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Krupskaya

All of the conscious life of Nadyezhda Constantinova Krupskaya was spent in the revolutionary movement, from the time when as a young student she joined the first revolutionary Marxist circles in Czarist St. Petersburg to the age of 70, which she reached just a few days before her death this week.

The widow of Lenin, whose companion she remained till his death fifteen years ago, she was one of the noblewomen of the revolutionary movement. Czarist persecution, which she faced fearlessly, could not shake her faith in the working class which was so magnificently confirmed on November 7, 1917. If, after the revolution, she transferred her activity from corresponding secretary of the Bolshevik party to the quieter task of education, her new duties were discharged with no less devotion.

In 1925-1926, she joined with Zinoviev and the Trotskyist Opposition to fight against the reaction of Stalinism. She knew, perhaps better than any one else, the unbridgeable gulf separating the rude and disloyal Stalin from the incorruptible revolutionist Lenin. Had she not insisted that Lenin's Testament, which Stalin so desperately suppressed, be made available to the party?

The stream of vile abuse poured onto the head of Krupskaya by the Stalinist machine proved, alas, to be too much for her. She retired from the Opposition—and from all real political activity. The cynical gang in power compelled her to sign all kinds of humiliating Loyalty Oaths to Stalin, whom she hated and feared, but before whom she consented to bow out of a disastrously distorted belief that, in so doing, she was serving the unity of the Revolution.

Her last semi-public act was an attempt to intervene to save the heads of the victims of the First Moscow Trial, her comrades of a lifetime who, she knew as well as Stalin, were so utterly guiltless of the crimes charged against them. Her efforts met with vicious rebukes from the Kremlin assassins. Her enforced silence gnawed her heart to death.

We prefer to remember in N. C. Krupskaya not the caged and broken serf of the revolution's grave-diggers, but the calm, unassuming, pure pioneer and builder of Bolshevism in its heroic days.

The Nazis Applauded

Newsreels taken during the German-American Bund meeting at Madison Square Garden on the night of Feb. 20, showing the attempt of Isidor Greenbaum, an unemployed Jewish plumber, to protest on the rostrum during Nazi-leader Fritz Kuhn's diatribe against "international communist Jewry," have been withdrawn from the theatres.

Ostensible reason: Managers of leading newsreel houses are said to have reported that the scenes are too "inflammatory" and caused too "violent a reaction" from theatre patrons.

Real Reason: The newsreel shows LaGuardia police in action, mercilessly beating Greenbaum.

Like the newsreels of the Chicago Memorial Day Massacre which showed police shooting workers in the back, the films of New York police brutality were so frank and revealing and aroused so much indignation among audiences that the watchdogs who protect the public from "revolutionary propaganda" thought it necessary to suppress the pictures.

Is it any wonder that the longest and loudest ovation during the Bund meeting came when Fritz Kuhn expressed the gratitude of his Nazi organization to "New York's finest, the police department, for its splendid protection of the meeting"?

Horatio Alger, 1939

Frank Hague, Jr., was graduated from school in 1936 and to the sorrow of his father, notorious overlord of New Jersey, did not immediately join his father's political machine. Then a series of events brought him fame and success and made papa very happy.

Judge Thomas F. Meany resigned from the Common Pleas Court to take a fat job as counsel to Louis F. Reilly, State Commissioner of Banking and Insurance in the liquidation of the closed New Jersey Title Guarantee and Trust Co. Said liquidation reported to be very profitable financially to Hague interests.

Governor Moore, bosom companion of Hague, Sr., appointed Judge Thomas Glynn Walker of the Court of Errors and Appeals, New Jersey's highest judicial body, to fill the vacancy left by Judge Meany.

Governor Moore then appointed young Hague to fill the vacancy left by Judge Walker.

Hague Junior's salary will be \$40 a day when he works, or between \$8,000 and \$9,000 a year for the next six years. He will help make final decisions on all important New Jersey judicial cases.

