

SOCIALIST APPEAL
 Vol. III, No. 28 April 28, 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. Bundle orders: 2 cents per copy in 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.
 "Reentered 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 wage 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 vigilante and Fascist attacks

Roosevelt's Trap

On April 19, the Young Democratic Clubs of America ("youth section" of the Democratic Party) held dinners in many cities of the country. Roosevelt sent a message to these dinners which was widely interpreted as another in his long series of summons to make the Democratic Party "liberal" and "progressive", and to "purge it of reactionaries".

"Roosevelt Says Liberals Are Sole Hope for Party, Tells Others to Get Out", was the headline which the New York Times put over the story.

"This country of ours is democratic with a small 'd,'" said the President's message. "It is never, and never will be, democratic with a big 'd' except when the two words mean the same thing." "Whenever the party was democratic, it won. Whenever it offered the country an ersatz Republicanism, the people spurned the imitation and sent our party to stand in a corner. . ."

The idea that the Democratic Party is fundamentally different from the Republican Party is as dangerous and pernicious a myth as has ever been foisted on the American people.

The demagogues who try, for their own purposes, to keep this myth alive—from Roosevelt himself to John L. Lewis to Earl Browder—are liars and scoundrels.

From root to branch, the Democratic Party is a capitalist party, a boss party: that is, a party, just like the Republican Party, devoted wholeheartedly to maintaining capitalist tyranny and exploitation.

The chief base of the Democratic Party rests on the disfranchisement and oppression of the ten million Southern Negroes.

The Democratic party organization in the North is administered by bosses as corrupt as any in modern political history: Hague of New Jersey, Hines of New York, Kelly and Nash of Illinois, Crump of Tennessee, Pendergast of Missouri are only typical samples.

Just as the Republican Party, the Democratic Party is financed and basically controlled by a small clique of bankers and corporation executives selected by the Sixty Families.

At the present moment, the Democratic Party, in charge of the government of the nation, is engaged in a monstrous plot to drag the people into the most terrible war of history and is smashing relief standards to pieces.

Senator Barkley, floor leader of the Party, took the lead in cutting down relief funds. Appropriately enough, Barkley was chairman of the largest of the Young Democratic dinners to which Roosevelt's message was sent.

The Democratic Party neither wants to be nor can be "reformed". Every leopard in the world will lose its spots long before the Democratic Party changes its through-and-through reactionary politics.

The workers of the United States will get somewhere on the political arena only when they learn this lesson.

Workers cannot accomplish anything in politics by trying to "make use" of boss parties. It always turns out that the boss parties make use of the workers.

The only kind of party that can do any good for the workers is a party which the workers themselves build, which the workers own and control, which has workers' policies and workers candidates.

Any other proposal for labor politics, no matter who puts it forward, is only a lie and a trap.

None of Your Business

The main body of the United States fleet is now on its way to the Pacific. Suddenly, ten days ago, the orders were given. No explanation of any kind. When reporters questioned Naval officers and officials of the Navy Department, they were answered, it is said, with: "Sealed orders—none of your damn business."

War or peace — it is none of the people's damn business. It is none of our business whether or not we are to die by the millions. Our business is just to jump in the required direction when the sealed orders come. When or how or for whom or for what we are jumping—that, of course, is none of our business in Roosevelt's democratic war for democracy.

The movement of the fleet is one more proof of the *de facto* military alliance between Great Britain and the United States, the "wink of the eye" alliance which Arthur Krock referred to more than a year ago. No formal documents, you understand; one ally merely acts appropriately when the other gives the agreed-on wink of the eye.

The U. S. fleet in the Pacific frees the British strategic and diplomatic hand for concentration on Europe.

Who, authorized this alliance? Who decided that millions of the American people must be ready to die to aid in keeping British rule intact over Britain's five hundred millions of colonial slaves? Is it enough that the Sixty Families are agreed that this is the best method for extending their own territories and profits?

The questions are no doubt impertinent. You see, it is none of our damn business.

Twelve Dictators

With the final appointment of twelve men who will rule over England without the slightest pretense at democracy when a "national emergency" arises, the British government has placed one of the finishing touches on the military dictatorship into which it will convert itself when the war breaks.

