

Dies Committee Adjourns Fake Investigation of Fascist Activities in U. S.

**Committee Fails to Call Main Witnesses
But Evidence Disclosed is Enough to
Show Extent of Fascist Organization**

Declaring that his committee will soon ask for a \$50,000 increase in its \$100,000 appropriation so that "we can go into subversive activities more thoroughly," Congressman Dies (Democrat, Texas) adjourned his committee indefinitely on May 25 without calling new witnesses for questioning in his pseudo-investigation of fascist activities in the United States.

The committee may not meet again until August.

In questioning witnesses during the week, the Dies committee shifted the center of its interest temporarily from "communism" to fascism. The move was astutely designed to accomplish the following objectives:

1. Without really uncovering the extent and danger of the fascist movement, to gain an aura of impartiality in preparation for a renewed onslaught on working class organizations.
2. To make political capital for the Democrats by linking the Republican Party with the movement for fascism in the United States.
3. To show that the present government is taking care of the problem of fascism, and so head off any move of the masses to meet the fascist danger with actions of their own.

Attention Shifts

That nation-wide attention is shifting somewhat from the war danger back to the internal problems which are more acute than ever after six years of the New Deal, is indicated not only by the Dies committee turning its attention to fascism, but by the wide publicity given by the press to a feature article in the Saturday Evening Post dealing with the minor fascist groups in the United States.

The arrest during the same week of Fritz Kuhn, leader of the German-American Bund, on criminal charges, is significant in this respect, as is the investigation initiated by Army officials into Maj. Gen. George Van Horn Moseley's connections with movements to establish fascism by violence.

Main witnesses of the Dies committee were Dudley Pierrepont Gilbert of New York City, James Erwin Campbell of Owensboro, Ky., and George Deatherage of St. Albans, Vt. All advocated a military nationalistic form of government, and all of them were pro-fascist and rabidly anti-Semitic.

Wide Publicity

The Dies committee began its questioning of these men with elaborate maneuvers to gain publicity. It announced deep secrecy for its hearings. It transported witnesses across narrow ledges five stories above ground so that they would not meet one another and would be seen by no one but representatives of the press. It announced it had uncovered a well-organized anti-Semitic campaign which had attracted the attention of Maj. Gen. George Van Horn Moseley.

Then it gave long releases to the press and admitted reporters and spectators to its hearings. At the end of the week it adjourned indefinitely without calling the most important witness, Moseley.

The committee centered its investigation upon the anti-Semitic campaign. This campaign, as brought out by the committee's questioning, was organized as follows:

Dudley P. Gilbert, wealthy New Yorker, learned "highly inflammatory details of conversations" in the Harmonie Club of New York through an informer, alleged to be a waiter. He sent statements about these conversations to James E. Campbell, 42-year-old reserve army captain at Owensboro, Ky., who in turn sent them to a select mailing list. Campbell also sent out speeches by Moseley and Father Coughlin. These mailings were financed by Gilbert.

The Dies committee seized the correspondence files of Campbell and found letters from George Deatherage, leader of the Knights of the White

Camelia, Felix McWhirter, Indianapolis banker and treasurer of the Republican state organization of Indiana. They also found correspondence between Campbell and John D. M. Hamilton, chairman of the Republican National Committee.

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Twin City Unions Call for Huge WPA Protest Parade

**United Front Meeting, Set for June 2, Is
Expected to Be Largest Ever Held in Area**

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn. — A united front W.P.A. demonstration, the largest of its kind ever attempted, will be held in the Twin Cities on Friday, June 2. At the initiation of two sections of General Drivers Union Local 544, the Federal Workers Section, and the Independent Truck Owners Section, a Joint Action Committee has been set up. This Action Committee has worked out all details of the monster demonstration, which will take the form of a motorized parade. At least five thousand W.P.A. and relief workers and truck drivers are expected to participate.

The two Local 544 sections will mass at 257 Plymouth Avenue at 9 a.m. on June 2. The Workers Alliance contingent will fall in line at Eighth and Marshall. Local 544's Independent Truckowners' section will furnish trucks to convey all demonstrators. After marching on the district W.P.A. offices in Minneapolis, the motorized demonstration will proceed to St. Paul, where it will be joined by another large contingent of workers from St. Paul, White Bear, Hastings, Isanti and Anoka, to bear down on the state W.P.A. offices in downtown St. Paul, and thence to the state capitol to Governor Stassen.

Militant Demands

The demands adopted by the Joint Action Committee call, in part, for:

- Bread—Not Bullets
- Open the Idle Factories—Let Us Earn a Living
- Reinstate all discharged W.P.A. workers and provide funds immediately to employ all employables continuously at trade union wages.
- We insist upon Our Right to Work—Decent Jobs for All.
- For a Twenty Billion Program of Housing and Public Works.

Leading Militant of French Fourth Int'l Faces Death for Anti-Militarist Work

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

PARIS, May 24.—Leon Rigaudias, leading militant of the Fourth Internationalist P.O.I. (Internationalist Workers Party) and the J.S.R. (Revolutionary Socialist Youth), was arrested two weeks ago by the French authorities. It was learned here today, for anti-militarist activity among the mobilized troops. The charge against him is of the gravest kind and, if proved, is punishable by death.

Rigaudias is imprisoned in the fortress of Metz under strict army conditions, held incommunicado so that not even his intimate family or his lawyer is permitted to visit him. He

Nazis Join Coughlinites

ST. LOUIS — A German branch of the Union for Social Justice has recently been established in St. Louis, and is now holding regular weekly meetings.

This German branch was organized by the local Nazis, members of the German-American Bund. The chairman of this branch is Albert Mueller, "fuhrer" of the St. Louis Nazis, who has, in the past, presided at many Nazi meetings.

It is possible that the Nazis in other parts of the country are also entering Coughlin's organization.

**No Competitive Bidding for
W.P.A. Trucking — For the
Lesinsky Bill.**

Enlarge the N.Y.A. Program.

State demands call for a special session of the legislature to provide for an immediate slum clearance and housing act; a tax on corporate wealth to provide for the unemployed; cash relief; larger old age pensions; abolition of the Stassen Labor Slave Act; provide a State Youth Aid program in proportion to the need.

City demands call for no sales tax; a housing program to provide jobs and rat-proof homes for workers; the W.P.A. budget for single N.Y.A. workers; and no camps for single men.

Many unemployed youth are expected to join the demonstration.

State W.P.A. officials have been warned to declare June 2 a holiday, so that no time will be lost by the workers.

Plan Demonstration on WPA Cuts for June 26

Plans for a demonstration on June 26 in Washington against the W.P.A. cuts were announced this week in a call signed by a number of W.P.A. and relief workers organizations.

The call, addressed to unions and unemployed organizations, was signed by the Workers Relief and W.P.A. Union of Newark, Unemployed Workers Union of Wilkesbarre, Project Workers Union of Harrisburg,

Lehigh County Unemployed Leagues, Allentown, Pa., the Unemployed and Project Workers Union of New York, the American Workers Committee of Milwaukee, and the Peoples Unemployed League of Milwaukee.

The call also states that, preceding the demonstration, there will be held on June 24-25 a conference "to explore the possibilities of building a militant national organization of unemployed and W.P.A. workers."

In order to do everything possible to save Rigaudias from a long prison term and possibly execution, funds are urgently needed and an appeal is made to workers everywhere to furnish financial aid.

(The Socialist Appeal will be glad to forward to the proper bodies in France all funds addressed to it by readers for the defense of Rigaudias.)

Coughlin--an Enemy Of Trade Unionism

Father Coughlin poses as a friend of the worker, but he consistently carries out the anti-labor policies of the bosses. His pretended compassion for the underdog is just so much eyewash.

Coughlin favors the abolition of all real trade unions. He plugs for the company union in preference to the authentic trade union.

This is Coughlin's real program, just as it is the program of America's Sixty Ruling families.

For the time being the radio priest is forced, in the usual fascist manner, to conceal his true aims behind high sounding, but deceptive, phrases. For were he to state his aims openly, his support would vanish overnight, and he would cease to be of use to his Big Business backers.

Coughlin's unsavory labor record bears looking into.

Back in 1935, before the successful unionization drives in the auto industry, a semi-company union, the Automotive Industrial Workers of America, was set up in the automobile industry. Its greatest strength was in the Chrysler Corporation, but there were branches elsewhere, including a local in the Motor Products Company at Detroit.

This "union" received Father Coughlin's blessing, and was known as a "Coughlin union." It was created, as are company unions generally, to prevent the formation of a real, fighting union, and to force the workers to agree to the bosses' terms.

Blesses a Company Union

But something in the plans of the Coughlins and the Chryslers and the Fords went wrong. The workers decided to strike for better conditions. On November 15, 1935, all the members of the Motor Products Co. local of Coughlin's Automotive Industrial Workers union downed tools. This union comprised the majority of the workers in the plant. Another union represented there—the Mechanics Educational Society of America (an independent union) went out in sympathy with the Coughlin unionists. Not a man reported for work.

Tremendous pressure was exerted by the bosses, the National Metal Trade Association, the A.F.L. bureaucracy, and the police, to break the strike. Squad cars and motorcycle details patrolled the plant gates daily. Other squad cars carried scabs to work. Strikers were harassed and attacked.

Faced with this powerful, unified opposition, the strikers thought they could turn for aid to their "protector," Father Coughlin. A delegation of strikers was sent to call upon the priest to present the strikers' viewpoint and enlist his help.

What did Coughlin do? Coughlin flatly refused to see the strikers' delegation! He refused to intercede with the bosses in behalf of the union he had once sponsored. He refused to utter one word in his radio broadcasts in defense of the strikers and in protest against police intimidation. And with Coughlin's help, the bosses smashed the strike.

More than three years have passed since then. Coughlin's policy today is as much, and more anti-labor, as it was in the Motor Products strike.

Harlan County, Kentucky, is again the arena of a labor conflict. Governor Chandler has called out the National

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Seafarer's Union Ties Up 14 East Coast Ships; Tanker Strike Continues

**But NMU Leadership
Endangers Strike by
Policy on "Hot Oil"**

By DAVID COWLES

With the tanker strike in its seventh week, the effectiveness of the strike is being weakened by the Curran leadership which refuses to take steps to stop the shipment of "hot oil" by the large oil companies, such as Esso and Standard.

