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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

Gyp Artist

On Tuesday, March 14, President Roosevelt delivered a message to Congress in which he posed as the champion of the unemployed by demanding that Congress appropriate another \$150,000,000 for their benefit.

He admitted that "employment has decreased since the end of December" and that "the number of persons now certified as being in need and eligible for employment is actually higher than it was a month ago." THESE ARE THE PRESIDENT'S OWN WORDS.

If Congress did not grant the appropriation the President asked for, more than 5,000,000 people would be affected. THIS TOO WAS AN ARGUMENT OF THE PRESIDENT'S AGAINST FURTHER REDUCTIONS.

In his speech on February 7, when relief needs were not as great as in March, according to his statement quoted above, Roosevelt admitted that if any cuts in appropriations were made "widespread want or distress would inevitably follow."

Congress proceeded to lop off \$50,000,000 from the President's request for \$150,000,000 and debated whether it should not lop more.

The President PRETENDED to be angrily aroused over Congress cutting down his request to \$100,000,000 and pointed out that not only was this amount absolutely insufficient for the needs of the unemployed, but it would greatly increase human suffering by throwing additional tens of thousands from the relief rolls into the streets.

In justification for his demand that the FULL amount of his request be granted, the President pointed out that his own original estimate contemplated a huge reduction of the relief rolls—300,000, and especially did NOT take into consideration 850,000 people who had been certified by government agencies as eligible and who were awaiting government aid to relieve their misery. That is, the proposed eliminating 1,150,000 human beings from all consideration for relief, dooming them to hunger.

REMEMBER, according to the President's OWN argument, his OWN original estimates were completely INADEQUATE for relief needs. Even if they were granted in FULL, more than a million people directly would still remain uncared for.

Nevertheless, the President managed to pose as the champion of the oppressed and defender of the unemployed by ACTING ANGRY over the extra \$50,000,000 cut and OSTENSIBLY battling for its restoration. (Roosevelt's key lieutenant in the Senate, Barkley, maneuvered to help accomplish the slash.)

All Roosevelt's friends, the Workers Alliance, the Communist Party, etc., got behind him in this clever trick to gull the unemployed, and raved at the come-on partners of Roosevelt's gyp-joint who fought to cut down the relief appropriations by a few million dollars more. It was a clever act and the suckers (the unemployed) fell for it. They took their cut without PROFESTING MILITANTLY on a wide scale and the funds which should have fed them and their families were dumped into the war machine.

So successful was this trickery, that Roosevelt has now come out for a new cut in relief appropriations that will reduce the present enrollment by ONE-THIRD, and during the next few months throw 900,000 more unemployed into the streets to starve—a slash of three-quarters

of a BILLION DOLLARS. Thus the President, if one adds the 1,115,000 human beings he has already doomed, has condemned more than 2,000,000 people to starvation in the IMMEDIATE future. By his own method of computation, this will affect not less than 10,000,000 Americans. This within a few days after his signing a bill for the largest OUTPOUR OF WAR FUNDS since the American Expeditionary Forces left the battlefields of the last World War.

The come-on partners haven't yet started their part of this new gyp-game. But they will and Roosevelt will again pose as the great champion of the oppressed and defender of the unemployed by furiously battling proposals to reduce relief rolls still further—that is, furiously battling with stern . . . words, and a sly wink for those in on the game.

Right now Roosevelt is going through the first maneuver of his gigantic sucker game. He justifies his latest tremendous slash with the casual nonchalance of a gyp artist who is an old hand at the game of fleecing the TRUSTING "forgotten" man by airily declaring that industry will absorb the TWO MILLION unemployed who are thrown off the rolls. This cheerful promise is no doubt based on the fact that since Roosevelt last pointed out the dire need of the unemployed for \$50,000,000 MORE, the index of business activity has DECLINED precipitously and employment has DROPPED far below the normal season upswing.

"I trust," said Mr. Roosevelt in his latest message announcing his latest slash, "that the people will not be deceived. . . and will not assume that the totalitarian methods of government are more effective than our own."

