

**"Guarantees of Protection"**

**DAY** in New York City 21,000 working-class families and individuals are waiting to be told whether they are to get home relief or jobs. Whether or not they eat in the meantime does not seem to worry the administration. Appalled by the latest broadside of lay-offs in the Emergency Relief Bureau, the over-worked staffs of the district offices will not get around to some of the "pending cases" for five or six weeks to come. In the face of a rising rest from her own workers against a drive on the unemployed, Miss Charlotte Carr, executive director of E.R.B., recently gave out a carefully-worded statement to the press:

While the Bureau cannot offer vested job-rights to its employes, it can and does guarantee them protection against discrimination and unfairness.

Simultaneously with this announcement, the wholesale dismissals of foreign-born workers whose final citizenship has not been granted, punitive transfers of workers active in the A.W.P.U., the employes' union, and the firing of several organization leaders, followed by the announcement of a new smashing personnel policy. At the same time Victor Ridder, local Works Progress Administrator, threatened to double the already hopeless load of the bureau employes by firing 20,000 of workers. Frustrated by orders from

his chief, Harry Hopkins and reminded by a picket line of 4,000 white-collar workers thrown around his office, Ridder rescinded his order. In the course of this exchange it was revealed that Ridder had set up within his office a "reemployment bureau" which, backed by coercive regulations of the familiar "work or starve" type, was to become a scab labor exchange for private industry.

**G**ROWING in the organizations both of relief-bureau workers and of workers on work relief is the consciousness that the present drive against the living standards of the unemployed can only be met by a solid front of the working class. Meeting in convention from Jan. 16 to Jan. 19, delegates of the A.W.P.R.A. sent back to their locals a strong resolution urging affiliation with the A. F. of L. They also endorsed a Labor Party and condemned District Attorney Dodge for the beginning of a drive to muzzle the labor press. Meanwhile, 21,000 applicants for relief are waiting. More important to them than the politics of the administration is the vital issue of how they will live for four, five or six mid-winter weeks without relief.

**The Neutrality Bill**

**I**T IS undoubtedly valuable to quiz J. P. Morgan and to prove that he and other finance capitalists dragged

this country into the World War. It is undoubtedly valuable to show that Woodrow Wilson, despite his solemn phrases of "formal" neutrality, was pro-Ally three years before the United States sent armed troops into France to help the cause of the Entente. Certainly it is not surprising that Wilson sided with Britain and France when the Morgan interests gave the cue. For it was made clear to Wilson that American finance capitalists could amass greater profits by extending credits to the Allies and acting as central purchasing agents for both England and France. These facts are obvious enough now; but such knowledge is *useless* if the American people walk into the trap again. As Joseph Freeman says in his article on the Nye investigation in the present issue: "The preparations [for war] are now more quiet, more efficient, more intensive, vastly larger in scale."

**T**WENTY years have not lessened Wall Street's power. And Roosevelt is following Wilson's lead—prior resolutions which on analysis mean nothing. The present neutrality measure before Congress—does it differ from Wilson's promises of "keeping us out of war," can it better withstand the pressure of the finance capitalists and fascists of today who strain for war? Already in its present form, the Administration Bill is the target of big business. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee has surrendered to Wall Street by including in the draft of the neutrality bill the principle of "freedom of the seas," as it existed prior to August, 1914. The meaning of such an inclusion is clear: if American ships loaded with munitions are sunk by belligerents, the American government is placed in the position of defending death cargoes. Neutrality legislation that has any validity cannot possibly be dictated by finance capitalism. Neutrality legislation must be rooted in reality, ironclad, enunciating the principle insisted upon by the Soviet Union that peace is indivisible, that peace can be maintained only through collective action of nations against a declared aggressor, that an embargo on both war materials and credit must be declared against the aggressor. Such legislation alone embodies the will of the American people, the will that insists that the profits of the few must not be placed above the safety, health and the determined wishes of the overwhelming majority.