On the Gulf Coast, the N.M.U. crew aboard the F. J. Luckenbach took the stand that "if its finky to go into a filling station and take on five gallons of gas—then it's finky to go to a bunker dock and take 1,000 barrels of oil." And they forced the company to stop taking hot oil. The N.M.U. membership under the militant Houston leadership forced the Lykes Brothers Steamship Co. to use only fair oil. (N.M.U. Pilot of May 12, 1939).

The membership of the S.U.P. and the S.I.U. was reported in the official N.M.U. Pilot as giving them whole-hearted cooperation in the fight to stop the hot oil. From Houston came the report that the crew of the West coast ship Lena Luckenbach had come into the N.M.U. hall and announced "they never, under any circumstances, would accept hot bunkers until the N.M.U. had won their demands." And the same report said, "The same kind of solidarity was evidenced in New Orleans, where four S.I.U. ships in a row offered to tie up rather than take on hot oil." (N.M.U. Pilot, May 12, 1939).

One week later the report was printed from Galveston that "A.F.L. Ships Refuse to Take Hot Oil Bunkers" and the "Result was the ship was moved to a fair dock for fuel." (N.M.U. Pilot, May 19, 1939).

Deceive Members

The Curran leadership and Stalinist machine behind it, are however, trying to deceive the membership into believing that the S.I.U. is trying to break the tanker strike. They continue this deceptive propaganda in order to hide the fact that on the all-important East Coast they have refused to take any direct action to stop the movement.

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**Seafarer's International Union Wages
Most Thorough Strike Action of Year—
Strengthens Cause of Militant Unionism**

A fresh breeze of progressive maritime unionism hit the East Coast as the Seafarer's International Union completely tied up the 14 vessels of the Eastern Steamship Company, in what the boss press correctly describes as "the most thorough strike action of this year," on Friday, May 26.

Failing to get their demands for improvement in overtime and hours, and in wage increases of \$10 to \$15 for the deck, engine and stewards departments, the S.I.U., after a strike vote, ordered the 1,000

seamen from the company's vessels and left the ships motionless in ports from Portland, Maine, to Richmond, Virginia. The strike was called at the strategic time when the company's operations were nearing the peak of activity.

Blow at Class-Cooperation

The strike strengthens the organized power of militant, class-struggle unionism and deals a blow at the employer-cooperation unionism of the Curran-Bridges N.M.U. machine.

Realizing that the victory of the progressive S.I.U. on the East Coast would be the beginning of a great wave of organizing on the East Coast, the bankers, railroads, and other plutocrats, some of whom are financially interested in the Eastern S. S. Company, have begun a propaganda offensive to put the S.I.U. on the spot.

The front-page stories in all leading metropolitan dailies reflect their alarm at the appearance of union militants on the Atlantic waterfront affiliated to the same international as the Sailors Union of the Pacific. They have built up a picture of the S.U.P. "invading" the east coast, in order to raise a bogey man before the eyes of the public, the intelligent section of which however, cannot fail but to see the blatant hypocrisy of such propaganda.

What informed person is not aware of the long standing invasion of the shipowners into the living standards not only of east-coast seamen, but of all workers throughout the world? What of the United Fruit Company's "invasion" and domina

tion of whole Central American countries? They are not opposed to "invading" when they do it. What they oppose is the S.U.P. helping the east coast seamen to invade the swollen profits of the plutocrats who dominate and control not only the Eastern Steamship Co. but the whole economic and political life of the country.

Brazen Attitude

The next act of the bosses and their press, performed with an air of injured innocence, is to say that they really, really, cannot afford to pay the increases demanded. The implication is that the seamen ought to be, you know, "more considerate." This is an utterly brazen attitude. Just how much consideration is the company showing when it lays the men off during the slow season? Perhaps the men can afford to take the wage losses?

Their last act however is guaranteed to bring the house down, especially if it should happen to be a seamen's audience. To live to see shipowners weeping about the "lack of democracy" in the S.I.U. is to have lived to some purpose. It might be suggested to the company-union-loving shipowners that, should they turn the millions of dollars they spend annually to smash unions through the employment of scabs, thugs, stool-pigeons, and other such democracy-lovers, toward increases in wages, installation of a four-watch system, and improvement of their filthy food menus for the seamen, their crocodile tears might, perhaps, begin to affect us.

The facts are: Two out of three departments voted strike, therefore, the deck and blackgang men were called out. The Eastern Steamship Company thereupon cooperated by firing the steward's dept. (Very considerate.) They are therefore, locked out.

What the shipowners are really afraid of is just that democracy that does exist in the S.I.U. They know that it is a guarantee that their stooges will not be able to bore from within for very long. They know that it means rank and file control of the union, which means that the union will fight for what the seamen think is worth fighting for, and not for what the shipowners might think they should not fight for.

It is that democracy which was a principal factor in making a small group of 6,000 seamen (S.U.P.) such a mighty force on the West Coast, ready and able to challenge the government itself. That is what the shipowners are really afraid of. And they better be, because the membership of the S.U.P. and the S.I.U. are determined to keep their union democratic, seamen's style.

The class-struggle unionism of the S.U.P. is now on the East Coast, with a great future before it. Having the assured cooperation of the longshoremen and the teamsters, the strike should be a success. The S.I.U. is demonstrating the kind of real unity that brings shopowners to their knees.

WAR NOTE

WASHINGTON, D. C. — The U. S. Army is about to start the most feverish recruiting campaign since the World War. To line up the suckers—who will be first to get shot, bayoneted, blown apart, or gassed, "high-pressure salesmanship" will be used, says Major Gilbert, in charge.

Slow Response of Branches Is Peril to Twice-a-Week Appeal

First returns from the emergency call to branches for the payment of delinquent bundle order accounts to save the Twice-a-Week Appeal came in during the past week.

The results so far are coming in too slowly to ease the situation. As a matter of fact the crisis has deepened and unless the branches show more speed and action, we are soon coming to a blow-up. There are no two ways about it. Our reserve fund is exhausted. Either the branches must pay their bundle order bills—and pay them right now!—or we can't have the Twice-a-Week Appeal.

The following branches are setting the pace and the example:

Quakertown—sent in \$4.50 to pay their bill up to date.

Lynn, Mass.—Paid \$4.00—up to date.

Worcester, Mass.—Paid \$4.80—up to date.

Berkeley Yipsels—\$4.50—almost up to date.

Cleveland sent in \$10.00 on account and promises to clean up the back bill as quickly as possible.

Los Angeles is paying cash for each bundle, plus \$6.00 weekly on their delinquent bill.

From Newark, organizer George Breitman writes: "We decided last night to divert half the proceeds of a social affair scheduled for this coming Saturday evening as part payment on our Appeal bundle account, and to do the same thing in the near future, in the hope that by the end of next month, by the

time of the convention, we shall have liquidated our account. We are taking other steps to build up the circulation of the paper here; comrade Stanley will notice a rise in the amount of subs we are sending in this week; we shall continue to get renewal subs wherever possible; we are going to contact our entire party contact list personally within one month in an attempt to get more new subs; we are now going out onto the streets of the city, into the heart of the city, at least once a week. The Appeal noted that last Saturday we did good work in disposing of the Appeal at the city's busiest corners. This is a turn for the better in Newark, and it is only the beginning. The rest of the summer I am positive will see us increasing our bundle order for sure."

From Boston, literature director, John Taber writes: "Boston owes only for the last six issues. I just received the bill and will send comrade Stanley a money order to pay for it in full."

The following branches are the outstanding hold-outs who have thus far not responded to the emergency call: Philadelphia, Chicago, Toledo, Akron.

Get busy comrades! Bundle order accounts must be paid right now or the Twice-a-Week Appeal is going down. Branches which are back in their bills must find the ways and means to pay them by emergency action. Other branches must make special efforts to pay a few issues in advance to help us over this desperate emergency.

In the Labor Unions

By B. J. WIDICK

The Ohio Federation of Teachers, affiliated with the A.F. of L., recently held its state convention. In contrast to other localities, the Ohio Federation reported considerable organizational progress.

M. J. Ecker, Secretary-Treasurer of the Ohio Federation, reported that the last year was the most successful year of the Federation since its organization in 1934.

Gains were made in membership, affiliation of new locals with the Federation and the organization of new locals in the state of Ohio. Then new locals were organized in the past year, bringing the total to twenty-six for the state, of which eighteen are affiliated with the state organization.

Despite undisputed pressure of Ohio State Federation of Labor officials, the convention went on record against any changes in the Wagner Act.

One state official openly told delegates, "If you don't go along with us (amend the Wagner Act) we'll withdraw support from your organization." After a motion to table the resolution defending the Wagner Act was defeated 19 to 61, the convention voted 68 to 13 to oppose any amendments to the Wagner Act.

For Labor Unity

A call to the national A.F. of L. to submit a national referendum on the question of unity between the C.I.O. and the A.F. of L. was also made by the convention.

The referendum would be on two questions:

"Shall a department for industrial unionism be set up within the A.F. of L.?"

"Shall all bona-fide labor unions, not now affiliated, be invited to affiliate with the A.F. of L., on exactly the same terms, and to enjoy the same rights, benefits and cooperation in the Federation as the unions now members of the same?"

A blast at all the anti-alien bills pending before Congress was made in a special resolution which condemned the vicious persecution of minorities embodied in those bills.

All Stalinist-supported candidates lost in the elections. E. Glenn Baxter of Elyria was chosen president, George Hamm-smith of Toledo, vice president, Eugenia Couden of Cleveland, recording secretary, and Paul Parker of Springfield, sergeant of arms. Eck was re-elected to his post of secretary-treasurer.

Trainmen Meet

Another convention in Ohio has a different character—the quadrennial convention of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen. While thousands of railroad workers are walking the streets, 975 delegates are leisurely going through a convention that is expected to last at least two months!

What a convention! All sessions are closed. Anyone talking to a newspaperman is subject to expulsion. But despite these steps to keep absolute silence over his moves, President A. F. Whitney is having a little trouble.