Seven of the twelve men are members of England's notorious, labor-hating nobility, hardened, ultra-reactionary lords, who traditionally have lived by terror, violence, and murder, nobles and landlords who have bled Ireland for centuries, put whole continents to sword and flame, and hanged the progressives at home.

The system of dividing England into twelve districts and placing an absolute dictator over each one to rule with open undisguised terror like Hitler or Mussolini is a scheme of Chamberlain and his cohorts to replace the whole present system of elective government.

Not a single voter has been allowed to question it, much less cast his opinion on it in a ballot box. Now were the voters allowed to choose the dictators to fill the posts. The entire "democratic process" in England was kicked contemptuously into the ash can—Chamberlain and his cohorts did not even bother to hold a shot gun election after Hitler's fashion. After all, they are accustomed to the naked rule of steel and dynamite in the colonies and it is a simple matter to transfer the system to the home country itself.

At the same time, the Daily Mail announced that beginning June 7 the government will exercise control of all news broadcasts made by the British Broadcasting Service. This is government censorship of the radio—for the good of the people of course—exactly the system denounced by "lovers of the Western form of democratic government" in such countries as Italy and Germany, where the radio broadcasts nothing at all but dictator-written bulletins and dictator-selected music.

As if this were not in itself a complete enough imposition of naked dictatorship over the English people, Sir George Broadbridge, Conservative member of Parliament, has announced that he will ask Home Secretary Sir Samuel Hoare to appoint immediately a "press controller,"—stream-lined word for CENSOR, who will dictate what the newspapers and magazines of England may and may not print.

The right of elective government, supposedly the pillar of capitalist democracy, has vanished in England like a shadow under a strong light, and with it has gone freedom of the press, freedom of the air, and all the other rights that are supposed to distinguish "Western democracy."

Just what kind of democracy is the coming war supposed to save against what kind of dictators?

The Champions of Democracy



ALIBIS DON'T HELP LIARS

By FELIX MORROW

Earl Browder, generalissimo of the Communist Party, has produced a new alibi for Stalin's refusal to open the doors of the Soviet Union to the Jewish and other refugees from fascist countries.

Browder's latest explanation is best understood in the light of what has preceded it.

Our party organized a campaign to open the doors of America to the refugees. That campaign found no echo in the Communist Party. First of all because, as supporters of Roosevelt, the Stalinists would not raise a demand which he was known to be opposed to. Secondly, because they could scarcely call for opening America's doors to the refugees without illumining the embarrassing fact that Stalin was refusing to open the doors of the Soviet Union to the refugees.

This line of the Stalinists did not go unquestioned by their own members and sympathizers. Letters poured into the Daily Worker and the Jewish Freiheit. After weeks of demands for an explanation, The Daily Worker on November 28, 1938 finally provided one, entitled "The U.S.S.R. and the Issue of Refugees," by V. J. Jerome.

The nub of Jerome's explanation was his statement that: "One must also realize that there are thousands of Jewish refugees who, though fleeing from fascist terror, are in their class status and outlook, bourgeois or petty-bourgeois and, consequently, may not wish or may not be able to adjust themselves to a Socialist economy and culture. And, of course, everybody realizes that, particularly in the present period, with the second imperialist world war already raging, the greatest vigilance must be observed against the penetration of carefully planted spies and other fascist agents."

C.P. "ANSWER" RAISES NEW QUESTIONS

When Jerome's article appeared, far from silencing the questioners, it aroused a whole new series of questions. If, after twenty years, a so-called Socialist State cannot assimilate a few hundred thousand non-proletarian elements—and we are talking about penniless Jews fleeing from fascism!—that would mean that half of humanity has nothing to hope for from Socialism.

That this alibi for Stalin was completely false was evidenced not only by the fact that the doors of the Soviet Union were not opened to the proletarian Jews seeking to flee from Hitler, but also by the ensuing events: the doors of the Soviet Union remained closed to the Czecho-slovak anti-fascists—including fleeing Communists!—and to the hundreds of thousands of proletarian Spanish fighters whose pleas, from the concentration camps of France are unheeded by the Stalinist bureaucracy.