Governor Moore, who sweated through all this job-shifting to make young Hague a success, stated happily: "I have known Frank Hague, Jr., all his life. He has a fine legal background, having attended Princeton and Washington and Lee universities. His father felt badly that he did not take up politics, but I know this appointment will make his dad happy."

The story of Frank Hague, Jr.'s rise to success shows that even the rich and powerful can make good if they have Pluck, Grit, Honesty, and Do and Dare.

Ex-Convict 95

The Irish rebels, commemorating the martyrs executed by the English after the Easter 1916 uprising in Dublin, used to sing:

*'Twas in Kilmainham prison yard our fifteen martyrs died,
And cold and still in Arbour Hill they are lying
side by side,
But we will yet pay back the debt for the spirit
is still alive*

*In men who stood thro' fire and blood with
Convict 95.*

Convict 95, who led the rebels in Ring's End section, is now Prime Minister of the Irish Free State, Eamon de Valera. Under British rule, he served a prison term for "treason." Under the same charge, 77 of his closest comrades were executed 17 years ago by the Cosgrave government.

De Valera is now only an Ex-Convict. In the attempt to crush those Irish rebels who refuse to truckle to British imperialism, he has just revived the "treason" bill. The military courts are to be made to function once more against all Irishmen who refuse to work with and serve under British "democracy."

The Free State Premier's hope is, apparently, to become the Irish High Executioner for His Majesty George VI, by the Grace of God of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British Dominions Beyond the Seas, King, Defender of the Faith, Emperor of India.

Scurvy Moves North

When State Health officials of Maine reported 5,000 cases of scurvy in one county, and New Deal administrators announced that they were prepared to send oranges and grapefruit to the stricken area, Maine's Republican governor made the inhuman response that there aren't 5,000 cases of scurvy and that his Republican administration can take care of them.

Everybody understands that the Governor, at the expense of 5,000 scurvy victims, is attempting to white-wash this scandal of his Republican administration.

The tender solicitude of New Deal officials over these 5,000 cases of scurvy in Republican Maine is quite understandable too.

Up until now, scurvy and other diseases attendant upon a starvation diet have been notoriously exclusive to the solid South. The Democratic Party, naturally, cannot give up without a sharp struggle the distinction of this more than a half-century monopoly over the nation's scourge areas of malnutrition.

Understatement of the Week

The Daily Worker (Feb. 27) publishes a special dispatch from Paris on the Spanish situation from which we take the following paragraph:

"British and French agents have been intensifying the heat turned on against President Azana, who is now at the Spanish Embassy here; and although Azana has showed signs of weakness, he has not yet actually acceded to the London and Paris demands that he demonstratively resign."

For the statement that "Azana has showed signs of weakness," the Daily Worker, which still tries to make its readers believe that it's the stork who brings them, is eminently entitled to the customary award for the Understatement Classic of the Week.

SOCIETY NOTE

DETROIT, Feb. 15.—Society circles of Detroit enjoyed a novel entertainment when the American Hunting Dog Owners Association put on a banquet for 100 dogs this evening.

The dogs sat down at four large tables and were served an excellent three-course dinner prepared by expert dieticians.

The owners reported that everything went well except for a few minor scuffles when the dogs were paraded around the cage of a racoon that had been brought along for the entertainment of the dogs.

**Should Fascists Be Allowed
The Right of Free Speech?**

**A Working Class Point of View on the Question That
Was Brought to the Fore Again by the Professional
Democrats When the Nazis Mobilized at the Garden**

It seems that the only point of importance that the Professional Liberals and Democrats could see in the big mobilization of the Nazis at Madison Square Garden last week, was their "right of free speech and assembly."

Mayor La Guardia kept reiterating emphatically that his attachment to Democracy compelled him to grant the Fascists the right to hold their meeting and provide them with extraordinary police protection.

The American Civil Liberties Union rushed into print to insist that the right of free speech be extended to the Hitlerites.

