

MILLIONS STARVING ON RELIEF!

Why Coughlin's Superiors Are Silent On His Activities

The Rev. Charles E. Coughlin is a regularly ordained priest who speaks in the name of the Catholic Church, and brands his critics as critics of Christianity. He uses his chapel as a forum for spreading his fascist doctrines. He collects money to further his "religious activities"—in reality, his glorification of fascism—over the radio. In the name of Catholicism, he promotes pilgrimages of the faithful to his Shrine of the Little Flower.

The hierarchy of the Church is neither deaf nor illiterate. The bishops and the archbishops hear Coughlin's speeches and read his magazine. With knowledge of what he is doing, they permit him to carry on his political activities.

If the Church disapproves of his utterances, it has powerful weapons with which to voice that disapproval. He could be unfrocked, deprived of his church, excommunicated. None of these measures have been taken. Why?

The Church has never hesitated to bring the full weight of its authority to silence a priest who spoke up for the underdog. The one outstandingly pro-labor priest in the United States was unceremoniously kicked out of the Church.

We refer to the well-known Father Edward McGlynn, pastor of St. Stephens, who was active in Henry George's Single Tax campaign in 1886. The Single Tax movement was then a movement friendly to labor. Its activities at the time were described as a "formidable demonstration of organized labor."

Father McGlynn was one of the leaders of Henry George's party. He was also head of an organization called the "Anti-Poverty Society." An avowed friend of labor, he was attacked by the Church as early as 1882 for his "propaganda speeches." (Father Coughlin, friend of the bosses, utters his "propaganda speeches" with impunity day in and day out.)

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JUDGE FREES ANTI-FASCIST MILITANTS

Bronx Branch of SWP Pushes Its Campaign Against Coughlin

(By Staff Writer)
NEW YORK.—Eleven anti-fascist militants who were arrested Wednesday evening, May 24, while conducting a neighborhood anti-Coughlin campaign on Tremont Avenue in the Bronx, were freed by Judge Abernethy in Bronx Magistrate's Court, Wednesday, May 31, after only five minutes of contradictory testimony had been given by the arresting officer.

Referring to the mass sales of the *Socialist Appeal* by the anti-Coughlin demonstrators as a "parade," Officer Thompson then proceeded to contradict himself by stating that the demonstrators stood ten feet apart while selling their paper.

The Bronx Branch of the Socialist Workers Party, which had organized the demonstration, is following up with a planned campaign of colorful street meetings and mass sales of the *Socialist Appeal*.

Ten anti-fascist youth from the 174th Street and Jerome Avenue neighborhood of the Bronx contacted the Bronx Branch of the S.W.P., offering their aid in protecting street meetings and in helping to combat the Coughlin-fascists.

GEN. MOSELEY TESTIFIES AT DIES HEARINGS

Committee Hears Him Expound Labor-Hating Fascist Views

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
WASHINGTON, D. C., June 1.—The Dies Committee continued its hearings today, spending five hours listening to Major General George Van Horn Moseley, retired, declare his belief in fascism and the best way to impose fascism in the United States.

Last week when Moseley informed the Dies Committee that it was inconvenient for him to appear before it at the present time, the committee announced that it would recess indefinitely.