There seems to have been a falling out between Whitney and George Anderson, secretary-treasurer. Anderson published a small pamphlet, charging the Whitney administration with exorbitant expenditure of union funds. He claims that expenditures increased \$990,000 during the past ten years, compared to a previous period. He also said that a close friend of Whitney's who handles the union insurance business, got nearly half a million dollars in commissions.

When part of this pamphlet was reprinted by a Cleveland newspaper, Whitney, instead of replying to the accusations, threatened to take the convention to another city where the press would be more favorably inclined to him.

Later on Whitney declared that the increase in the union revenue by \$10,000,000 in the past ten years justified the increased expenditures because the union had grown from 57,000 to 123,000.

Whitney can scarcely blame the rank and file of his union for being very suspicious of any explanations in view of the dictatorial control he holds over the convention and its proceedings. Anderson, for example, got the axe because of his opposition to Whitney.

CURRAN POLICY ON "HOT OIL" ENDANGERS TANKER STRIKE

Militant Traditions of N.M.U. Membership Smothered by Class-Collaboration of Curran Leadership as Strike Enters Seventh Week

(Continued from Page 1)

ment of the "hot oil" and break the resistance of the tanker companies. The Curran leadership conducted some demonstrations. These forced the Department of Commerce to become more careful in the aid they were giving the oil companies in issuing certificates of efficiency to their finks; it has even fined the companies a total of \$67,000. But they did not stop the shipment of the hot oil by the finks who already had the certificates of efficiency.

Then there was picketing of the docks. This was good publicity, but it was difficult to stop the finks from getting aboard the tankers and this policy, by itself, could not stop the shipment of "hot oil".

Gas Stations Picketed
Picketing the gas stations that were selling the "hot oil" was a method of warning the consumers that there was a strike on against the oil companies. But the strikers could cover only a very small section of the gas stations selling the struck oil. In all the rest the oil would be sold and the buying public would not even know of the existence of the strike.

And in all cases, the oil had already been shipped and delivered so that all who wanted to buy, and aid in breaking the strike, could do so.

Declaring the struck oil companies "unfair" would help warn the union men and union sympathizers against buying their products — if the notice was brought to their attention and if they then remembered the products. But the oil and the by-products would have been shipped to the market and those who had not learned of the strike or having learned did not remember the by-products, would unwillingly aid in breaking the strike.

Only Effective Way
The only effective way to stop the sale of "hot oil" was to stop all and any movement of the struck oil. To a considerable extent this was in the power of the Curran leadership. The freighter and passen-

C.P. Machine Forces Arbitration on Brass Rail Strikers

NEW YORK, May 23.—After twenty weeks of striking the Brass Rail in a crucial struggle with the Restaurant Guild, the members of Waiters' Union Local 16 are facing loss of job security through the acceptance of compulsory arbitration, the Stalinist leadership's proposal for terminating the controversy. To date, the membership has held out against the demand of the bosses for compulsory arbitration despite the phrasing of the Communist Party sell-out machine. At the union's last meeting on May 18, the waiters crowded into Hotel Center and indicated their fighting mood by voting a \$5 strike tax.

From the first, the Albertson-Lee administration of the local has tried to cook up a settlement based on the Guild's main demand. Meeting after meeting has repudiated such a line; and as recently as a month ago, President Lee was voted out of office in an election in which the progressives, organized in a group, made substantial headway in weakening Stalinist control.

Significant of the role played by the inter-local Stalinist machine in the attempt to offset progressive influence in Local 16 is the action taken by Harry Reich, C. P. leader in Cooks and Kitchen Workers Local 89, which is also involved in the controversy with the Restaurant Guild. Reich has officially proposed acceptance of the Guild's terms. Because no effective opposition existed in Local 89, the proposal was passed without a ripple.

Progressives Must Act
That's a straw in the wind which should arouse the progressives in Local 16 and the militant membership behind them to the greatest vigilance. A grave responsibility rests upon the shoulders of the Progressive Group of this local. If the arbitration provisions are jammed through, its ranks will dwindle and become demoralized. Their following will be unable to feed their families and buck the Stalinist class-collaboration administration unless they are protected with job security. Their struggle is one whose outcome will affect the fate of the foodworkers fighting C.P. betrayal in all the locals.

The June number of the New Internationalist is just off the press. Leon Trotsky is featured, with an article on the Bonapartist philosophy of the state. This article examines Stalin's present day conception of State power and his revision of the traditional Marxist doctrine of the state. The Jewish question and Palestine are treated in several articles by writers from Palestine and this country. This question is of special importance in view of the recent developments in Palestine. The Editor's Comments concern themselves this time largely with an examination largely with an examination and analysis of Father Coughlin's fascist movement. The complete table of contents of the June number follows:

ger ships take a large quantity of oil both for running the ships and as cargo. These are manned by N.M.U. crews. Curran had only to give the order and the men would have tied up the ships and stopped the movement of "hot oil".

Far from doing this, the Curran leadership has made it a policy to force the membership on N.M.U. vessels to move the "hot oil". When one N.M.U. crew refused to take on the "hot oil" the Curran leadership ordered them to obey and in this way, forced them to move the hot oil and help break the strike of their N.M.U. brothers.

Point to Agreement
The Currans justify their action by pointing to the N.M.U. agreement which promises the shipowners that "there shall be no strikes, sit-downs, quickies, or other stoppages of work. Members of the union participating in such stoppage of work shall be subject to discharge by the company, and the union shall furnish the replacement of such employees. A violation of this provision shall render this agreement null and void at the option of this company."

According to this agreement, if the men stopped work on the shipping of the "hot oil" the company was given permission to discharge them. Curran would replace the men. If he did not do so fast enough, the company could void the agreement—if it so wished. Curran ordered the men to save this agreement even if it meant drowning the tanker strike in hot oil.

This agreement, which sets union men against union men and forces the real union men in the N.M.U. to the level of finks, was shoved down the throats of the membership by the Curran machine. The bureaucratic character of this machine is shown not only by this company-union agreement but also by the tactics in the current tanker strike.

Main Centers
The tanker strike, which has its main centers in Boston, New York, Marcus Hook, Houston and Port Arthur, was called on April 17 when the tanker companies refused to give into the basic demand of the N.M.U.: preferential hiring. The companies refused to sign an agreement of any sort. For weeks before the strike call, the Curran leadership preached faith in the government's Maritime Labor Board. Finally, the pressure from the men in the tankers forced them to act and the Curran leadership called the strike—but without even permitting a coastwise vote of the membership.

The shipowners proceeded immediately to break the strike with their own forces, the aid of the government and the weapons furnished them by the Curran leadership. The tanker contract which Curran had given the companies left in their hands the power to register as many men as they wanted. Where this was insufficient, they got cooperation from the government's Bureau of Marine Inspection and Navigation, to break their own laws by issuing the necessary certificates of efficiency to people who had not the slightest qualifications under the law. The companies even went so far as to shanghai men at sea, refusing to take them back to the states, and forcing them to sign articles to go to other places than those called for by their former articles.

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June New Int'l Features Trotsky on Bonapartism

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ST. PAUL UNIONS DISCUSS PLIGHT OF UNEMPLOYED

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

ST. PAUL, Minn., May 24.—95 delegates representing 41 unions discussed the problems of unemployment and relief at a special conference sponsored by the unemployment committee of the Trades and Labor Assembly on May 19. Every important section of the labor movement such as the Building Trades, the drivers unions, service trades, professional unions, etc., sent delegates, a striking measure of the interest in unemployment as a union problem.

Although the first speaker, Frank Rarig, representative of the local relief administration, tried to confuse the issues by talking in terms of million dollar bond issues and by playing down the low standards of relief, the problems were clearly stated in discussion from the floor by delegates who from their own experience or that of their members know what the really miserable relief conditions are.

The general attitude was well summed up in the words of a delegate from the Carpenters Union, who said, "Let's stop trying to make provisions to push the poor further down in the gutter. No matter how much money is appropriated, the poor keep getting poorer and the rich richer."

The inadequacies of the clothing allowances were sharply pointed out by a woman delegate from the Restaurant Employees Union who cited such cases as that of three children, 2, 3, and 4 years old, who were given only two small shoes which were too small, but who were nevertheless charged the cost of new shoes. She further charged Mr. Rarig's statement that clothing was adequate on St. Paul relief by pointing out the red tape and inefficiency of distribution which forced clients to wait months for items of apparel.

The Housing Question

Housing in St. Paul is one of the major problems of the unemployed and received much attention from the delegates. The newspaper of the city central body, the Union Advocate, in publishing a survey made on housing conditions by the unemployment committee quoted from an article in Fortune of three years ago which stated, "The slums of St. Paul are among the worst in the nation." John Barret, member of the Steamfitters Union and labor representative in the Minnesota legislature, pointed out that this conservative session of the legislature had refused even to pass an Enabling Act to allow cities in Minnesota to do something about their miserable housing conditions. Building trades delegates particularly cited the need for condemning the thousands of homes found unfit for human habitation by previous surveys and for laying out a program of publicity to press for decent housing.

The questions of unemployment compensation were reported by Frank Starkey of the Industrial Commission, and delegates questioned the interpretations of the new 1939 legislative rulings. Further actions on these questions were referred to the unemployment committee of the Assembly which will lay out a program to help the union movement to face the problem.

In the "Nation Of Homeowners"

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
AKRON, O., May 24.—For the information of the Federal Housing Authority, the Home Owners Loan Corporation and the Akron Chamber of Commerce, this item is reprinted from the Akron Beacon Journal lost and found column:

"LOST—10 x 12 tent; corner Broadway, High sts., Cuyahoga Falls. Property of W.P.A. worker, used as home."

They might use it in some of their speeches about the U. S. being a "nation of homeowners."

Akron Union Men Testify on Rule By Police Club

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

AKRON, O., May 24.—The sordid story of attempted government by police club was unfolded here this week before the City Council committees on public welfare and social services, as C.I.O. and A.F.L. representatives testified to police brutality, intimidation and coercion.

Committee hearings were called following vehement protests against the clubbing of pickets at the Lowenthal Rubber Co., limitation of pickets in the Akron Dry Goods Co. department store strike, and the general reactionary campaign of city officials to black-jack a strike into insignificance before it can become a city-wide issue.

Akron Dry pickets related how a police sergeant started a back-to-work movement, which was blocked by the alertness of the rank and file.