# new Masses

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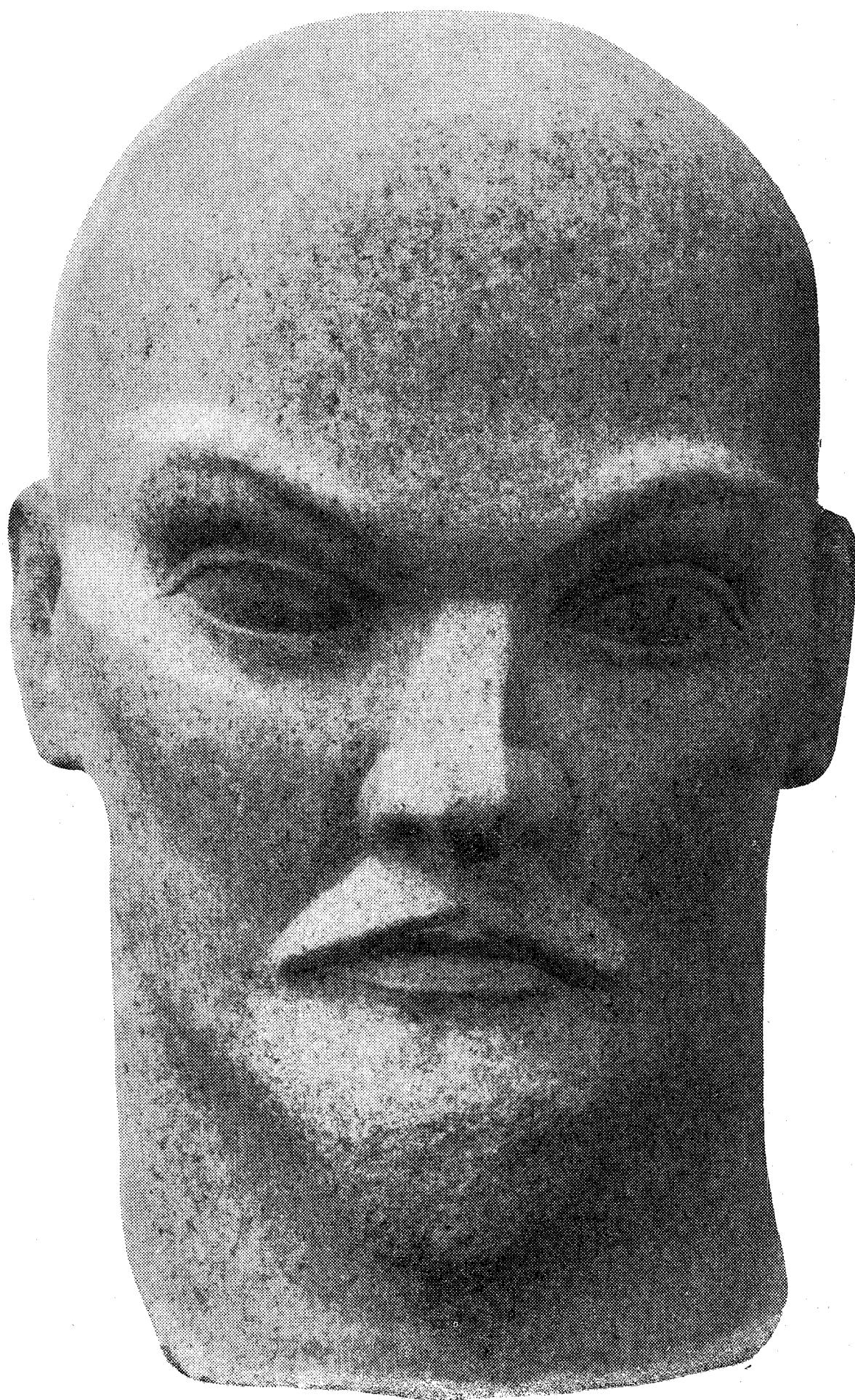
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HEAD OF LENIN

*Sculpture by Ahron Ben Shmuel*



# The Future of British Monarchy

JOHN STRACHEY

LONDON, Jan. 21.

THE death of King George V raises important questions as to the political effect which his death and the succession of the Prince of Wales will have.

It is now necessary to examine what will be the effects of the succession to the throne of Edward, Prince of Wales. Indeed, everybody is at the moment in private discussing this question. For let us make no mistake about it: the change of monarch will have considerable political effects.

