made by the Thomas Party.

The rejection is interesting from the standpoint of both organizations.

The real leaders of the Socialist Party shell, Thomas and Laidler, offered their organization to the A.L.P. bureaucracy at a pretty cheap price. Playing in with the Dubinsky-Jewish Forward-Social Democratic Federation group, which would like to see the Thomasites in the A.L.P. as a counter-weight to growing Stalinist penetration, the S.P. negotiators debased themselves to the point where they offered to dissolve as a political party once they were admitted. The party which not so long ago spoke about its "masses" and "mass influence" was and is prepared to liquidate itself into a piddling little "educational society," giving lectures on Laidlerian socialism to the A.L.P., in the hope that some day it will work itself down to the level of the Fabian Society in the British Labour Party.

The A.L.P. bureaucracy, which controls the party as a board of directors controls a closed corporation, nevertheless turned down this generous, if abject, offer. More exactly, the Hillman-Stalinist combination turned it down. The statement by executive secretary Alex Rose is a model of arrogance and bureaucratic self-contentment:

"If the S. P. wants to join the A.L.P. because of an honest change of heart, and in the feeling that our methods in political education have been more successful and because they, too, want to make their contribution toward this newly-adopted method, they are welcome. But if they want to come into our party to reform our party in the direction of 'more orthodox' methods, then we are better off apart."

In other words, the program, methods, and leadership of the A.L.P. are sacrosanct and unalterable in perpetuity, and short shrift will be given anybody who, lacking faith in A.L.P. infallibility, proposes to change ("reform") the party's course. By this statement, Mr. Rose

**Hague Will Be Ousted By Workers Offensive**

By JAMES RALEIGH

Mayor Hague's control over Jersey City is so complete that most liberal observers expect liberation from his domination only after Nature or some other agency sends him to the limbo of departed souls. These onlookers consider futile any fight to remove him. What these blind souls do not see is that Hague is already grooming his nephew as his equally vicious successor. Three or four years are all that are needed for this job. In that time the numerous political deals and appointments will be delegated by Hague to the young man to follow him. A personal obligation to this new figure instead of to Hague will be felt by every political beneficiary—every judge, prosecutor, tax collector, policeman, street cleaner and W.P.A. worker, every building contractor, supply man, garbage collection company and road-builder.

Hague's nephew will inherit the throne by his own right. Then our well-meaning but do-nothing liberals will have the job of wishing for the death of the new king. The death of an individual solves no vital political problems.

**Hopeless Courses**

Any attempt to effect Hague's removal, or his successor's removal, by resort to the traditional political parties is equally hopeless. Hague, a Democrat, has insinuated himself into the Republican Party and by patronage has tamed all potential opposition from that source. The Hague - Hoffman, Democratic-Republican alliance in the last gubernatorial term was an open scandal. In addition, the constant rivalry and dissension among the "honest" Republicans is so pronounced that this opposition is reduced to a farce.

As to a rebellion against Hague by a fusion party or by a group within his own party, this is impossible so long as Hague has control over the election apparatus. In tabulating the votes, whether Republican, Democratic or otherwise, Hague employs his own unique method of counting. Any effort to verify it in terms of our own numerical system is wasted, as witness the futile efforts of the Young Investigation of the last gubernatorial election to get the registry books in Jersey City in order to determine the actual duly qualified vote for Hague's governor, A. Harry Moore. By manipulating totals in Jersey City and in the remainder of Hudson County, really one continuous city, Hague arranges for a vote big enough to carry the whole state, normally Republican.

Next, Jersey City is reputedly 70 per cent Roman Catholic and the Church loyally supports Hague in his every endeavor. They did even before he gave a \$50,000 cash donation to the parish church. Now priests in the sanctified privacy of the confessional box deem it proper to ask parishioners if they voted for Hague. Of course, when Hague hollers "communism" at his opponents, the priests fittingly respond in a well-timed chorus: "Communism seeks to destroy the Church."

Thus, an ouster of the Jersey City dictator as a result of

church pressure is less than likely. Yet very significant is an incident of last year, in the very midst of Hague's initial fight against the C.I.O. "drive" in Jersey City. Although the C.I.O. was promptly painted "red" and by implication anti-Catholic, nevertheless a group of underpaid Catholic grave-diggers entered upon a sit-down strike. Needless to say, it was hastily settled and hushed up. Translated into ordinary language this event means only one thing: The worker will not always be fooled by an institution, political or religious, when it comes to his own immediate material welfare. His obeisance to a church which dwells on his "hereafter" will decrease directly as his participation in a labor union which caters to his well-being increases.