A C. I. O. representative warned that the police could not continue their dictatorial tactics forever without the workers retaliating. A representative of the county A.F.L. central body condemned the "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde attitudes" of the city law department.

"Sympathy from a pious law director doesn't heal a cracked head," he declared.

Rubber Workers Pace New Activity in Akron Unions

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)

AKRON, O., May 24.—Indications of a dynamic resurgence of the Akron labor movement were expressed last week in several major developments in the United Rubber Workers of America.

A strike at Goodrich, now, the largest rubber factory in the city, was narrowly averted after workers in the processing division attempted to set their own production schedules. When the company changed the shifts onto night work, the workers entered the factory at the regular time during the day.

The resultant confusion so crippled production that an almost complete shutdown occurred. At a special union meeting, it was voted by a slim margin to return to work.

A departmental strike of truck tire builders at the General Tire and Rubber Co. was temporarily ended when the union acceded to a wage cut for the time being. Union officers, however, have been empowered to call a strike if wage negotiations are not satisfactorily concluded.

To the embarrassment of the union officialdom, the ghost of the 1936 Goodyear sit-down strike was raised during the N.L.R.B. hearings against the company, which began May 22.

Flushed with the victory scored against the C.I.O. when the Supreme Court declared sit-down strikes illegal, the company has responded to

LEHMAN SIGNS REACTIONARY DEVANY BILL

(By Staff Writer)

ALBANY, N. Y., May 28.—Governor Lehman of New York, darling of the liberals, social-democrats and Stalinists, today approved the notorious Devany bill, which bars from civil service and teaching positions in the public schools "persons advocating the overthrow of the government by force." The bill had been shoved through a reactionary state legislature.

The bill was signed by Lehman, self-styled "democrat," in face of the fact that similar bills on the statute books of numerous states, usually under the title of "criminal syndicalism" or "criminal anarchy" laws, have been used by reactionaries and labor-haters as a vicious weapon against all non-conformists and critics of capitalism.

The Devany bill is a direct blow at the freedom of thought and social or political activity of civil servants and public school teachers. It is designed to intimidate anyone in the schools or civil service, threatening them with loss of their jobs if they express any kind of vigorous, to say nothing of revolutionary, social opinions or engage in activity that corresponds to their beliefs.

Hypocrisy is added to this attack on the labor and radical movements by the pious assertion that it is "also" aimed at "reactionaries" and "fascists," a claim which is loudly belied by the fact that almost without exception every red-baiter and reactionary in the state stood solidly behind the bill. Just as well-established is the fact that in any case, as all experience has shown, such laws, at their "fairest," are applied 99 percent to workers and radicals and only 1 percent—a very lenient 1 percent, at that—to fascists.

Local 544 Exposes Boss-Inspired Court Action

Show Boss Hand in Charges Against Union; C. P. Backs Union Busting Suit

By CARL O'SHEA

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.—Way back in February, 1938, five alleged members of the General Drivers Union Local 544 filed a complaint against the union, calling upon the district court to turn over all the union's books and records to the complainants. The reactionary boss-inspired character of this move against Local 544 was immediately exposed on two counts: the nature of the charges against the union, and the character of the five truck owners who signed the complaint.

Boss Charges

Among other demands, the complaint called upon the court to break the provisions of contracts safeguarding jobs of union members; to end "illegal picketing"; attacked employment by the union of organizers "to intimidate and coerce non-union drivers and owners"; and charged that the union has "intimidated and coerced the officers and agents of said city having control of the disbursement of relief funds, into paying out large sums of money for relief to persons who were not equitably or legally entitled thereto, or larger amounts than the recipients were entitled to, all to the prejudice of the taxpayers of said city."

One of the five complainants had become an employer and was no longer a truck driver; one had been disciplined by the union for undercutting the stipulated union scale; one scabbled during a strike. All were alien to trade unionism, all were tools of reactionary politicians and bosses who inspired and financed their move. At least one of them has since been caught recruiting members for the fink "Associated Independent Union."

Local 544, true to its militant tradition, mobilized its members and the entire Minneapolis labor movement against the fink suit. When the case was tried before court, Judge Reed ordered 544 to turn over its books and records to the five finks. Local 544 refused and challenged the court's decision.

All Labor Backs 544

For fifteen months Local 544 has steadfastly refused to permit the five agents of the employers access to the union's books and records. At every stage in this remarkable fight, the General Drivers Union has had the complete support and endorsement of the Teamsters Joint Council and the Minneapolis Central Labor Union. Every worker realized the fink suit was a fight against the entire labor movement and that a fundamental union principle was involved. This fight is of prime importance to the labor movement of the United States, and the resistance of Local 544 and the local labor movement to the fink suit has certainly dissuaded employers from the idea that it is an easy matter to gain access to the books and records of unions.

Courts Back Down
The case went to the state supreme court which, reacting to the pressure of the city and state labor movement, left a loop-hole for the district judge to retreat. The district judge then amended his order, denying the plaintiffs access to the union's books and ordering the case to be heard.

Since then the attorney for the finks has made one attempt after another to get the union books and to smear the name of the union.

Last week the finks' attorney, Arthur Anderson, filed new charges against Local 544. The union officers are accused of being communists; of calling strikes without authority from the membership; of holding the union election contrary to the union laws; of deliberately concealing the records from the plaintiffs; of being guilty of contempt of court because Miles Dunne, at a mass meeting of the union movement held in the municipal auditorium, said: "Court order or no court order, we'll never show our books"; for "causing to be collected large sums from various employers allegedly for back pay for employees who were members of Local 544."

The Pay-Off
Every union man and woman in the country will recognize that the new charges are cut from the same cloth as the original charges. And every

union man, every union, will hail Local 544 for defending so well the principle that a union never lets the bosses get their dirty fingers on a union's books and records, from which they could compile blacklists, etc. It is unthinkable that any union would do anything but vote a resolution of support to Local 544 in this fight.

No honest working-class organization would act any differently.

BUT THE COMMUNIST PARTY WOULD—AND DOES.

New Low for C.P.

In a breath-taking article, the Stalinist Midwest Labor "Wrecker" for May 22 refers to the five finks as "rank and file members" of the union. "The Communist Party of Minnesota in a wire to the Record declared that the defendants were Trotskyites, who called themselves 'Communists' to hide their fascist inclinations. The Communist Party agreed with the complainants that the Trotskyites were guilty of anti-labor activities."

For the first time the Stalinist leaders are out in the open defending the finks who are acting for the employers in attacking the drivers' movement.

The union movement, to a man, recognizes that the ONLY thing Local 544's leaders are guilty of is acting militantly and successfully in defending the interests of its members and the unemployed. All the fink charges boil down to this.

How About This?
This shameful behavior of the leaders of the Communist Party in Minnesota and the Midwest Record, in joining the fink attack on the union movement, ought to bring down upon the heads of the C.P. the condemnation of every honest worker, no matter what his political beliefs may be.

How about this? Certainly no honorable union man or woman can do less than denounce this foul act of betrayal, and pledge further support to 544 in this fight.

FARRELL FORCES GETTING SHAKY, ASK CORRECTION

By the Political Sports Editor

Great significance was attached to an announcement, indignantly made by James T. Farrell, Captain of the Studs Lonigan Athletic Club, who is to lead his team in a grudge baseball match against the Marxist Maulers (captained by "Snorky" Jim Cannon), at the Heckscher Foundation, 104th St. and 5th Avenue, on June 10, under the auspices of the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees, beneficiary of the game.

Farrell violently denounced the Socialist Appeal for having given the name of his dark-horse scrub as Schmeka Gainsborough, declaring that the misprint was a deliberate attempt to create the impression that his team would permit the collaboration of an Englishman. His scrub's real name, he contends, is Schmeka Gilligan, formerly Fitzgilligan.

The Marxist Maulers are claiming to be gleeful at this announcement, seeing in it a confirmation of their boast that they would rattle their adversaries even before the game began.

More impartial observers, however, find the teams fairly evenly matched, with the edge going, if anything, to either side. However that may be, sport fans have been clamoring in increasing numbers for the tickets available at the American Fund, 100 Fifth Ave., Room 1609, where they are still selling at 85 cents a crack.

Special Offer!
TWO BOUND VOLUMES
of the
SOCIALIST APPEAL
1937 and 1938
Both for only \$3.00—including postage
This 25% reduction holds good for only a few weeks!

WORKERS' FORUM

FIGHTING COUGHLIN

Editor: A number of the comrades here in Newark, in an informal discussion of the Appeal's articles on Coughlin, came to the following suggestion:

We don't think it enough to merely characterize Coughlin as an anti-Semite and a fascist. What is much more important is a series of articles analyzing his program, explaining that Coughlin exploits the sentiments of the masses against their own interests; how their discontent with unemployment, war, fascism and an inadequate standard of living is used by him to answer that to end these things one must kill the Jews. On each major social problem, one should show that Coughlin has no real program. Then, in contrast, our own transitional program should be set forth, showing the difference between Coughlin and a working class party's program. The way to arouse the most effective agitation, we believe, is by contrasting his program with ours, and calling upon the workers to choose between them.

Fraternally,
GEORGE BREITMAN
Newark, N. J.

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In the World of Labor

By Paul G. Stevens

Fourth Internationalists Organize Anti-Nazi Fight in Denmark

It is fast becoming a fact that wherever there is organized, militant struggle against fascism, there the Fourth Internationalists will be found at the forefront; wherever a section of the Fourth International exists, there the fascists cannot take to the streets without facing battle.

The Socialist Workers Party brought the masses into the streets to meet the provocations of the Nazi Bund and the various home-baked varieties of fascism in New York, Philadelphia, Los Angeles and San Francisco in the course of the past year. The Revolutionary Socialist Party of Belgium stopped Degrelle's Rexistists in their tracks in one mining town after another, when the fascists attempted to penetrate the proletarian strongholds of the Borinage region. And now, word comes that the newly organized section of the Fourth International in Denmark, the International Communist Party whose formation we greeted in these columns but a short few months ago, led a successful counter-demonstration against the Danish Nazis in Copenhagen on May 1.