BROWDER PRODUCES A NEW "ANSWER"

The hostile reception of Jerome's alibi by the sympathizers of the Communist Party finally impelled Fuehrer Browder himself to wrestle with the question. In the New Masses of April 4, "There are a great many questions on why the Soviet Union doesn't open its borders to the Jewish refugees," he said.

And here is Browder's answer: "The answer is that more Jewish refugees are going into the Soviet Union than into all other countries combined."

Previous justifications of keeping the doors of Russia closed having failed, Browder now claimed that the doors were open all the time!

Browder's attempt to answer one challenge—that of Dr. S. Margoshes, editor of the Jewish Day—now appear in the New Masses of April 25: "All my observations and information support the claim that, considering exclusively the period since the beginning of the present fascist chain of aggressions and the rise of the current refugee problem, there are more refugees enjoying asylum in the Soviet Union than in France, Britain and the United States combined—and that this applies to Jewish as to all other categories. There are no official figures for any country that I have been able to find."

HOW BROWDER LIES FOR HIS BOSS

The dishonesty of Browder's "answer" is easily demonstrated:

1. The basic issue is: why doesn't the Stalinist government of the Soviet Union open the doors to the refugees? Browder perverts the issue, instead, into an argument about whether the Soviet Union or the capitalist countries have admitted more refugees. Even assuming that the Soviet Union admitted more refugees than did the capitalist countries—and this would not have been difficult considering the arch-reactionary policy of the capitalist countries against admission of refugees—that would still not explain away the plain fact that millions of refugees seek refuge and the Stalinist government refuses to open its doors to them.
2. Even to make plausible the claim that Stalin lets in more refugees than do Chamberlain, Daladier and Roosevelt, Browder has to use as a measure "the period since the beginning of the present fascist chain of aggressions"—deliberately vaguely defined without a date but apparently meaning since Hitler's assumption of power in 1933. Browder does this so that in any further discussion he could point to immigration to the Soviet Union from Germany in 1933 and the public offer of refuge to the Austrian Schutzbund in 1934—whereas if Browder were to speak of the years since 1935, he would not be able to point to a single public proof of immigration into Russia!
3. In Browder's statement that "There are no official figures for any country that I have been able to find" is concealed the fact that the Stalinist regime has no figures to offer to bolster Browder's assertions—for the good and sufficient reason that false figures could easily be challenged while the true figures would reveal that Stalin's prison doors open neither inward nor outward.
4. Obviously realizing that his flat assertions carry no conviction, Browder retreats to a new alibi: "If the Jewish community leaders of the world want more refugees to go into the Soviet Union, it would be well for them to raise the question with the powers at the Evian conference, to see that the Soviet Union is invited to that conference, which regulates the immigration, and provide for their entrance into the Soviet Union in an organized fashion." (New Masses, April 4).

This alibi is no better than his others. Why, in the name of socialism, does the Soviet government require an invitation to the Evian conference before it can open the doors of Russia to the refugees? The Evian conference is an absolute fraud, a piece of mumbo-jumbo organized by the capitalist powers, not to facilitate immigration but to duck the problem. It has done nothing for the refugees, because it is designed to do nothing. When Browder makes Soviet admission of refugees hinge on arrangements with the Evian conference he is putting off their admission forever.

Squirm as they may, the hirelings of Stalin cannot conceal or mitigate the plain fact: the refugees from fascist terror, whether Jews or Czecho-slovak Communists or Spanish Loyalists, are barred by Stalin from entering the "Socialist Fatherland."

Their Government
 By James Burnham

Several months ago President Roosevelt announced a little surprise for the youth of the country. Entirely at the government's expense, indeed with cash allowances from the government during part of the process, 20,000 boys from the high schools and colleges were to be trained as airplane pilots.

For a day or two, the plan got big headlines in the general press. There was, however, surprisingly little comment on so startling an enterprise. One or two of the columnists and scattered editorial writers thought the whole idea fantastic and absurd. Where, they asked, would the planes come from that these 20,000 boys were supposed to learn how to fly? And where were the flying schools and training fields that could handle them?