No, we are not deceived. We must admit that Roosevelt's method is highly effective. No doubt the unemployed will soon be feasting on cake—the gyp artist has a simple way of providing it. He just throws the unemployed off the relief rolls and turns them loose in the streets where, as every backer of Roosevelt knows, cake has filled the garbage cans since New Deal economy went into effect.

"What this world needs is a Christian revolution! Not by violence, but by social change compatible with the nature and purpose of God." Such is the proposal made by Dr. Ernest Fremont Tittle, pastor of the First M. E. Church of Evans-ton, Ill. It is now over 1900 years—ever since the first (and the last) Christian was murdered—that the sky pilots have been telling us how to make omelets without breaking the eggs.

Independent Action

One of the most remarkable shifts in public opinion which Dr. George Gallup's Institute has yet recorded, according to a survey just completed, is the shift in public sentiment away from the Democratic Party to the Republican Party.

In 1936, right after the election, the Institute reported 30% of the voters expected the Republicans to win in 1940, 70% expected the Democrats.

Now in 1939, after three more years of suffering under New Deal capitalism, 52% of the voters expect the Republicans to win in 1940, only 48% the Democrats.

The bankruptcy of capitalism is filling in the death certificate of the Democratic Party, but unless the workers begin to organize militantly on the political field and construct their own party, it will mean that the agony will be prolonged for another period under the Republicans.

It is high time to cut away forever from the stockholder-owned capitalist parties. The road to a new era for labor in the United States lies only through independent political action.

Labor must build its own political party with a program of militant labor demands inscribed on its banner!

That is the only way to defeat Roosevelt's program of Old Deal dishes under New Deal labels—the only way to defeat the whole system of workers-do-all and capitalists-take-all.

Hearst's *Cosmopolitan* for May carries an "Autobiography of America-1939," dealing with "the much-maligned and often misunderstood American—the average businessman, as he works to feed us, shelter us, give us jobs and pay his taxes." Only teargas is missing to make it a sob story.

Open the Gates!

Further evidence that refugees admitted to the United States are a valuable asset to the nation comes from Dr. Henry Smith Leiper, Secretary of the Federal Council of Churches.

He points out in an article in the May issue of *Current History* that those already admitted, far from competing with American labor, have brought new businesses into existence, new crafts, and new products.

He scouts the argument as ridiculous that a few refugees could seriously complicate the huge unemployment problem in America.

We add to the learned Doctor's conclusions that not only could all the refugees of the totalitarian countries be provided with work in the United States, but our own refugees, the millions hounded out of jobs by the capitalist stockholders could have well paying jobs too if the workers took over no more than the factories that are now idle and ran them on government subsidies under workers' management for production for use instead of profit for stockholders.

Father Coughlin Favors Fascist Dictatorships In His Magazine

He Plays on Anti-War Sentiments of the Common People Now; When War Comes His Tactics Will Change, Making Him Roosevelt's Recruiting Agent

By GRACE SAUNDERS

Father Coughlin, propagandizing prelate of Detroit, is both a faithful follower of his teachers—Mussolini and Hitler—and a willing supporter of causes and principles which will further their aims and ambitions. There is only one point at which he draws the line and refuses to tag along, namely, where his own personal ambitions clash with those of his mentors.

All those familiar with Coughlin's demagoguery are well acquainted with the similarity between his program and that followed by Mussolini and Hitler prior to their accession to power. They are also aware of the fact that Coughlin supports virtually every reactionary demand supported by the European dictators, and that he mimics them slavishly in the anti-Semitic and anti-Communist hate that he spews forth.

Coughlin follows their program because he hopes thereby to create a strong fascist movement here, with himself, naturally, in the role of leader. He champions the same causes they champion because there is basically little difference between his ideology and theirs, and because he understands that the strengthening of the fascist tendencies in Europe will likewise strengthen the same tendencies in this country.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the April 24 issue of his weekly magazine, *Social Justice*, is devoted largely to bitter criticism of Roosevelt and his "peace" notes to Il Duce and Der Fuehrer. This full-blown attack, it should be noted, coincides exactly with the resentment expressed in Rome and Berlin over the President's "meddling" in European affairs. It was timed to create an atmosphere favorable to Hitler's April 28 Reichstag speech.