Close to the German border and thus more arrogant than elsewhere, the Danish Nazis provocatively announced a mass meeting in one of the city's public squares on the workers' holiday. The social democrats and the Stalinists responded to this challenge in their usual cowardly fashion—they demonstrated under the national flag in a park miles away from the Nazis. Only our Danish comrades took up the challenge. Thousands of leaflets calling for a counter-demonstration were distributed by the I.C.P. throughout Copenhagen on the day before the demonstration and, on May Day, at the rallies of the Stalinists and the social democrats.

Everywhere the appeal was greeted enthusiastically. Fifteen hundred workers joined the I.C.P. in active combat at the Nazi meeting. Although the police protected the latter, they could not make themselves heard. Every speaker was pelted with a multitude of projectiles from the crowd, which was well equipped with rotten eggs and ripe tomatoes.

In this action, the I.C.P. for the first time brought into the public streets of Denmark the transitional slogans of the Fourth International. Inscribed on placards, they were greeted enthusiastically by the assembled workers. Altogether, it was an auspicious baptism in action for this fighting infant in the ranks of our international.

More power to the Danish Bolshevik-Leninists!

Ranks of French "Labor" Leaders Split by Munich Crisis

Some time ago, this column indicated the rift created in the ranks of the major French labor organizations after the September crisis. In the General Federation of Labor (C.G.T.) the formerly militant syndicalist minority—

the "Amis de Syndicats"—countered the Jouhaux-Stalinist war-mongering with nothing but a pro-Munich type of "pacifism". In the official Socialist Party (S.F.I.O.), where Leon Blum joined the Stalinists in their pro-war line, the crisis brought forward the pro-Munich tendency of Paul Faure. Now the rift has widened considerably.

The syndicalists, with their blind apathy toward politics and their superficial anti-Stalinism, were bound to flounder into dangerous waters. At first, their agreement with the Flandin-Bonnet group of capitalist "Munich-oids" appeared to be a mere coincidence. When their pamphlets were reprinted in the press of this imperialist gang, that should have been cause for them to pause. It was, but instead of re-evaluating their phoney kind of pacifism, they began to "reconsider" . . . their syndicalism.

They have finally arrived at a conclusion which makes their class collaboration no better, and in a sense even more dangerous, than that of Jouhaux and the Stalinists whom they have been fighting for years. Joint meetings with the bosses' association representatives "in the general interest of the country" have been organized by such prominent syndicalists as Georges Dumoulin and Delaisi in the North, where they are in control of the unions. Dumoulin writes in their paper, "Syndicats," with a cynicism characteristic of those whom he has fought in the past:

"There are, of course, some risks. . . We haven't abandoned a particle of our class feelings; we merely think that, like everything else, the class struggle has changed. It has taken on new forms. In every case, constructive work requires collaboration and no durable construction is possible without loyal collaboration. . ."

The syndicalists are thus well on their way into the camp of the Munich group of French capitalists, just as their Stalinist opponents have already lined up with the pro-war group.

Paul Faure Lines up The S. P. against Blum

In the S.F.I.O., the same tendency is reflected in the struggle between the Paul Faure and Leon Blum factions. Under the cry that "the heavy obligations imposed by national defense are serving as a pretext for a policy of social reaction", Faure demands, not a denunciation of national defense by coalitions with the capitalist parties . . . but a break with the Stalinists on the part of Leon Blum and the Socialist Party. Having been the general secretary of that party Paul Faure lined up a large majority at the party convention last week-end in a test vote on whether to debate a resolution on this subject which he had presented and the National Committee had suppressed. Faure does not yet openly propose alignment with the Flandin-Bonnet group of French capitalists. But his stand in the Munich crisis leaves no doubt that he is headed in the same direction on the political field as the syndicalists are on the trade union field.

Father Coughlin Is Labor's Mortal Enemy

Friendship for Labor Is So Much Eyewash

(Continued from Page 1)

Guard to terrorize the 12,000 miners on strike. The commander of the National Guard has given his men the brutal order: "Shoot to kill!"

Where does Coughlin stand on this clear-cut labor issue? With the workers? Of course not. He stands where he always stands, with the bosses.

Coughlin entitles an article on the Harlan strike (Social Justice, May 22): "Troops Protect Men Working in Kentucky Mines." The "men working" naturally are scabs, but this the pious father conveniently "forgets" to mention. Coughlin whitewashes the bosses—the same bosses who were so scathingly criticized for their anti-labor practices by the LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee last year. Coughlin throws the entire blame for the conditions in bloody Harlan County onto John L. Lewis and the union, and seeks to shatter the strikers' morale.

Feddles Boss Lies

Coughlin peddles the lies of the bosses. Says Social Justice: "To guarantee the men their right to work, Governor Chandler found it necessary to call out nearly 1,000 National Guard troops to stand guard over the mines." The article states further: "Lewis defied the forces of law and order in Harlan County, Ky., where Governor Chandler said that 75 per cent of the mine workers desired to work, despite Lewis' command that they continue in idleness. The cry of revolt (against Lewis) was heard in other sections, sickened by Lewis' one-man rule over their jobs, homes and happiness."

How about the bosses' tyranny over the workers, Father Coughlin? How about the bosses' iron grip over the jobs, homes and happiness of the strikers? On these points Coughlin is silent. He always attacks the workers when they seek to strengthen their unions. He has no word of criticism against the bosses' strike-breaking.

Chandler calls out the troops against the striking miners. The National Guard commander gives the order "shoot to kill." Father Coughlin applauds vehemently, and shouts "Hurrah!" and "Amen!" That's the sort of man that Coughlin is—an enemy of the workingman.

Coughlin's anti-union policies seek to smash the unions and force workers to meek acceptance of their bosses' hand-outs. Coughlin wants 'no conflict' between labor and employer. He wants 'national unity,' the "corporate state" a la Mussolini. "National unity," says Coughlin (Social Justice, May 8) will solve the problem of the unemployed. The course of national unity "will be open to Americans the day they forget they are . . . workers or capitalists and decide to cooperate in putting the United States back on its feet."

No unions, no strikes, "unity" between workers and capitalists—this is the fascist answer to the problems of decaying capitalism. It is the answer of Coughlin and his backers, the DuPonts, the Morgans, the Rockefellers—America's Sixty Families.

Labor's interests are in uncompromising conflict with Coughlinism, which is the most hypocritical, the most insidious, and therefore the most dangerous manifestation of American fascism today. Coughlinism means concentration camps, forced labor, a prison regime for the workers of America.

If the workers are passive and deluded here as they were in Germany, Coughlinism will succeed in depressing their living standards to the level of the Chinese coolie. To stamp out American fascism before it breeds and spreads, the workers must prepare now to protect their unions, their meetings and their organizations. Workers must form defense squads to beat back the fascists whenever they launch an attack.

The Socialist Workers Party calls upon the workers to spurn fascist appeals, solidify their ranks, and form their own defense squads. This is the way to fight Coughlinism.

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Dies Investigation of Fascists Is Adjourned

(Continued from Page 1)

tee, which Dies characterized as "vaguely cordial."

In one of the letters found by the committee, McWhirter asked Campbell if Gov. Alfred M. Landon, former Republican candidate for the Presidency, was of Jewish descent.

The two Republican members of the committee protested vigorously over this phase of the investigation and later Hamilton was called in for questioning by Dies. Hamilton denied any political connection between himself and Campbell and issued a long statement to the press characterizing the Dies attack as based on "innuendoes." He answered Campbell's letters, he stated, because they were brought to his attention by McWhirter.

When McWhirter took the

stand, he "forgot" all the details concerning the letters he had written fascist Campbell.

Knights of White Camella. The committee then began investigating Maj. Gen. Moseley's connection with the anti-Semitic campaign. They called for questioning, not Moseley, but George Deatherage, head of the Knights of the White Camella.

Deatherage gave the history of the Knights of the White Camella and its revival as a fascist movement. It had been his hope, he testified, that Moseley would lead a movement to establish a fascist form of government in the United States. He had discussed the perspective with Moseley but the general had not committed himself.

Deatherage predicted a wave of suicides in the United States like that which swept the Sudetenland after the Nazi occupation, and stated, "In spite of what 10,000 Dies committees can do, you are going to have civil disorder. Any expedient is justified if it's peaceful. The time is over for taking pills. We must have a surgical operation."

His surgical operation would be the substitution of military courts for the Federal government and the State governments "until such time as the people of the country should have re-established their ability to govern themselves."

The Dies committee asked General Moseley if he would testify voluntarily or if it would be necessary to subpoena him. The general replied that it was not convenient for him to appear at present. The committee responded stiffly that it could no longer await his convenience and adjourned indefinitely.

400 Hear Shachtman Speak at Harvard

BOSTON, May 27.—A splendid turnout of more than 400 students of Harvard University, members of the faculty, and workers of Boston filled one of the large halls on the University campus for a showing of the film, "From Czar to Lenin," which was followed by an address on the present situation of the Russian Revolution delivered by Max Shachtman, editor of the Socialist Appeal.

The gathering took place under the auspices of the University Socialist Club (4th Internationalist) and its success was all the more gratifying in view of the attempted boycott of the Stalinists and of the fact that many students were unable to attend due to the crowded "exams" period.

Shachtman contrasted the present Stalin regime with the period in which Lenin and the Bolsheviks were at the helm of the revolution and showed the incompatibility of the two political theories and practices.

Empty Seats Greet Del Vayo's 'Explanation' of Spanish Defeat

By FELIX MORROW

Negrin's last-minute failure to appear, the failure of Del Vayo and the other speakers to answer any of the questions which have been troubling Communist Party members, and thousands of empty seats, sent the audience away with no questions answered and new ones raised, at the Negrin-Del Vayo mass meeting at Madison Square Garden Monday night, May 22.

The meeting took place under the shadow of the revelations of Walter Krivitsky, former chief of the Soviet Military Intelligence in Western Europe, and of Luis Araquistain, left wing Spanish Socialist leader.

Corroborating authoritatively the charges made by revolutionists in Spain and abroad concerning the scabby and sabotaging role of the Stalinist-Negrin regime, these revelations have aroused throughout the Communist Party and its sympathizing circle a widespread demand for an answer from Negrin and the Communist leaders.