One of the numerous committees of the Jewish bourgeoisie, anxious to demonstrate that it loves fairness above all else, did likewise.

Even the wretched little Jewish anarchist weekly published in New York indignantly reproached the Trotskyists for the lack of sense in "demanding the right of free speech and assembly for oneself and at the same time trying to prevent the freedom of speech of our opponents. . . ."

**FREEDOM FOR NAZIS
BUT NOT FOR PICKETS**

Before going further into the consideration of the question of "free speech for Fascists," it is interesting and important to record the fact that all the above-mentioned who showed such touching concern for the "democratic rights" of the Nazis, are entirely unconcerned with the brutal police suppression of the picketing rights of the workers who assembled outside the Garden.

The Mayor simply refused to see a delegation which came to protest against the violence of the police who rode down and slugged the picketers.

The American Civil Liberties Union, apparently exhausted by its noble efforts in behalf of the Nazis, didn't utter a peep about the democratic rights of free speech, assembly and picketing being denied the 50,000 anti-Fascists who came to protest the Nazi rally. Ditto for the Jewish committee.

As for the anarchist Freie Arbeiter Stimme, it says not a word about the police assaults, but villainously insinuates that the Terrible Trotskyists were really at fault because, Mr. Police Commissioner, they planned a violent attack on the Nazis who were innocently celebrating Washington's Birthday. Unbelievable, but here are its exact words:

"But there are times when people who endeavor to do social work,

must reflect ten times, a hundred times, before they come out with an appeal for acts of violence."

WHAT THE PROBLEM REALLY INVOLVES

The question of "democratic rights for the Nazis" cannot be resolved on the basis of Liberal phrasemongers. All such a discussion can produce is a bewildering tangle of words and abstractions. At a more decisive stage, as all recent experience has proved, it produces a first class disaster not only for the working class but also for the Professional Liberals and Democrats themselves.

How many of them, indeed, are there in the concentration camps, in prison and in exile who are continuing the thoroughly futile and abstract discussion over whether or not the Fascist gangsters should be granted the "democratic rights of free speech and assembly?"

And what is most decisive—this is the point which leads us directly to a solution of the problem that seems to agitate so many people—is the fact that in Italy, Germany, in Austria, in Czechoslovakia, in Spain, the Democrats were so concerned with preserving the "rights" of the Fascists that they concentrated all their attacks and repressive measures upon those workers and those labor organizations, which sought to conduct a militant struggle against the Fascists and for the preservation and extension of their truly democratic rights and institutions.

It is when the bourgeoisie "democrats" like Giolitti in Italy and Bruening in Germany, had done all in their power to smash the most progressive and active sections of the working class—as La Guardia and his police tried to do on a smaller scale in New York last week—that the Fascists concluded successfully their march to totalitarian power. Whoever forgets this important lesson from abroad, is a fool. Whoever tries to keep others ignorant of this lesson, is a rogue.

A SIMPLE EXAMPLE

Let us take a simple example which every worker has experienced dozens of times.

A strike is called. The authorities promptly jump into the situation in order to protect the "democratic rights" of the scabs and the company gunmen who guard them. The "right to work" of the scab, which is guaranteed by the capitalist government, amounts in reality to his "right" to starve out the striking workers

and reduce them to helpless pawns of the employers.

Millions of workers have learned the futility and deceptiveness of the academic discussion of the scab's "democratic rights," as well as of appealing to the government and its police to "arbitrate" the dispute involved. They try to solve the question, as they must, in the course of struggle. The workers throw their picket-lines around the struck plant. The conflict between the scab's "right" to break a strike and the workers' right to live, is also settled in the course of struggle—in favor of those who plan better, organize better, and fight better.

The workers who delude themselves and waste their time begging the capitalist Democrats in office to "act" against the Fascists, will end up in the same place, just as the workers of Italy, Germany, and Austria did. The workers have more vital concerns. They are and should be interested in defending and expanding their democratic rights. But not in any abstract sense.