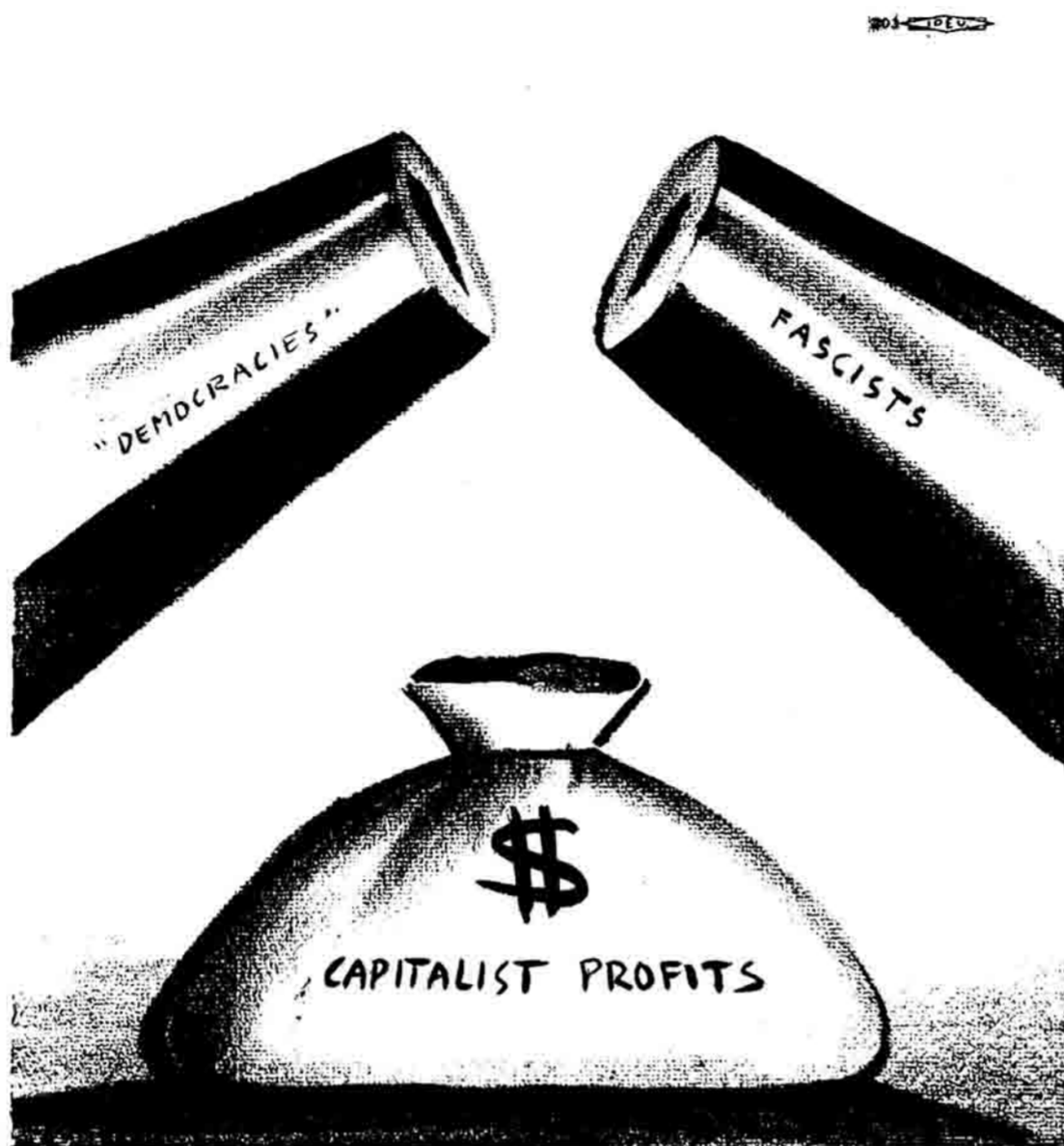
What occurred between the committee and Moseley over the week-end remained a matter of speculation. It was uncertain whether the committee had reversed its previous decision not to subpoena Moseley or whether Moseley had changed his mind about its being inconvenient for him to appear. In any event, the Dies show was playing to a full house at the beginning of this week with Moseley as the star performer.

Denying that he was anti-Semitic in his beliefs in one breath, in the next he denounced "international Jewish communism" and asserted that "the Jew is an internationalist first" and "a patriot at home second."

He declared himself as opposed to fascism and then defended organizations of "the extreme right" as an "anti-toxin for the disease of communism." Throughout the hearing he replied to the questions of the Dies Committee with open con-

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The Real Ideology



Stalin Throws Monkey-Wrench Into Anglo-Soviet Negotiations

Molotov Speech Indicates Stalin's Intention to Keep on Raising Ante—Warns of Closer Relations with Axis Powers

By HAROLD ROBERTS

The Stalin government with careful deliberation last week threw another monkey wrench into the negotiations for an Anglo-French-Russian war alliance.