But Negrin did not appear, and the explanation finally given for his absence was obviously lame. That very morning

an advertisement appeared in the New York Times, announcing Negrin's appearance that evening. But at the far end of the meeting—after the collection—it was suddenly announced that Negrin had been unable to "return" because he was busy arranging for the entry of refugees into Mexico. The announcement conveyed the implication that Negrin was in Mexico.

But if so, why the advertisement that morning? Even more pertinent, why was he listed as a guest the following evening in New York at a party for Dorothy Parker? Negrin's failure to appear indicates a new schism within the ranks of the Stalinists and their allies. They deny it? Let them produce Negrin on a platform!

Two other speakers prominently advertised that morning failed to appear—Archibald MacLeish and Fannie Hurst. A polemic in the next issue of the New Masses against MacLeish indicates a break there too. As for the distinguished woman novelist, I am authoritatively informed that she refused to share the platform with Negrin and Del Vayo after reading Araquistain's exposure of their role in destroying the Loyalist cause in Spain.

Thousands Stay Away

Krivitsky's and Araquistain's exposures, and the truth told by the revolutionists finally seeping down into the ranks of the Communist Party and its sympathizers accounted, too, for the thousands of empty seats in the Garden. Workers, disgusted with Stalinist policy in Spain and with the failure of the Stalinist press to answer the insistent questions raised on all sides, voted with their feet, staying away in droves.

This was particularly significant since the Communist Party had staked its prestige on filling the Garden. Weeks of whirlwind preparations for the meeting, front-page banners in the Stalinist press, had been climaxed on the day of the meeting with an editorial exhortation in the Daily Worker: "Not an empty seat in the Garden tonight." Nevertheless, a good third of the auditorium was a panorama of gaping rows of empty seats.

The only other Stalinist-sponsored Garden meeting in many years which was as poorly attended was the February 27 Communist party rally which was held just a week after the great February 20 demonstration organized by the Socialist Workers Party against the Nazi Garden meeting; the Stalinist boycott of the anti-Nazi demonstration was answered by thousands of Com-

munist party members and friends who stayed away from the Stalinist meeting.

Del Vayo Ducks

Conscious that his audience wanted an answer to the Araquistain and Krivitsky charges, Del Vayo began by saying that it was no time to make a political speech. When would be the time? He did not say. His opening formula was, however, merely a pretext for not answering the charges. For his masters, the Stalinists, would not and could not answer.

The only reference to the charges that they permitted him was: "Certain elements say we blocked the social revolution in Spain; but the same elements also say we are Reds."

This tricky attempt to find a contradiction in the charges is of course thoroughly dishonest. There is no contradiction. They did block the social revolution in Spain, destroyed the workers' and peasants' morale, and made possible the victory of Franco. And they did so in alliance with the Stalinist leadership which wanted no social revolution in Spain, but on the contrary, sought to demonstrate by their conservative, counter-revolutionary policy, that Stalin deserved an alliance at the hands of British and French imperialism.

As soon as Del Vayo stated that he was not going to make a political speech, a large number in the audience left. They had come to hear the answer of Negrin and the Communist Party to the mountain of evidence growing against these destroyers of the anti-fascist struggle. They heard nothing, because the Stalinists cannot and dare not answer.

SOCIETY NOTES

Refugee Family Dying From Gas Poisoning, Charged with Homicide

Two weeks ago, Rheinhardt Lowengart, 40, looked forward to a life of freedom and happiness as he embarked for this country with his wife, 27, and their 6-year-old son, Manfred. Today, their third day in America, all three are dying in Bellevue Hospital, where they were taken from a furnished room at 305 E. 51st St., after police broke in and found them overcome by gas.

Lowengart and his wife, assigned to the prison ward, were formally charged with attempted homicide. If by remote chance they recover from the effects of the gas, they will be brought to trial.

Lowengart, police said, had slashed the wrists of his wife and son, and then his own, after the gas jets in the tiny room had been turned on. He left no note of explanation, but despondency was thought to be a contributing cause.

Police and an emergency crew from the Consolidated Edison Company worked frantically on the trio, using 4 tanks of oxygen in the attempt to save their lives. But they considered the chances for success slight.

Spends \$1,000 a Day On Racing Stable After Leaving Poetry

Many, many years ago, say six or seven generations of horses ago, Helen Hay was young and dark-eyed and soft to look on and she was known as the Rose of Washington. She wrote poetry and illustrated the poems herself. She was an artistic young person.

But that was many years ago, and it came to pass that Helen Hay married into the Whitney family, which thinks a Whitney may speak only to a thoroughbred race horse, and a thoroughbred race horse may speak only to god.

Today Helen Hay, now Mrs. Payne Whitney, spends \$1,000 a day on the upkeep of her Greentree Stable, and she no longer writes poetry.

When Payne Whitney died in 1927 he left behind the world's largest recorded estate—\$200,000,000—and before Mrs. Whitney could catch her breath and get the news from the Department of Taxation, a bull market sent the securities up another \$100,000,000. Here was all this money and nothing to do with it, so the former poet spread-eagled into the sport of millionaires with beaucoup splash and in the last twelve years has tossed more than \$10,000,000 into the racing pot.

On the Line . . . with Bill Morgan

EN ROUTE—One night last week I am sitting in Molly's Cafe in Milford, Utah, enjoying a glass of lukewarm beer and listening to the nickel music-box which is playing my favorite swing tune, the Beer Barrel Polka, when the door swings open with a bang and in stalks a long, slim guy all dolled up in a red silk shirt and cowboy boots.

He stands in the doorway for a couple of seconds like a fire alarm box before he spots me and then he makes a beeline for my table, and then he waits for a lull in the music before he opens up that down at the post office he heard I am in possession of radical literature.

Sure, I says, knowing it is too late to make a quick exit and with a quiver in my otherwise normal voice, it is still a free country to some extent and the post office ain't run by Hitler is it?

Slim Beaver Explains Himself

No, he says slowly, and he smiles just a little which right off makes the severe pain in my solar plexus ease up considerably.

Then he smiles again like before, and introduces himself as Slim Beaver, and explains that all he wants is some information on Socialism because he is in a jam since 1932 when he voted a straight Socialist ticket merely because he figured that the other two parties on the ballot are nothing but horses from the same nest even if they do call each other dirty names, and no matter which gets a grip on the public payroll the difference is the same, whereas the Socialists might be on the level, only what happened to the Socialist Party anyway and how can he find out where it is?

Now Slim is in a tough spot and his difficulties increase all the time because for one thing, as everybody knows, Norman Thomas did not get elected and for another thing, as everyone in Milford knows, the way you vote in a small town is public news, and for another thing Slim doesn't know a thing about Socialism, and ever since that election he has been pestered by the local yokels to explain Marxism, which is a complete mystery to Slim, but which he knows would pin back the ears of these birds, if only he had the answers, and he knows from just figuring out

Now my pain is entirely gone. I encourage Slim to go ahead and ask questions. He does, and I answer, without once using words like recapitulation and bourgeois, which would sound like the Ladies Afternoon Literary Club in a jam session fit to suffocate any cowpuncher who might be in the same corral. After five or six beers, Slim and I are now the best of pals, and he is hanging on every word, as I tell him about the Socialist Workers Party and the Fourth International and how it was organized by revolutionists from every nook and cranny of the country and was preparing to have a real show-down with Capitalism, and how he ought to join up and fight against the war which the bosses are aiming to set off in order to boost profits in the name of Democracy, and I also explain why the Stalinists have taken to jitterbugging to the tune of the Star Spangled Banner.

Slim eats it all up. Then he says he has a

bunch of the boys from the Lazy R ranch who are all hot about the idea of organizing. If he calls them in, would I mind?

They come tramping in and when their hard boots hit Molly's new mail-order linoleum, it sounds like a herd of wild mustangs racing across a tin roof. It looks like a rodeo, what with all the blue, green and yellow shirts and the horse-opera hats.

Cowboy and Cattle Owner

It seems that there is considerable unemployment, and cowboys are being forced to apply for home relief and W.P.A. jobs digging ditches which is a sorry case down the way they look at it, and anyway the W.P.A. is about washed up and that means just home relief.

At the same time the Cattle Owners Association is raising hell and blaming Roosevelt, because he has signed a trade treaty with Argentina to ship beef in cans from South America for the Army and Navy here in the U.S.A. Now these cattle owners are Republicans who want to put the Democrats on the spot, but at the same time they are very strong patriots who are saying that this country could lick the whole world and that we must protect South America from invasion because the Italians and the Germans have their eye on it and by right it belongs to us. They tell the unemployed cowhands to join the Army or the Navy and show their patriotism and gratitude at being born in a free country.

Now the cattle owners are in a fix because how can they keep a straight face when they talk about defending American trade rights in South America, when these trade rights mean that the more trade in this canned beef throws men out of jobs and on to the home relief and the W.P.A. which the Republicans want to do away with outright instead of diplomatic like Roosevelt is doing it? This is the main question out in the cow country and Slim and his friends are anxious to hear the answer because things are getting tougher every day.

Well, I am almost stuck because these fellows are sure there is a mistake being made by somebody in this whole mess and that if this little misunderstanding would only be cleared up everything would be hunky dory once more. So I start out carefully and explain that there is no mistake and that no one really is fooled by all this except a few dopes who cannot see through the game which is part of a system. Little by little I try to show them that the bosses are forced into situations which can be solved only by a war. Then I go on and explain also how the patriots in the steel industry are also yelling about defending America and all the while they are selling scrap iron to Japan which makes it into bullets and how the armament bosses sell arms and patents to any country which will buy them for good money, regardless of who will get shot with all the guns they sell. Patriotism depends entirely on profits and it is only natural that they will give your life for their country if you let them get away with it. It can't be otherwise unless we organize and put the damper on them in a hurry.

New International to Suspend Publication, Unless . . .

The June number of the New International, reviewed elsewhere in the Appeal, is off the press. On this occasion it is necessary, and painful, to announce that the New International WILL CEASE PUBLICATION FORTHWITH unless its readers come to its support immediately. Revenue has fallen off sharply. Particularly have many S.W.P. units neglected to pay for their bundles for a considerable period. This failure to pay for the bundles is the immediate cause for the crisis with the New International. Likewise, the Branches have failed to take advantage of first-class opportunities to obtain subscriptions, especially RENEWALS, of which several hundred have expired. Now the management stresses the imperative need for the BRANCHES TO PAY THEIR BUNDLE BILLS AT ONCE. OTHERWISE THERE WILL BE NO JULY ISSUE OF THE NEW INTERNATIONAL.