The only force capable of eliminating Hagueism from Jersey City or his equivalent from any other locality is the working class. Meanwhile the workers continue to be split by groupings that do them no good. They divide politically between Republican and Democratic parties to maintain a sham of a two-party system, in reality not even a one-party system, but its apotheosis, a one-man system. Again, they group themselves ecclesiastically, demarking a strong Catholic allegiance. And then, still more tragically, many of them observe economic group prejudices within their own ranks, a bias against the C.I.O.

**No Real Conflict**

The fact is that until this date the two types of unions have not conflicted in Jersey City except in Hague's mind. No effort has been made by the C.I.O., the newcomer of the two, to steal either the workers or the industrial field of the A.F. of L. Nevertheless, the A.F. of L. leaders in general have evinced a marked hostility to the C.I.O.'s attempt to unionize the unorganized. This enmity always arises concurrently with Hague's animosity, and invariably the A.F. of L.'s condemnation is accompanied by a lavish endorsement of "our mayor, staunch friend of labor." The labor spokesmen behind these declarations of loyalty and confidence are frequently men who in the past have fought and denounced Hague in the fiercest terms. Today they make dictated speeches and sign prepared statements in his praise without even reading them beforehand. This is the bureaucracy that the A.F. of L. unions have fallen into, rubber-stamp business agents and ditto-mark delegates.

Why Hague and the A.F. of L. are so vigilant in "protecting" Jersey City from the "radical" C.I.O. is a question of great importance. To begin with, the rank-and-file as well as the leadership of the A.F. of L. have been in years past victimized and intimidated. Now they are completely regimented by Hague.

**Receivership Weapon**

This was accomplished chiefly through receivership suits against a number of union locals. First, the vicious patronage system was extended to the trade unions by the appointment of Hague receivers and attorneys whose large fees liquidated the unions' funds. Second, the unions were rendered

impotent and useless as far as declaring or carrying on strikes was concerned. Third, local business rallied to the boss's moral—and financial—support to prevent strikes in their plants.

Fourth, the union leaders now hold their posts, not by the grace of the membership, but by indulgence of Hague. Any move in the ranks toward independence is promptly suppressed by the bureaucrats—lest the union be thrown into receivership and thus lose the last vestige of "organization." Such receivership is easily effected in New Jersey, simply by having a few members sign affidavits that the union funds are being squandered, or that the union is insolvent and cannot meet its financial obligations, or that other "equitable" grounds for receivership exist.

Then, it may be asked, why doesn't Hague permit the C.I.O. to come into Jersey City and organize, and as soon as that is done hold the same club over its head—the threat of receivership? The answer is that if the C.I.O. does organize, then to retain its membership it must extract from local industry some wage and hour benefits. These concessions cannot be granted without stimulating wider organization and at the same time alienating industry proportionately.

**Runaway Shops**

Jersey City is a town of runaway shops, businesses that have fled from other cities to get the jump on their competitors by the low wages made possible by local non-unionized labor. This influx of sweatshops and home-work industries has served and saved Hague in two ways—first, by giving some residents a bare minimum wage and thus removing them from the overcrowded relief rolls and so reducing the strain on city finances; second, by making vacant industrial properties tenable once more and so restoring them to the ranks of sites that contribute the needed taxes that seem increasingly harder to collect as time passes. If the C.I.O. is allowed to organize, the fly-by-night shops will fly again, these two benefits with them. Hague, to maintain himself, must fight any effort to further organize labor.

But this does not mean that the workers cannot be unionized. On the contrary, the field is most fertile for an intelligent and energetic campaign. Jersey City's liberation from Hague depends on understanding, hard-working and honest leaders who must persistently and consistently, not cheaply and dramatically, organize both the workers and the unemployed. A healthy nucleus exists in the C.I.O. unions which were organized before the "drive" of last November, such as the steel workers. Further sound material is the unemployed. Even the rank-and-file of the A.F. of L. will support a serious and intelligently organized drive.

**Hollywood Bows To Orders On War Film**

Just how the army is building up war psychology through the movies is explained in a Hollywood letter published in the New York Times for May 29.