These rights are the concrete rights of free speech, assembly, press, the right to organize, strike and picket, without which an independent working class simply cannot exist.

A decaying capitalism—of which Fascism is only a natural product—seeks constantly to restrict and destroy these rights, which are not truly genuine even in "normal" times. These rights can only be defended from the assaults of capitalism and its ugly offspring, Fascism, in the same way in which they were first acquired: by the tireless, aggressive, unbending, independent struggle of the working class.

The wailing and weeping about the Nazis' "rights" can safely be left to the prissy Liberals and the phoney Democrats.

The self-preservation of the working class demands that it cut through all abstract chatter and smash the Fascist gangs by decisive and relentless action.

**THEIR
GOVERNMENT**

By James Burnham

"We are an American Party, composed of American Citizens. We view all our problems in the light of the national interests of the United States."

Suppose we bumped up against this quotation on a dark night, and were forced to guess the author. What would be our answer? Would we say the president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce? or Chairman John Hamilton of the Republican party? or Chairman Jim Farley of the Democratic party? or Leader Pelley of the Silver Shirts?

Any of these answers would certainly be legitimate, and we would have the right to demand a good mark for giving it. But we would, nevertheless, be wrong.

The quotation is, direct and literal, from the lips of Earl Browder.

The occasion, crowning and monstrous irony, was a publicity release for the February 27th mass meeting in celebration of—the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the Communist International.

The Ghost from the Past

There is an unutterable cynicism here. To link these phrases of crude and vulgar chauvinism to the celebration of the forging of that instrument whose first aim was to be to teach the workers of the whole world that they have no country, no nation, no fatherland except what they conquer through the fire of their revolutionary struggle!

"All socialists, in proving the class character of bourgeois civilization, of bourgeois democracy, of bourgeois parliamentarism, have expressed this conception formulated with the maximum of scientific precision by Marx and Engels: that the most democratic of bourgeois republics can be nothing else than a machine to oppress the working class at the bidding of the bourgeoisie, to put the mass of workers at the mercy of a handful of capitalists."

So read the thesis of Lenin adopted by the founding congress which Browder now celebrates by proclaiming his dedication to the interests of that "machine to oppress the working class."

"The New International Association of Workers is founded with the aim of organizing the joint action of the workers of different countries for one sole and precise purpose, namely: the overthrow of capitalism, the establishing of the dictatorship of the proletariat and an international republic of soviets. . . ."

So read the first article in the statutes of the second congress of the Communist International, whose very corpse Browder now dishonors.

Whose Interests?

"The national interests of the United States" . . . Let us translate: the interests, that is, of the billion dollar Cuban sugar industry which enslaves the masses of Cuba; the military dictatorship of Porto Rico, grinding and terrorizing the Porto Rican workers; the deputed tyrannies over the people of the Philippines, Hawaii, the Canal Zone—ruled all of them by decree enforced by the United States army; the threatening intervention in Mexico . . .

This is only what is most obvious. But these same national interests in whose light Browder now views all his problems are what require the subjugation of the ten million Negroes at home, the enduring unemployment, the armed protection of the fascist meetings, the persecution of working-class militants.

These interests—the interests of the ruling class of the United States—are what demand the nearing war of imperialist aggression, demand the transformation of the United States into a fascist concentration camp. It is these interests that Browder is defending.

What Else is Forgotten?

During the past months you will search vainly through the Stalinist propaganda for the slogan, "Defend the Soviet Union!" What has happened to the aim of defending the Soviet Union, which has been the alleged justification for the policy of the C.I. during the entire last decade? Today, we are taught, "all our problems" are viewed in the light of the national interests of the United States.

Ah, but—we are told in whispers—the new phrase is "let a maneuver."

Let not the ranks of the Communist party be deceived. Politics is serious; you cannot play around with politics. The new orientation, summed up in Browder's phrase, has its own logic. Defense of the Soviet Union, even under the distorted Stalinist conception of such defense, is in the process of being sacrificed to defense of the national interests of the United States. This must be, because the imperialist interests of the U.S. are in unappeasable conflict with the interests of the Soviet Union. "Stalino-patriotism" is being transformed into patriotism pure and simple.