In the matter of SUBSCRIPTIONS, with main reference here to RENEWALS, the following cities have several hundred long-expired subscriptions to follow up and are in a position to assist the magazine greatly through an organized effort to obtain renewal subscriptions:

NEW YORK: Manhattan, Bronx, Brooklyn, Long Island City
MINNEAPOLIS
ST. PAUL
CHICAGO
LOS ANGELES
CLEVELAND
SAN FRANCISCO
NEWARK
ST. LOUIS
BOSTON
PHILADELPHIA

An organized subscription drive by the Party and Y.P.S.L. units can unquestionably result in a very large number of renewal subscriptions right away.

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The Marxist Maulers in a Return Match with the Studs Lonigan A.C.

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Proceeds go to the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees

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FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY FOR:

1. A job and a decent living 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 vigilantes and Fascist attacks.

Yankee Imperialism

So gross was Anastasio Somoza's betrayal of Nicaragua in the agreement he signed the other day with President Roosevelt, that the bourgeoisie of other Latin American nations are taking alarm over the full implications of what the "good neighbor" policy of American imperialism really portends.

In an editorial in *El Universal*, conservative Mexico City daily which represents by and large the interests of the nationalist bourgeoisie of Mexico, the agreement is flayed as evidence that Roosevelt's "good neighbor" policy is transforming itself into a league of dictators with the United States destined "to guarantee the slavery of Latin-American peoples."

"The Nicaraguan government handed over the entire republic to the Americans in exchange for a mess of pottage," continues the editorial. "Hereafter any Latin American dictator of the Mestizo race [privileged half-whites] can obtain the moral and material support of the United States to exploit his own people on condition that, for a set price, he agrees to share power with Yankee imperialism or convert himself into a simple vassal."

The petty tyrants, the plundering dictators, the alley-murder statesmen like Somoza, the assassin of Sandino, who flourish south of the Rio Grande, do not represent the Latin-American people over whom they wield the bloody lash of terror.

They represent no one but the servants of American imperialism.

The agreement signed by Somoza is an agreement between an agent and his boss. It can be put into force only with rifles furnished by American imperialism.

The Nicaraguan people are even now gathering their forces to smash through the violent repressions of Somoza's cruel dictatorship. On the day they put an end to that dictatorship, they will at the same time put an end to every one of the rotten concessions granted by Washington's bloody stiletto and firing squad puppets.

A Period Ends

At the forty-eighth general meeting of the American Iron and Steel Institute which elected E. T. Weir to the presidency of the Institute to succeed Tom Girdler, a very significant speech was made by Senator Millard E. Tydings of Maryland.

It was the theme of the Senator's speech that the period "of costly experimentation out of the abundance of our great wealth and the accumulation from former periods of prosperity" is drawing to a close.

Delivered before one of the most vicious anti-labor organizations in the country, an organization backed by the industrial over-lords of the nation, following as it does the President's speech which reiterated the necessity of continuing New Deal policies, Senator Tydings' address can be considered the answer of Big Business to Roosevelt's speech.

The period in which American capitalism could afford to buy off the hungry masses with relief allowances has come to an end. Roosevelt's retrenchments are not enough.

Big Business demands a sharper, more effective way. Roosevelt's plan must make way for Tom Girdler's plan.

And in essence that plan is the one already

tried out by Tom Girdler on a small scale, as the workers attacked in the Little Steel strike will remember: armed company guards, paid company spies, tear gas, rifles, machine guns, barbed wire, standing orders to company thugs and police to shoot to kill.

Now Tom Girdler and his cohorts propose to launch that plan on a national scale. Now they propose to wipe out with bullet and poison gas and frame-ups every voice that is raised in protest to their inhuman system of exploitation for profits.

The period of the New Deal is coming to a close. The period of the show-down battle between the workers and the fascist legions of Big Business is opening.

It is time to prepare!

World's Fair Note

"You know that big mural to the right as you enter the Soviet Building, the one where all the big Soviet heroes are smiling? Some one pointed to the man three removed from Stalin the other day and said to his companion, 'What's he got to smile about? That's Litvinov who got himself purged out of a soft job.' The other fellow scowled. 'I hope the Trotskyites don't learn about this,' he muttered. 'They'll send a bunch up to stand here and laugh all day.'"—Meyer Berger, New York Times, May 28, 1939.

Suppressed Chapter

A chapter of T. E. Lawrence's "Seven Pillars of Wisdom" which was suppressed on advice of George Bernard Shaw and for "political reasons," has just been published.

The chapter explains that if it had not been for Lawrence's promises and the promises of the British government that they would be given self-government, the Arabs would never have risen against the Turks during the World War.

But while these promises were being made, both Lawrence and the British government knew that they would never be fulfilled. Lawrence says that he was "continually and bitterly ashamed" of the part he played in the deception.

If the suppressed chapter were translated into Arabic and distributed among the colonial fighters who followed Lawrence behind the Union Jack, they would gain greater insight not only into the leadership of Lawrence but into the whole dark and bloody history of their oppression by the British imperialist democracy.

Jobs for Youth

Two speeches at the annual convention of the Boys Clubs of America provide some illuminating facts about the problems facing the youth of America and the bankruptcy of the capitalist spokesmen.

Howard M. Bell, director of the survey of the American Youth Commission, reported that 20,000 youths had been interviewed from many parts of the country and in all walks of life. Here are the facts summarized by the survey:

Three out of every ten youths in the labor market are out of school and totally unemployed, while another is only partly employed. The six others who have jobs work for a median weekly wage of \$13, and 43 per cent of those employed feel that they are in dead-end jobs that offer no opportunity for advancement.

About 40 per cent of the married youths are forced for economic reasons to live with parents or relatives.

More than 90 per cent of the youths interviewed considered unemployment a responsibility of the government.

"In the light of such facts as these, it is little wonder that modern youths have lost some of their traditional enthusiasm for adventure and are, instead, so preoccupied with the unromantic business of tomorrow's board and room," concluded Mr. Bell.

David Sarnoff, President of the Radio Corporation of America, took the floor to explain how youth could find a way out.

"Don't be misled," he said, "into believing that somehow the world owes you a living—or you'll wake up working for the boy who didn't believe it."

And if any youth wants a job he must first "learn to do one useful thing thoroughly."

The 7,000,000 unemployed youth in the United States will join us in pointing out two little flaws in Sarnoff's solution to the problem posed by Mr. Bell:

1. There isn't a youth who would mind in the least, waking up some day and finding himself working—even for a boy who had different beliefs.

2. The capitalist system advocated by Mr. Sarnoff makes it impossible to "learn to do one useful thing thoroughly" even if that would bring a job—which it won't, as many craftsmen who know even two or three "useful things thoroughly" can testify.

There is only one way out for American youth and that is the road to a revolution which will destroy capitalism and establish the socialist system of opportunity and plenty for all.

M-Day for M. D.'s: Mobilizing the Medical Profession for War

In the Next World War the Medical Profession Will Not Be Asked to Volunteer Its Services — the Generals Have Already Made Plans to Draft the Doctors

By SAM PORTNOY

The May issue of "Medical Economics," "the business magazine of the medical profession," carries an article entitled "When M-Day Comes." The author describes how the entire medical profession in the United States is geared into the Mobilization-Day Plan of the War Department.

"No longer will the civilian practitioner be asked politely to volunteer his services," says the article. "He will be conscripted. As the War Department sees it, this is the fairest method of filling existing gaps in the military's medical forces."

"Not many army doctors, either," says the writer, "will be assured of a comparatively safe berth behind the lines." "The mechanized slaughter of today calls for a complete streamlining of the wartime medical machine. The mule-drawn 'sanitary trains' that lumbered after the A.E.F. have been doomed as slow and clumsy. In their place, small mobile motor units will be used."

WILL SHARE DEATH WITH THE SOLDIER

A standing army order, quoted in the article, reads as follows: "The medical department will function as a part of the regular army in the combat zone."

The result of the M-Day Plan will be that "many more doctors will be out in no man's land with the troops than ever before." In its drive to militarize the medical profession, the War Department has arranged for front-line "medical detachments" which will be staffed by "eight physicians, ranging in rank from first lieutenant to major." "Their most important job: to furnish first aid under fire."

The "medical regiments," commanded by physician-officers, will be in the thick of all military encounters, superintending the removal of the wounded, commanding ambulances, and providing emergency hospital treatment.

Army leaders, however, do not regard front line service as the physician's greatest contribution to the prosecution of the war. Surgeon General Charles R. Reynolds says: "Preventive medicine is our great field." A large number of physicians will therefore be assigned to "combating epidemics, examining recruits, and eliminating the economic waste entailed by sickness." Psychiatrists will be expected to perform special functions. Thousands of young workers, bluffed into the trenches and driven insane by the bursting of shells and the poison gas, will not be permitted to leave the front and go

home to recuperate. "Shell shock and war-neurosis cases," writes the author, "will not be sent directly home as in the early days of the World War." Instead, they will be treated on the spot.

NOW GOING ON TEST MOBILIZATION

The M-Day plan for physicians is being experimented with daily. "In Brooklyn, N. Y., Col. Louis L. Goldblatt, commander of the 18th Medical Regiment, called out sixty physicians in the nation's first test medical mobilization. Completely ununiformed and geared for action, the doctors sped from private offices to meet at the organization's headquarters. The demonstration was voluntary on the part of the regiment; but was officially sanctioned by army higher-ups. Regular training periods" have been arranged for the doctors in which they will rehearse their assignments under the guidance of War Department officials.

Thus we see how far reaching Roosevelt's war preparations have become. Not only will the people in general find themselves completely subordinated to the war machine, but the next war will also find the medical profession regimented and undoubtedly decimated in the thousands. In its headlong drive to disaster, the capitalist class spares no one.

If King George Held Court for His Exploited Subjects at World's Fair

By SHERMAN STANLEY

In the days of feudal England the king would now and then invite his subjects to visit the court and present their grievances. This custom has lapsed for centuries.

Let us assume that George IV would hold a court of grievances when he visits the World's Fair. His Majesty invites representative people from among his vast colonial holdings.