Speaking before the "Supreme Soviet," Vyacheslav Molotov—Litvinov's successor as foreign commissar—announced that London and Paris had not yet raised the ante sufficiently for Moscow to show its hand.

He referred bluntly to Stalin's cherished ace-in-the-hole when he warned that Stalin would always find it possible to arrange matters with Hitler and Mussolini if Britain and France failed to meet his conditions.

Molotov revealed that negotiations for a "trade agreement" with Germany had been going on intermittently for a year. The latest offer, including a 200,000,000 mark credit from the Reich to Russia, dated from as recently as December and January. The parleys were halted but, Molotov added: "To judge by certain signs it is not out of the question that the negotiations may be resumed."

These "certain signs," it appeared from Molotov's speech, could be summarized as follows:

Left Wing Writers Form League, Issue Manifesto

Condemn Stalinism, Hook-Dewey Committee As Catering to Social Reaction

A significant group of American writers and artists this week announced the formation of the League for Cultural Freedom and Socialism.

In a manifesto signed by thirty established figures in American intellectual life, the League was launched in terms clearly distinguishing the new organization from the Stalinist-controlled pro-war League of American Writers and from the bourgeois-democratic Hook-Dewey group.

The full text of the manifesto and the names of the first signatories are:

We address this statement to all artists and writers who are concerned about the present drift of the United States to reaction and war.

Not in this country alone but everywhere, culture is threatened by advancing reaction. In forcing the recrudescence of social forms which had seemed obsolete, German and Italian fascism have at the same time compelled the revival of obsolete modes in art and science. In the Soviet Union, on the other hand, where nationalism and personal dictatorship are replacing the revolutionary ideals of freedom and democracy, culture suffers regimentation and debasement no less severe.

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Survey Report Depicts Slow Starvation of U. S. Jobless

'Socialists' Back Boss War Plans

Laborites O.K. Conscription — French Bury People's Front

The British Labor Party and French Socialist Party lined up at their respective annual conferences this week in support of the imperialist war plans of the French and British governments.

The British Laborites "dislike" Chamberlain—i.e., they fear that he will not be sufficiently resolute in forcing the war issue in Europe.

The French Socialists "dislike" Daladier—i.e., they are offended at the way Daladier contemptuously dismissed them from the government and began forthwith to build a totalitarian government in France.

Agreed on Essentials
Yet at their annual conference in Southport, the British Labor Party leaders fought down rank-and-file attempts to organize a fight against conscription.

At their annual congress in Nantes the French Socialist Party leaders endorsed Daladier's war alliances and approved the imposition of "collective national discipline" (in other words: regimentation) upon the workers for war purposes.

"Fighting" Conscription
The British Laborites have been placed in the embarrassing position of having strongly urged Chamberlain to take a vigorous pro-war line and then of "opposing" such an elementary war measure as conscription when the Tory government finally decided to take that step. Naturally this "opposition"—as Chamberlain and his friends shrewdly expected—has been purely platonic.

So when, at the Southport conference, the Labor Party section of Hammersmith and St. Pancras introduced a demand that the party "resist any form of conscription, industrial or military, in peace or in war" the Laborite leaders quickly hammered it down, even though the motion was confined only to such measures imposed "by a government whose foreign policy labor cannot trust."

(Continued on Page 2)

Relief Millions "Are Refugees as Truly As the Victims of Old World Oppression" Is Finding of Social Workers' Report

That unemployment relief is characterized by the "almost incredible inadequacy in the relief provided," obviously condemning tens of millions to slow starvation, is the horrifying conclusion reached in an authoritative survey compiled by the American Association of Social Workers, and released May 31.

So horrible were the conditions of the unemployed revealed that in releasing the survey Walter West, secretary of the social workers, was moved to state:

"Today the millions dependent on relief are refugees just as truly as the victims of Old World oppression. They are American refugees with no place to go."