Pressure was put on Paramount to change the ending of its new film, "Men with Wings." As originally planned the movie ended with the heroine giving a fervid talk condemning war plans. However, as the letter states, "...the dialogue was rewritten to personalize the emotions of the heroine, and a general denunciation of war is avoided."

The pressure used was the threat to withhold army air service co-operation and technical advice unless the change were made.

In such a manner does the government, through its most powerful propaganda medium, prepare the road to war.

**SUBSCRIBE NOW TO THE SOCIALIST APPEAL**

So far as anybody knows, neither Weinstock nor Quill have disaffiliated from the Communist Party of which they are members, nor have they made such a demand on the hundreds (if not thousands) of Stalinists who have been shipped into the A.L.P. in droves.

Of the two partners to the unconsummated bargain, the professional "democrats" of the A.L.P. executive proved to be as alien to democratic procedure as the Socialist Party leaders are to the principles of socialism.

**"Keeping Out of War"**

(Continued from page 1)

condition that they shall not be used for armament purposes.... If these 'poor nations' (the Fascist nations—M. S.) abandon armament economics and gear the production of their industries to the consumption of their people, they can secure American raw materials. A government expressing the popular will for peace would declare that, on condition and in the measure that armaments production is reduced, the United States will take its part (while protecting American labor standards) along with other nations in lowering tariff barriers, in extending raw materials credits, in setting up agencies for economic world cooperation to relieve distress and to make an economic alternative to war possible."

If we refrain for a moment from the side-splitting laughter evoked by the mental picture of the fascist (or any other capitalist) nations "gearing the production of their industries to the consumption of their people" (this double-barrelled drive was put out by a commission whose secretary was the noted Marxian scholar, Lewis Corey....), we see stated in the smoothest possible terms the classic position of American imperialist isolationism.

**ADOPT CLASSIC POSITION OF U. S. IMPERIALISM**

It is true, of course, that American "isolationism"—like Nazi autarchy—is only a myth, a utopia, a deception; that it is the "typical American" method of preparing for imperialist expansion and aggression and for Wall St. domination of the entire world. But that only serves to emphasize the thoroughly reactionary, imperialist nature of American isolationism.

One administration after another—Roosevelt's included—has cleverly put forward the very same ideas formulated by the "Keep America Out of War Congress." They have enabled the American ruling class to pose as enemies of war, of armament races, as a "government expressing the popular will".... and at the same time enabled it to justify its own war preparations, its own armaments program, and to advance towards the imperialist conquest of the world.

Why? How? Wealthiest, most highly industrialized, most ambitious power in the world today, the United States since the end of the last World War has constantly sought to blackjack its imperialist rivals into reducing their armaments by holding over their heads the threat of its own economic and financial power. "If you disarm, we'll give you loans." "If you spend less money on cannon and airplanes, and pay us back the billions we loaned you during and after the war, we will help you economically." "If you disarm, we'll cut down our own armaments proportionately."

A very cunning policy of tails I win and heads you lose. For the shrewd American "isolationists" and "disarmers" are perfectly aware of the fact that if every capitalist power in the world, the U.S. included, were to disarm 100 per cent tomorrow, the United States would be in the decisively dominant position when the next war broke out. Its industrial and financial superiority would enable it to turn out more arms and munitions per minute than its rivals could produce per hour.

**COVER FOR ROOSEVELT WAR PREPARATIONS**

And when its rivals, who are just as well aware of the stratagem, refuse to fall for it, and continue (as imperialism everywhere must) to pile up their armaments strength, the United States wins again! Then Roosevelt, like his predecessors, says with feigned resignation and sorrow: "You see, we offered them a reasonable proposition. In the words of the 'Keep America Out of War Congress,' we offered our economic resources 'on condition that they shall not be used for armament purposes.' But they turned us down. They are arming at a furious pace. We regret it terribly, but we have no alternative but to arm ourselves in turn, not, God forbid! for aggression, but only for defense."

It is this monstrous duping of the American masses that has now been taken up as the principal "anti-war" panacea of the Washington congress to "Keep America Out of War!"