Each one, of course, has only a brief moment in which to speak, for His Majesty tires easily. Let us listen to some of them:

A CEYLON TEA PLANTATION WORKER: Your Majesty, your English soldiers and officials have kept my island sealed for months against the outside world. I work on a British plantation from dawn to night for a few English pence per day. Your hired thugs are trying to smash my agricultural laborer's union. And you are trying to smash my party, the Ceylon Samka Langh (Socialist Party). The four million Ceylonese workers and peasants are united in their determination to oust your bloody imperialist agents. Wait till you go to war! Then our opportunity will come.

AN IRISH NATIONALIST OF THE IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY: I was objecting to the hold your vampire landlords and merchants have kept on Ireland for hundreds of years, your method of dividing Ireland in half and giving the six counties of Ulster to your agents, your hated army of occupation in the North. So I planted a noise bomb to draw the attention of the English workers to what was going on in my Ireland. Your judges with the false wigs sentenced me to 20 years. What was I guilty of? Agitating for the freedom of my people!

A PEASANT IN EGYPT: Your Highness, my comrades and I are called fellahs. We till the land in the famous Nile Delta areas. Since your troops took over our country and marched further south to conquer the Anglo-Sudan area we've had a pretty hard time of it. You say that your treaty of a few years back granted us independence. We don't think so! Your troops are stationed in Egypt, along the shores of the Suez Canal, and you've built a fort at Laka Tana, the headwaters of the Nile, our life-blood. And you're trying to convert our country into a one-crop country. You want us to grow nothing but long-staple cotton for your mills in Manchester. You fix the price for the cotton, too.

No, Sir, the people of Egypt don't consider themselves free. They think there is still a long way to go before they know real independence.

A NEGRO GRAZER IN KENYA, AFRICA: I was graz-

ing my cattle on the plain lands of my country. Then your police and Territorials drove us all off the land. You took our best cattle. What you left us died for lack of food. And now you make us work as laborers on these farms.

Our wives and children die like flies. We wonder what your Queen would do if her two princesses were starving. She'd do something about it and we intend to do something, too!

A COOLIE WORKER OF HONGKONG: My life is spent loading and unloading English merchant ships. I watch day after day the resources of my people being drained off in your ships. The Chinese soldiers certainly could use that food and supplies in our war against the Japanese! My brother workers in Japanese Shanghai are no better off than I am. You English hate the Japanese, but it is only because they are rivals and interfere with your own dirty work. You first taught them how to oppress us—they are only apt pupils.

When I work all day for my copper pennies and my bowl of rice, then I understand that both of you are enemies of the Chinese people.

BANTU, INDIAN, NEGRO WORKERS OF SOUTH AFRICA: We toil in the South African mines, extracting gold and jewels for you. At night, when we leave the mines, they lock us up in compounds. In Germany and Italy they call these places "concentration camps." But we had them long before they did.

Your government legislates against us in the interests of the tiny white minority. They own everything. We live like the negroes in the South of the United States. We have many more "Jim Crow" laws here than in America.

When you ask us to die for a "democracy" we have never known you will face a united answer: No!

AN ARABIAN PEASANT IN PALESTINE: To prevent Arabs and Jews alike from seeing the real enemy, your militarists stirred up communal fighting in this land of peace. For one year now you have been conducting a violent war against us. Thousands of Arabians have died from British bullets, bombs and machine guns.

Now you want to win us to your side as part of your war plans. But we trust you no further than we would a desert snake. Your imperialists are the world's greatest double crossers! Arab and Jew must

unite against the British if either are to ever be free.

A DOCK WORKER, BRITISH WEST INDIES: We dock workers have organized into militant industrial unions. This has stimulated the organization of sugar mill workers, transport workers, plantation laborers, etc. General strikes against the intolerable conditions imposed by your industrialists and landlords have swept over the West Indies. You sent down a commission which has requested some changes in the Constitution. As if legal phrases on paper will satisfy us!

Our islands have been known as the most loyal section of the British Empire. But no longer! Our loyalties go now to our brother colonial slaves—all 500,000,000 of them—who are struggling to shake off your death grip.

FROM THE GAYA DISTRICT, BRITISH BIHAR PROVINCE: Your Majesty is also the Emperor of India.

When we have finished paying rent, interest of debts accumulated over an endless period, land taxes; well taxes, etc., we have absolutely nothing left. We must forage for food and clothing. Is it any wonder that our Province has the highest death rate in the world?

Your British Indian army has joined with the "goondas" of the native landlords to smash our peasant unions. But we have learned from the Russian peasant who acted in 1917.

A JUTE WORKER OF CALCUTTA: In the British jute mills along the Ganges there are 200,000 Moslem and Hindu proletarians. We have fought the factory owners for years. We are India's vanguard in the struggle against imperialism.

With a general strike, we smashed your efforts to cut our wages last year. Our unions are more powerful than ever. The British understand that the 5,000,000 industrial workers of India constitute their main threat. When we return to our slum hovels in Calcutta at night we know that it is our action you fear most of all.

A few weeks ago when our brothers around Bombay resisted your efforts to enlist them in your imperialist army, your troops murdered 65 of them in cold blood. This is another in the endless chain of assassinations, massacres and slaughters by means of which you have strangled us for 150 years.

India has been called the brightest jewel in your crown of Empire. You took your crown and all its jewels from us. You will stop at nothing to retain it. But the workers and peasants of India are leading the drive of the colonial masses to destroy and wipe out forever the World Empire of British imperialism.

Their Government

By James Burnham

No one need envy V. J. Jerome his new specialty. After several years as Browder's commissar in Hollywood, where he was so conspicuously successful in winning strip-tease artists, humorists and glamor girls to the cause of peace and democracy, Kremlin style, Jerome has now a much less luscious assignment.

He has become the ace trouble-shooter of 13th Street. Whenever a crack or dent appears in the party's ideological armor, Jerome is dispatched post-haste to rivet it together again. He operates under the label, "Questions from the People", run when occasion demands on the editorial page of the *Daily Worker*. The questions are worth keeping track of. They show that even the ten ton steel plate of Stalinism cannot prevent heretical ideas from now and then driving toward the surface.

A few months ago, Jerome was hard at work on the refugee problem. Even the most loyal party members couldn't help wondering why no refugees from anywhere were being admitted into the land of the final triumph of socialism; and Jerome's acrobatics in explaining would have got him a place on almost any vaudeville circuit. A while back he had a few points of Spain that badly needed cleaning.

We're in the Army Now

How Jerome must long for the day when his party will hold state power, and anyone who even breathes out of key can be answered with a rifle or an automatic! It's so much easier, more efficient, that way. But here it's still one trouble after another: refugees, then Spain, and last week the question, "What is the position of the Communist Party of Great Britain on conscription?"

A very good question indeed, and one that certainly needs answering. And how revealing of the degeneracy of a pretendedly Marxist party that such a question could even be raised in its ranks! Could a man with a single drop of Marxist blood in his veins seriously debate whether he would have any attitude other than unbreakable opposition to conscription — the slave-driver's whip whereby imperialism drives the unwilling masses to their death on the battlefields of wars to make the world safe for profits?

An issue long ago settled for Marxists; but not so easy for Stalinism. Stalinism is prepared to support one coalition of imperialist powers in war against another. And the terrible logic of politics decrees that if you support the war, you must support the means taken to fight the war. In the democratic countries as in the fascist, the masses do not want to fight in the very popular, very democratic wars of imperialism. And, consequently, every imperialist nation, either today or tomorrow when the war begins, must introduce conscription. Therefore, in the end, Stalinism must "accept" conscription in every nation where it supports the war. Not merely are the Stalinists recruiting agents for the war. They are and must be prepared to be jailers and judges and executioners of "draft evaders"—that is, of workers who try to keep their heads off the chopping block of imperialism.

But there seems to be a contradiction. Jerome explains that the Stalinists are against the present British conscription measure. Have I been unjust and slanderous? Are the Stalinists suddenly returning to virtue?

The contradiction does not even penetrate the surface. All that Jerome really says is that the Stalinists are not now ready to support the present conscription bill.

Why not? Because support of conscription is the blackest treachery to the workers? How absurd! "Communists," Jerome explains in his first sentence, "are not opposed to conscription in principle."

The reason for the present pseudo-opposition is two-fold: On the one hand, the present British government hasn't yet come through with what Stalin wants of it, "chief of which is the formation of a genuine anti-aggression pact with the Soviet Union." Chamberlain — no mention of course of British imperialism and the British ruling class for which Chamberlain authentically speaks—hasn't been playing ball. Therefore a conscription bill introduced by Chamberlain must be (temporarily, for bargaining purposes) opposed. But let a new government be formed—speaking, naturally, for the same imperialism and the same ruling class—with just the tiniest change in foreign policy, and then support of the conscription bill will become the duty of every man and woman except counter-revolutionary Trotskyists. Or let Chamberlain get together with the Kremlin (though this chance is circumspectly not referred to by Jerome) and in a twinkling his conscription bills will change their spots.

On the other hand, the Stalinist must go slow from a different motive: the English workers are overwhelmingly against conscription, so much so that even the Labor Party has to pretend to be politely against it. The Labor Party and Stalinist bureaucrats must for the moment put up a front of opposition—though never enough to interfere with Chamberlain's plans—in order to prevent the workers from seeing them in their true light and walking out on them.

The opposition of the workers to the war cannot be broken in an instant, even at Stalin's orders. It must be worn down step by step, by carefully planned stages. Half betrayal today makes more readily possible full betrayal tomorrow.

In writing of England, did Jerome remember France? There is universal conscription in France. The Stalinists do not oppose it, but support it most warmly as they do all other "defense measures". And who is at the head of the French government? Is it not Daladier, Chamberlain's Munich comrade?

May I suggest the next question for Jerome to deal with: "What is the position of the Communist Party of France on conscription?"

Fort Snelling privates who get married on a \$30 per month wage have become a problem to the Minneapolis relief department and the War Department is going to hear about it. The city has been providing supplemental relief to several soldiers' families because their army salaries would not stretch far enough. It looks like Local 544 of Minneapolis will have to organize the soldiers. \$30 for 30 hours work should be the slogan.

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