The extent of this misery, the report points out, is indicated by the fact that in January, 1939, there were nearly seven million families dependent on relief—more than twenty-three million people. The need for relief was greater in January and February, 1939, than in the corresponding period the year before.

Figures indicate that the relief load has continued to increase since January. A damning indictment of the Roosevelt administration's relief policies is implicit in the survey, on a number of major counts:

1. Since the fall of 1935, when the Federal government abandoned its previous policy of making Federal grants to states for direct relief, the unemployed have been entirely at the mercy of local officials and treasuries, with no relief whatsoever provided in some localities and adequate relief nowhere.

2. New Deal claims relating to W.P.A. are punctured by the survey. W.P.A. employment reached its peak in November, 1938 but, the survey demonstrates, "at its peak, W.P.A. failed to absorb large groups of needy employable persons certified as eligible for such employment." Simultaneously other large groups were seeking certification.

3. New Deal claims that the sharp cuts since November in W.P.A. rolls were justified by increased possibilities for private employment are punctured by the survey figures. "From November 1938 to January 1939, W.P.A. wages declined sharply—by nearly 10 per cent in two months—while

general (direct) relief rose even more sharply—by 19 per cent." During that period 310,000 were laid off W.P.A., but in the same time the general relief rolls increased by more than 241,000 cases. Within those two months the amount the Federal government was spending decreased from \$4.72 in W.P.A. wages for every dollar expended by states and localities for general relief to \$3.59. Since then, additional slashes in the W.P.A. rolls have brought them down from the November, 1938 figure of 3,350,000 to the present figure of less than 2,600,000.

Lower Relief Standards
Commenting on the meaning of Roosevelt's W.P.A. slashes, the survey states:

"The principal change has been a shift from one type of relief program to another, from a higher standard of assistance to a lower, from federal funds to state and local."

"Almost Incredible"
The vast majority of the unemployed are now at the mercy of local direct relief agencies. Blood-curdling instances of the oppression they undergo are contained in the social workers' survey. So far are these instances from being exceptional, that they drew from the social workers' organization, ordinarily likely to lean backwards in the conservatism of its description, the characterization that the system reveals "almost incredible inadequacy in the relief provided."

Among representative instances recorded are:

Scientifically computed budgets of absolute minimum needs of unemployed families have been arrived at in many areas; no one has ever argued that these budgets were generous. But now, with depleted local treasuries, only a percentage of the minimum necessary is being paid out to the unemployed. Thus New Orleans pays 75% of the budget; Idaho counties are paying from 40 to 80% of the budget; South Carolina pays two-thirds of the budget, and so forth.

(Continued on Page 2)

Briggs Strikers Picket Boss-Owned Ball Park

Cops Slug Pickets Who Prove that Bosses Cannot Trade Workers' Lives

(Special to the Socialist Appeal)
DETROIT, May 27.—Tiger fans weren't very much interested in who won the ball game at Briggs Stadium today. They were more concerned with the bigger events taking place on the outside. 8,000 Briggs workers and their supporters from other United Automobile Workers locals in the city were picketing the ball park.

That Walter Briggs could trade the best Tiger players and get away with it to the disgust of the fans has been obvious long ago. But Mr. Briggs found out Saturday that he couldn't trade the jobs and lives of the workers. They just won't stand for it.

(Continued on Page 2)

Cops Slug Pickets

But Briggs doesn't like unions or strikes or pickets. So out came his flunkies, Heinie Picket's cops and horses. Before the picket line even got under way, the cossacks were charging it, riding down men and women and swinging their clubs over the skulls of workers.

The union men had clearly declared before they went down to the stadium, that they had no intention of keeping

park to acquaint thousands of workers of their grievances and voice their protest against the Briggs corporation. They came down to picket peacefully.

(Continued on Page 2)

In the Labor Unions

By B. J. WIDICK

The strike called this week at the Toronto, Canada plant of the Seiberling Rubber Co., marks the climax of a series of struggles of rubber workers in that area.

Premier Hepburn has made a notorious reputation for himself as a C.I.O. biter. His strike-breaking activities make him a rival of Tom Girdler.