Its fathers are not Lovestone, Corey and Thomas. They are only the belated god-fathers of the natural and legitimate child of American imperialism. To Roosevelt's sabre-rattling Chicago speech on "quarantining the aggressor," they echo: Economic quarantine for the "arming powers" (simply another name for "aggressor"). If this means anything, it means economic warfare on the so-called "fascist" nations, or the "poor nations," or the "aggressor" nations. It means, more importantly, that Wolfe, Allen, Corey and Co. are calling upon the capitalist-imperialist government—the bourgeoisie—of the United States to launch this economic war, and that they are ready to support the government in it.

**AND STILL THEY BECOME PATRIOTS!**

But Wolfe, Corey and Lovestone, who, unlike Thomas, are at least acquainted with the ideas of Marxism and the realities of modern politics, know that economic warfare is only incipient military warfare, that the latter is only a continuation of the former by other, more violent means. Their "knowledge," also, has not prevented them from adopting a program of imperialist isolationism, forerunner of imperialist war.

That is why the Washington congress was not a means of mobilizing the masses for struggle against imperialist war, but a gross pacifist fraud, aided and abetted by the Thomasites and the Lovestone leaders. That is why—as in the Stalinist "peace-congress" masquerades—the class struggle was not mentioned. That is why the independent class action of the organized proletariat—the only possible basis for a struggle against war—was prominent only by its complete absence; it was Jim Crowed out of the Congress.

M. S.

**PARTISAN REVIEW FOR JUNE**

1. ROSA LUXEMBURG: Letters from Prison. Sixteen pages of letters written by Luxemburg from her World War Prison to the wife of Karl Liebknecht. First time in English. Plus a documentary "Newsreel," on the murder of Luxemburg and Liebknecht in 1919.
2. EDMUND WILSON: Karl Marx—A Prolet-Play. In which Marx and Engels form a People's Front against Bourbonism, and otherwise hew to the Stalinist line.
3. WILLIAM TROY: Thomas Mann and the Modern Myth. Part 1 of a critical study of Mann's work. Parts 2 and 3 to appear next month.
4. LOUIS HACKER: History and the Business Man. A review of Mary Beard's book.
5. JAMES BURNHAM: American Literary Opinion.
6. ALSO: poetry, reviews, theatre chronicle.

Coming in July: VICTOR SERGE on Marxism—Limitations and Possibilities, MEYER SHAPIRO on Lewis Mumford's *The Culture of Cities*, DWIGHT MACDONALD on *The Decline of the Soviet Cinema* (1930-1938).

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**Congress Reveals Utter Bankruptcy Of New Deal**

(Continued from page 1)

ular" army and navy appropriations of more than a billion dollars swept through both houses of Congress and across the president's desk. With only the feeblest, most apologetic and impotent objections, the special Naval Bill triumphantly authorized another billion and a quarter. There is much here from which to learn. Indeed, this session of Congress by its own actions clearly and unmistakably symbolized the insoluble dilemma of American and of world capitalism. The bankruptcy of capitalist economy leaves normal capitalist policies likewise bankrupt. Neither Republican nor Democrat, neither Old Deal nor New Deal, has any answer to give. They

see only one conceivable way out: in the aggressive adventure of a new imperialist war.

**Preparedness Moves**  
On that question alone was Congress able to act decisively. Billions were poured into the war machine; the foundations were laid for universal conscription, "industrial mobilization," and a dictatorial war regime; the movement for a popular referendum on war, with overwhelming mass support behind it, was smashed head on.

Under the leadership of Roosevelt, this Congress set a direct course toward war, in whose blood and terror and destruction American capitalism grasps for what it takes to be its sole hope of survival.

joins the distinguished company of the bosses of the Catholic Church and the Communist Party.

Bureaucratism and hypocrisy are Siamese twins in politics. Hence it is not surprising to see that in justifying their adverse stand on the S.P.'s application, such members of the A.L.P. executive committee as Louis Weinstock and Michael Quill piously declared that if the S. P. members want to join the A.L.P., they must disaffiliate completely from the S.P. and dissolve the latter.

So far as anybody knows, neither Weinstock nor Quill have disaffiliated from the Communist Party of which they are members, nor have they made such a demand on the hundreds (if not thousands) of Stalinists who have been shipped into the A.L.P. in droves.

Of the two partners to the unconsummated bargain, the professional "democrats" of the A.L.P. executive proved to be as alien to democratic procedure as the Socialist Party leaders are to the principles of socialism.