**Labor Looks Through
The Press**

By ARTHUR HOPKINS

Look Magazine's poll of newsmen shows that Bruce Barton, New York, is the best dressed man in the House; Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts is the best dressed Senator. Many men have become President with less qualification than this.

Troops and militia were mobilized in Jamaica following the declaration of a water front strike which threw the island into a state of emergency. It's an emergency all right when the workers cease work, but the bosses could all go off somewhere and die and the work would go on better.

Deductions in teachers' salaries because of a drop in tax revenues can not be made up by the city, decides Judge Loevinger of St. Paul, in denying the claim of a city employer for \$58.75 deducted in 1932. If the teachers had a union which believed in going on strike the situation could well be different.

Says Cordell Hull: "Any government worthy of the name would be derelict in its duty if it failed to provide the proper defenses which must go hand in hand with unflinching efforts to prevent war by perfecting the machinery of peace and by eliminating the causes of conflict." Military men and statesmen all agree that the best defense is to attack.

Hopkins Promises Bigger Profits

(Continued from Page 1)

new taxes would probably be needed next year had met with resistance from Wall Street. The Administration quickly reversed itself at the bidding of its masters. Secretary of the Treasury Morgenthau declared that not merely would there be no new taxes but present taxes objected to by the business community would be revised in order to "promote business enterprise."

"A Happy Day"

Taking the lead from Morgenthau, Chairman Doughton of the House of Representatives Ways and Means Committee immediately announced that his committee would begin preparation of new tax legislation. "I think it will be a happy day," said Chairman Doughton, "when government and business fully recognize their interdependence and their mutual responsibilities."

In the same groove was the recent "peace pact" between T.V.A. and the Utilities, culminating in the gift of \$80,000,000 to Wendell Willkie's Commonwealth & Southern Corporation. Throughout the length and breadth of the capitalist press, this settlement was hailed as the "most constructive" action of the government since Roosevelt took office.

There was considerable wonder when Harry Hopkins, much-touted idol of "radical" New Dealism, was given Roper's place in the Department of Commerce. The boys were tipped off, however, and—much to the surprise of the general public—no long fight over his nomination developed on the floor of the Senate.

Smoothing Things Out

The reason why there was no fight by business or the reactionary bloc in Congress against Hopkins' appointment was because confidential word had already

been given that Hopkins was being put in to iron out all controversies between the government and business. This information has been fully carried in the private letters of the special Washington news agencies catering to business men.

Mincing no words, Hopkins promised business anything it asks for. "No more reforms" was one of his chief slogans: "With the emphasis shifted from reform to recovery" (read "profits"), "this Administration is now determined to promote that recovery with all the vigor and power at its command."

"Business men have to make money to hire workers," he stressed, and made clear that the Administration was going to do all in its power to see that they make plenty of money.

Hopkins stated in his speech only one side of the current "business appeasement" line of the government. Another aspect was developed earlier in this session of Congress: the drive against the unemployed. The cutting down of relief costs is the principal form of appeasement which business is

interested in, and the administration is already doing its full share in this direction.

Business appeasement cannot, however, be separated from the crucial and decisive phase of the present stage of the New Deal: the preparation for the War.

Along with his colossal armament building, Roosevelt is determined to gather the entire country together in 100% national unity for his approaching war.

This, of course, is the motivation for Roosevelt's sudden and dramatic demand for labor to re-unite its forces. He wants a single docile labor movement to gear into the war machine. He has projected an ideal for himself of a happy Trinity of Government, labor, and business joining hands to do battle for American imperialism.

Unfortunately, Hopkins' speech makes clear the real nature of this Trinity. The actual plan turns out to be: for business to make the money, government to do its bidding, and labor to sweat, starve, and die on the battlefield.

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