In the face of this situation, the United Rubber Workers of America has been organizing Canadian plants, and the rubber workers have been calling strikes and winning them this spring.

Local 118 of the U.R.W.A. struck for wage increases, seniority rights, stabilized working hours, collective bargaining rights and a signed contract. The wage demand calls for a 10 percent increase for employees earning more than 60 cents an hour now, and 15 percent for those making less than 60 cents hourly. The plant employs 150 men of whom 125 already are on the picket line, union leaders said.

Victory Expected

Settlement of the strike of 750 rubber workers at the Kitchener, Ont., plant of the B. F. Goodrich Co. was expected this week with indications that the strikers would win major concessions.

The Goodrich strike began in the shoe department where the workers demanded a 3.2 cents per hour increase and were turned down by company officials. They walked out and soon were joined by the rest of the employees and a full strike was called.

Two prolonged strikes in February and March were won by Locals 67 and 68, U.R.W.A. at the Dominion Tire and the Merchants Rubber Co.

Signed agreements containing sweeping concessions for the rubber workers ended those strikes. An arbitration committee was selected to adjust the wage increase demand. It is headed by Prof. Norman MacKenzie of the University of Toronto. An hourly increase of five cents was asked by the strikers. The report of the arbitration committee is also expected to announce its decision soon.

Organization in the Goodyear and Firestone plants in Canada has been coming along fairly well. All in all, the Canadian rubber workers at present are doing the sort of job that the Akron rubber workers did in 1936-37.

Importance of these successes is three-fold: The C.I.O. is obtaining a firmer base in Canada, the United Rubber Workers of America is boosting wage levels outside of Akron and thereby putting a damper on decentralization to some extent, and Labor is realizing that union struggles can be won irrespective of reactionary political regimes controlling the government.

The militancy of the Canadian rubber workers is explained by the conditions under which they work. Wages are way below Akron levels for the same work Akron workers do. Hours are much longer, shop conditions intolerable, and the speed-up limitless.

Good News

Good news came this week from the Oklahoma labor front. A jury returned a not guilty verdict for 93 oil strikers at Tulsa on charges of unlawful assemblage.

It was a big blow to the companies which have been trying to break the picket line maintained for over six months by the Oil Workers International Union.

It put a crimp in the company plans to railroad Jack Hays, local president, and 36 militant unionists on charges of conspiracy, as revealed in previous issues of the Socialist Appeal.

The present victory of the oil workers was hardly expected by the prosecutor, who went in to a veritable rage when the jury announced its acquittal by a nine to three vote. The trial of Hays and the 36 unionists will have a different kind of background than the oil companies and its stooges in the county administration expected.

At Your Service
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Stalin Rejects British-French War Pact Offer

THREATENS TIE WITH GERMANY AS ALTERNATIVE

Eastern Guaranty Is Likely to Be Next Demand by Stalin

(Continued from Page 1)

Finally Molotov brought in the question of the Far East, where Soviet-Japanese tension, always latent, was brought to a fresh boil during the past ten days by a series of incidents of dubious origin. By reaffirming Russia's intention to defend Outer Mongolia against Japanese attack, Molotov was in all probability laying the ground-

EEBUFFS ENGLAND



VYACHESLAV MOLOTOV

work for bringing the Far Eastern problem into the Anglo-French-Soviet negotiations, possibly at a later stage.

The net effect of this latest development is to leave Russia pretty much where it has been ever since the current crisis opened—in the middle of the road between the two opposing camps in Europe, holding out its favors for the highest bid.

As we have pointed out in these columns repeatedly, the Russian position would indeed be a strong one if the Stalin regime in Russia were itself strong, both in itself and in the support of workers all over the world.

But the Stalin regime and the Red Army have been rent by the terrific and bloody purges of the past two years and Soviet economy as a whole has suffered heavily from the effects of the purge as well as from its own basic contradictions. For these reasons the Soviet position really remains a major question mark. Yet the very fact that it is a gamble either way provides it with a certain superficial strength in the present situation. Just what that strength will amount to when the real test comes, remains to be seen.