Since that first, rather mild flurry, nothing much has been heard of the President's plan. It has slipped pretty well from public sight. Nevertheless, it is going steadily forward. Already thousands of students have been directly or indirectly enrolled. For the most part, up to now, they are being sent through already established flying schools, with government subsidies paying for their tuitions.

I want to explain what lies back of this plan. You will not find this explanation in any of the publicity which has been released in connection with it. You will not, in fact, so far as I am aware, find this explanation anywhere in print.

The Replacement Ratio for Personnel and Materiel

Everyone knows that all of the great powers have on hand large numbers of military aircraft and of trained personnel to handle them—pilots, bombers, radio operators, observers, etc. Speculation as to the exact comparative size of the various fleets is frequently allowed to occupy the public mind; it was very prominent, for example, during the Munich crisis, and was generally supposed to have been a decisive factor in compelling Chamberlain to adopt his appeasement tactic.

Nevertheless, in the colder and more deliberate calculations of the general staffs of the powers, the total figure of planes now on hand and personnel now on active duty in the air forces is allotted only secondary importance. Far more decisive, to their minds, is the rate at which any given nation can produce planes and trained men for the fighting service.

A moment's reflection will show why this is the case. A large force of planes can, at the outset of the war, strike two or three heavy lightning blows against the enemy nation. The notion, popular a few years ago, that such lightning thrusts can win a modern war in a few weeks has been abandoned, and was at no time held by the most responsible military strategists. The new war, like the last one, will be a mass war, and of indefinitely long duration.

In the air, consequently, the long-run advantage will be held not by the nations which have most planes and pilots in active service at the outset, but by those which can produce planes and trained men fastest, in order to acquire during the course of the war itself a differential superiority over the enemy, and especially to be able to replace the planes and men that are shot down. 5,000 planes, adequately manned, today will mean little or nothing unless there can be at least the same number, properly manned, after a year and two and three years.

Each of the general staffs has, therefore, worked out in advance the expected figure at which planes and men will have to be replaced after the war starts. This figure, which is sometimes referred to as "the replacement ratio for personnel and materiel," thus expresses the prediction of the general staffs as to the rate at which planes and men will be destroyed. The figure is obviously just about the same for both planes and men; and for the men it means the rate at which they will be killed, since there is a negligible number of wounded in the air service.

What Your Odds Are

All of the European general staffs have arrived at the same figure for the replacement ratio. This figure is 50% per month.

At first glance, perhaps, this figure looks calm and mild and business-like. Let me explain what it means in terms of the odds on the life of a member of the air corps.

It means that any given member of the air corps has a 50-50 chance to live one month.

It means that he has one chance in 4,096 to live one year. In other words, the odds are 4,095 to 1 that he will not live a year.

It means that he has a chance of less than 1 in 16,000,000 to live two years. The odds are greater than 16,000,000 to 1 that he will be killed before two years are finished.

The Blessings of God's Country

50% is the figure for the European general staffs. God's country, naturally, looks out better for the welfare of her children.

I am happy to report to the youth of America that, basing itself on more strongly built planes and longer and more intensively trained pilots, the U. S. general staff has arrived at a figure of only 33 1/3% per month. So don't be discouraged.

This means that you have 1 chance in 3 of lasting a month. Pity the poor foreigner!

And the odds are only approximately 1,250 to 1 that you will be killed within one year. And they are just slightly more than 1,500,000 to 1 that you will die within two years.

Surely that chance is worth taking when the President himself has promised that the war is to be fought for the very highest ideals.

Two elk heads and two black beaver skins will be presented King George VI by P. Ashley Cooper, governor of Hudson's Bay Company, when the King arrives in Winnipeg May 24th. It is the rent stipulated in the royal charter granted the company by King Charles II in 1670, to be paid to his majesty, his heirs and successors, whenever they visit the domain of the company. Only once before was the historic rent paid—then to the Duke of Windsor, who, as Prince of Wales, visited Winnipeg in 1927. So you think rent such as this is stupid and unnecessary, in view of the fact that the King never turned his hand to productive work? Well, why don't you look up your own landlord?

A news item reports that some of the dinosaurs of the prehistoric world walked on all four feet, while others walked upright. We call the present breed of two-legged dinosaurs bosses, and they are headed for just as certain an extinction as happened to the four-legged kind.