It must be borne in mind, however, that Father Coughlin is not at all concerned with preventing this country from

embarking upon an imperialist war. He is in no sense an isolationist. He has stated frequently that what he opposes is merely American involvement in what he terms an "unjust" war, and by that he means a war which seeks to keep Germany and Italy from making further grabs.

He, or his editorial board (which is the same thing) states this again quite openly in a front page anti-Roosevelt editorial in the April 24 issue of his paper. Says the editorial: "Without America's help—either openly given or secretly promised—the nations of Europe will not engage in a general war. Without America, the nations of Europe will conduct their 'aggression' as they have done, by 'conquest and conference' but short of actual war."

Apparently, since *Social Justice* places the word "aggression" in quotes, Coughlin is reluctant to call the rape of Austria, Czechoslovakia, Memel, and Albania by so harsh a word as "aggression." Apparently, too, he considers Mussolini's little set-to in Ethiopia a "conquest" but not a "war." We will leave to the facile pen of the radio priest the task of explaining the distinctions he so finely draws.

Whether or not his thesis—that without American help there would be no war in Europe—is a correct one, it certainly is true that America's aid to England and France would make immeasurably more difficult the task of the Axis powers. And it is for this reason, and for no other, that Coughlin so energetically opposes Roosevelt's policy. Nor is this the first instance where he has made common cause with Hitler and Mussolini.

Coughlin is doing, and will do, whatever he can to spike American aid to France and England, that is, until the United States is on the verge of entering the war. But when that time comes, he will not hesitate to scuttle the Italo-German cause. Now, by ful-

minating against Roosevelt's intervention in European affairs, he can still serve his dual purpose—aid and comfort to his Axis friends, and exploitation of the isolationist sentiment in this country in order to enhance his own prestige.

But already a new note is creeping into his propaganda. When the United States does come out as a belligerent against the Axis powers, Coughlin will not be found in the unpopular camp of German and Italian sympathizers. Nor will he be concerned any longer about American participation in a European war. Such a course would then be unpopular, and Coughlin is not prepared to risk unpopularity amongst his followers for such stupid morality as consistency to one's own past or loyalty to one's teachers.

In the same article referred to above, the editors of "*Social Justice*," after protesting angrily against Roosevelt's policy, remark: "Once war is declared it will be too late to protest. Under the emergency of war—whether a 'just' war or a common 'racket' as the last one proved to be—it becomes the patriotic duty of every American to support the government." (Our emphasis).

When war comes—let no one be deceived—Coughlin will be on the patriotic band wagon, and will be one of the loudest trumpeters. He even has his alibi already at hand. Haven't I said all along, he will assert, that I didn't approve of everything that Hitler was doing? Well, now he has gone too far.

Father Coughlin has been an apt pupil of his fascist teachers. He has learned the value of nice sounding words like "social justice" and "peace." But he has also learned that the budding fascist leader must not follow an unpopular course, regardless of the issues involved. To do this would be to lose the following he has so demagogically corralled. And this no fascist pretender is willing to do.

French Empire Faces the Wrath Of Its Oppressed Colonial Masses

By SHERMAN STANLEY

No Empire in the world today rests on a more shaky and unsteady foundation than that of France.

In Central and Balkan Europe the entire system of post-alliances created at Versailles by the French conquerors has crumbled. The blows of German imperialism have smashed the encircling chains of French imperialism.

In its world empire the French have likewise suffered heavy losses. Japan has challenged them successfully in the Far East. Italy has made big gains in the Mediterranean. America has taken over much of France's influence in Mexico and Latin America. Even its closest ally and "friend"—the British Empire—has not hesitated to chisel away at the declining Empire of France.

But not their rivals alone have made the French capitalists and rentiers (coupon clippers) feel the cold chill of death hovering about them.

Primarily the French fear the rising wave of nationalist revolt. As in the case of Britain's world empire, the French are facing a movement of 60,000,000 colonial people who will use each and every difficulty of French capitalism to march one step further towards freedom. Above all, when France seeks to drag them into another world war we shall see these native masses fight with the bitterest determination.