There is no greater myth in the world than that of the unpolitical character of the British crown. The present monarchy is a political institution which the British governing class established by due process of law in 1688 for their own purposes, and they have used it for those purposes ever since and are so using it today. The British governing class is like one of those thrifty housewives that never throws anything away in use it may some day "come in useful." Other capitalist classes, such as the French and American, scrapped the feudal institution of monarchy when they came to power. Not so the British. They transformed monarchy to their own use, seeming to foresee a time like the present when they would find such a bulwark of conservatism extremely useful in their struggle against anti-capitalist democratic forces.

The crisis of 1931 marked the point at which the British capitalist class began a more intensive use of the monarchy for anti-labor purposes. Much remains dark and secret about the actual role played by the Crown in that crisis, but Professor Laski's interesting researches leave little doubt that the Crown was used decisively by Mr. MacDonald and Mr. Baldwin as an indispensable instrument for getting rid of the labor cabinet and setting up a national government. Professor Laski considers that this was contrary to the British constitution and of course it was contrary to what all the modern textbooks say about the complete political neutrality of the Crown. But what is the British constitution? As a matter of fact, since the British governing class has taken the precaution never to write that constitution down it is just about what the governing class likes to say it is at any particular moment. This is the famous "flexibility" of the constitution which is so highly praised.

The 1931 crisis marked, I suggest, the beginning of a period in which attempts will be made to use the Crown more and more openly for anti-working-class purposes. It is said that we have just witnessed one such attempt. It is credibly reported that the King was active in support of the Hoare-

Laval Pact and in opposition to any policy which might result in the fall of Mussolini. Far greater political crises lie ahead of us. However, it will be if and when the British governing class begins to feel that its existence as a governing class is seriously called into question that we shall see the most determined efforts to mobilize the Crown with all its prestige against the working class. Nor should we underestimate the psychological hold which the conception of monarchy still has over everyone of us. However modern, emancipated and progressive we may think we are, there are almost sure to be primitive, childish instincts tucked away in odd corners of our minds. And it is precisely these primitive childish instincts which respond to the appeal of monarchy.

The practical political question is this: to what extent will whatever king is at the moment on the throne allow the prestige of the monarchy to be used against the working class? As time goes on there will be more and more pressure to convert Buckingham Palace into a branch office of the Central Conservative Association. But if the incumbent of the throne is wise he will hesitate very long before yielding to such pressure. For just insofar as the monarchy is used to hold down, to deflect or to trick the working-class movement will it in the end become odious to the mass of the British people and nothing can ultimately prevent the rise of the working-class power. The question arises, however, as to whether any king, living in the extraordinary atmosphere which surrounds modern royalty, can realize this fact sufficiently clearly to see that in his own interest it is imperative for him

to resist the more blatant attempts, at any rate, which the governing-class politicians will make to use him as their puppet. A man of the generation of the late King could hardly be expected to realize much of this. I recollect a Labor Cabinet minister who had several long conversations with him during the 1929 government saying that it was exactly like talking to any business man commuting up from suburbs to his city office.

It remains to be seen whether Prince Edward will show himself, when he comes to the throne, to be a little more in touch with twentieth century realities. There is some evidence to show that he is subject to sharply conflicting impulses. And this just because he has a more up-to-date type of political consciousness. I do not think that, on the one hand, there is much doubt that the Prince of Wales' awareness of the difficulties of present-day capitalism incline him in a fascist direction. But on the other hand, they probably make him sensitive to mass pressure if that pressure is resolutely and intelligently applied. It may be that if the broad democratic forces in this country can make themselves felt quickly and powerfully enough, if something like a People's Front can be formed before it is too late, Prince Edward can be made to feel that the wisest course for him is not to flout these popular forces.

Like another comparatively young man who has just been called to high office, namely Mr. Eden, the Prince must be made to feel that when he ascends the throne his only way to popularity and success will be to resist the pressure of the reactionary forces by which he is surrounded.

## SPIVAK ARTICLE DELAYED

*The eighth article in the present series of European dispatches by John L. Spivak, scheduled for publication in this issue, has not as yet been received. A cable informed us that it had been sent. We hope to print it in the next issue.—THE EDITORS.*