SCOPE OF REVOLT AGAINST FRENCH MASTERS
 Let us cite a few examples of what the French are facing even now:

(1) **Tunisia-Algeria:** When the French Popular Front Government came into office in 1936 a revived nationalist movement in the North African colonies thought its moment of freedom was at hand. Under the leadership of its party—The North African Star—the people of Tunisia, Algeria and French Morocco closed ranks. But they were disappointed. The Popular Front regime, acting under orders from its industrial and banking overlords, established military rule in these colonies, outlawed the North African Star, jailed hundreds of its leaders and revealed its determination to

hold tight to France's prize colonies.

Since then the nationalist movement has been forced to carry on its work for freedom against fierce oppression. But not for one moment has its popularity declined among the people. When their time comes the revolutionists of "France's India" will take a leading role in the final break-up of the French Empire.

(2) **Indo-China:** This highly important colony supplies France with its rubber supply. Its workers and peasants have been completely at the mercy of the French plantation owners, merchants and shipping interests.

But there exists in Indo-China the strongest colonial section of the Fourth International. It has elected many representatives to important bodies in the major cities. For four years (1933-1937) it forced the Communist Party of Indo-China to have a united front with it, directed against French imperialism. Only when the Stalinists had completely exposed themselves as loyal supporters of the French was this united front broken off. The people of Indo-China now look to the Trotskyists for leadership in a direct assault upon the Daladier semi-fascist government.

(3) **Syria:** We quote dispatches from Damascus and Angora: "Reports from Syria indicate that the rising of tribesmen in the Kurd Moun-

Memorial Needed In Puerto Rico

Plans of a group of Puerto Ricans to construct a monument to Roosevelt have been turned down by the President. Such monuments, says the President, ought to be reserved for the great dead, and he specifically asked that Puerto Ricans pay no such tribute to him.

Revolutionists believe, however, that one monument is in order in Puerto Rico, a monument in memory of the imperialist oppression which is headed by Roosevelt.

The first step toward erecting that monument is not the hiring of a stone cutter, but the organizing of a rebellion.

tain is spreading daily in an alarming manner. Tribesmen armed with two field guns, machine guns and modern rifles have sent an ultimatum to the French authorities demanding the immediate release of their chief and fifty others who had been arrested. "The police fired on crowds this morning demonstrating against the action of the Syrian authorities to suppress disorders. The French government notified the Syrian government that they were taking over all powers necessary to preserve internal security. All police functions have been transferred to the Mandatory Power (France)."

All of Syria has been swept by a series of general strikes and mass protest demonstrations against the brutal French rule for the past year. This colonial people is a sharp needle in the side of French imperialism and is in the forefront of the colonial struggles.

(4) **The African Colonies:** France's holdings in eastern and western Africa are experiencing the same general nationalist revival as the British African colonies. Reports indicate intense organization of negro sailors, dock workers, plantation workers, etc. Here, too, the French fear for the security of their rule.

It took two hundred years to construct the French Empire with its 100,000,000 people. It will take a fraction of that time for its destruction and replacement by independent nations of workers and peasants. Just as surely as the British Empire is doomed, so is that of France.

The position of the Fourth International is crystal-clear. We are the opponents of all world imperial systems, be it that of Britain, France, America, Germany, Italy or Japan. There is not the slightest difference between the fascist imperialisms and the "democratic" imperialisms beyond the fact that each wants what the other has. The oppressed colonial peoples, forming the overwhelming bulk of mankind, will refuse to march in any war except one for their own liberation. They will show the workers of Europe and America who the real enemy is and how they too can win their freedom.

Their Government

By James Burnham

Senator Robert Taft, whose hat is well out in the ring for the Republican Presidential candidacy in 1940, last week repeated the familiar charge that Roosevelt is playing up the foreign situation in order to hide the failure of the New Deal at home. This charge, as an editorial in the *Appeal* pointed out at the time, is unquestionably true; but it is true in a sense far more profound than that intended by the Republican Senator.

Taft's differences with Roosevelt are 99% superficial, at bottom little more than a dispute over which set of office-holders shall draw down public pay. But the internal failure of the New Deal is not at all superficial. It represents not the ineffectiveness of the Democratic Party but the chronic, incurable malady of American capitalism. After all, Hoover had three and a half full years after 1929 to demonstrate that the Republicans are every bit as ineffectual as the Democrats.

For Roosevelt to concentrate on the "foreign situation"—that is, the war crisis, is no doubt from one point of view a clever party political maneuver. But it is a maneuver that corresponds not merely to factional needs but to the imperative requirements of the American bourgeoisie.

American capitalism is not working. During the past decade, nearly every sort of internal repair job has been tried, and the machine is more creaky and halting than ever. The only chance that the bourgeoisie now sees is an external device—is the war.

Moreover, Roosevelt is succeeding in his maneuver. He is actually turning the eyes of the people away from internal conditions; and no bourgeois opponent is hampering him to any degree, since they all fundamentally share his perspective.

A Few Facts and Figures

In the latter half of 1937, the business cycle turned downward. This was most alarming to the bourgeoisie, since the upturn preceding had been brief and had failed by a long shot to equal the 1928-29 level. And the rate of drop in 1937 was twice as fast as the rate in 1929.

The economists and publicists took refuge in magic. They thought they could wish the renewed crisis away by calling it a "recession" instead of a "depression."

They figured that it would last only a couple of months, and would be followed at once by a much longer, steadier upward movement. Instead, the curve kept going down for almost a year.

With a sigh of relief they watched it turn up again last Spring. Now the predictions were all for a number of years of expansion.

In December the Federal Reserve Board index figure, the key number for the government economists, based upon a weighted analysis of production, prices, purchases, credit turnover, etc., reached 104. The almost universal expectation was that the 1939 average would be well over this level: the government experts themselves predicted a slight fall in January and February, with a rise from then on to a level of from 108-112 in December, 1939.

Nothing of the sort has happened. The estimate for the April figure is 94, a drop of nearly 10% from December.

Other important indices show the same trend. The *Times* Index, which is derived from the extremely interesting theory of R. Dana Skinner and based chiefly upon the rate of money and credit turnover, has since the beginning of the year dropped about the same percentage as the F. R. B. index. The *Herald-Tribune* index has gone from 85 to 73. Stock prices have dropped sharply (from a high for the year, in the *Times* average, of 107 to a current 92).

Money on the Unemployed Rolls

The state of health of capitalism is revealed most directly by the amount of "new" financing (as opposed to refunding operations) that takes place, and particularly by the amount of such new financing that goes into capital goods. Never since 1930 has new financing risen to even half of the 1928-29 average and it has for the most part been held to a sixth or a seventh. The credit lies yawning and idle in the great banks and can be used only to buy the government bonds which try to fill in the empty gap left by the absent new enterprise.

Production, purchases and even employment, though declining, are still running substantially higher than the extremely low levels of the corresponding weeks last year. But new financing is averaging considerably less than even the impoverished rate of 1939. So far, the average in 1939 has been only \$27,000,000 monthly as against \$36,000,000 during the same months last year. And, though the statistics have not yet been compiled, the percentage of this meager sum going into capital goods is apparently very low.

All this is happening in spite of the fact that the renewed program of government expenditures, voted last year after the period of curtailment, is just now getting into full effect on the market. The pump no longer primes.

Just Around the Corner

In short, as every serious business man knows, the situation on the internal front is hopeless.

Therefore every serious business man is lifting his eyes from the internal front. During recent weeks, all the "business services" have been returning again and again to the theme: how to get your business ready for the war.

The Tax Research Institute of America, to take a single example, is pushing its new encyclopedia, *Adjusting Your Business* (for the war) by direct mail advertising on most handsome engraved stationery.

"How will your business be utilized for wartime needs?"

"To enable your business to function during a war emergency, the Institute has prepared an analysis to show you precisely what to do."

"This analysis of business during wartime will be ready next week, and it will help you prepare right now for problems such as these—

"... (2) how can government contracts be secured during wartime?"

"(3) what will happen to labor costs, wage demands, unionization, strikes, and collective bargaining?"

"Few executives realize that the *Industrial Mobilization Plan* is ready to go into operation almost overnight, if a war is declared. . ."