The only sure thing is that Stalin, like Hitler and Mussolini and their counterparts in Britain and France, will not survive the coming war whatever the lineups when it finally does break out.

N. Y. Membership Adopts City Program of Action

A program of action for the next three months, drawn up by the City Committee, was adopted at a general membership meeting of the New York Local of the Socialist Workers Party Wednesday night.

The program outlines special activities for the New York Local in the trade union field and among the unemployed, and proposes intensive campaigns against the impending war and against the fascists, particularly Father Coughlin.

A special campaign was proposed to help build a labor defense organization. "Intensifying our campaign against the fascists in face of the policy of the LaGuardia Administration to give them police protection will bring home the need for an effective defense organization as never before," declared Edward Frank, City Organizer, who reported for the committee.

Other activities outlined include a drive to raise \$500 for a "Build the Party Fund" within sixty days, an intensive drive to build up the circulation of the Socialist Appeal and the New International, and the

British, French "Socialists" Do Their All for Bosses' War Plans

(Continued from Page 1)

Philip Noel-Baker, Labor member of parliament who on the same day engaged in a noisy attack on Chamberlain for his vacillations, poured scorn on the Hammersmith proposal by demanding to know whether a general strike of the workers was being proposed to fight conscription.

"Are they going to ask us to use extra-constitutional methods and say we will not observe the rule of the ballot box?" he asked.

"Yes, if necessary!" came shouts from many parts of the hall. Many of the representatives present reflected the powerful opposition among the British masses to the headlong plunge toward war.

But the Labor Party machine rolled right over them and the motion was voted down by 1,670,000 mandates to 286,000. Next day the conference was

presented with an "official" resolution which "condemned" conscription but offered no proposals for combatting it. Instead the delegates were called upon to approve a detailed Labor Party plan for... a ministry of defense! The Labor leadership claimed in this plan that it would do a better job of preparing the nation and leading it into war than the Tories!

The French Congress A similar two-faced game was played at the Socialist Party congress in Nantes. The French Socialist party has been going through a faction fight in the past period. Paul Faure, old-line reformist politician and machine boss of the party, has been advocating "appeasement" of Hitler and Mussolini and a total break with the Communist Party. Leon Blum has been the protagonist of the "collective security" policy of pacts and alliances between

France and other nations for war purposes.

In the end the conference consummated a definite break with the Stalinists but "reconciled" the factions on the matter of foreign policy by endorsing the Daladier government's foreign policy. In other words, the party kept a foot in both camps and is ready to follow Daladier into a new period of "appeasement" if such should prove possible and necessary, or into war.

It is interesting to note that the British Labor Party also went through a "break"—although not in quite such explicit form for there was less to break with—from the Communists. The Southport conference confirmed the expulsion of Sir Stafford Cripps, who had been attempting a campaign for a British People's Front ranging from the Communist party to Winston Churchill.

The British Labor Party and the French Socialist Party are straining every sinew to bolster their support of the British and French capitalists in the coming war—to prove that their services will be so valuable that fascist repression will not be needed. An essential element in this effort is the keeping of a safe distance between themselves and the Stalinist parties—which are no less ardent supporters of the war but which are recognized as "foreign" agents—i.e., as instruments of Joseph Stalin's policies.

Keeping British Clean

In neither Britain nor France, despite the current pact negotiations, is there any notion that Anglo-French support to Russia is to be taken too seriously. What the City and the Bourse want is assurance of Russian support to Britain and France. Naturally there is about as much mutual trust among these politicians as among players at a professional poker game.

The parties of the Second International reflect this by seeking to keep themselves exclusively the agents of their own capitalists and remaining free to carry out their bosses' orders if those orders should be against the Soviet Union. That is why the Stalinists are being kept at a long arm's length, while the effort to dupe the workers into supporting the war plans of the "distrusted" Chamberlain and the "distrusted" Daladier is carried on.

Rorty Charges Baseball Purge In Bitter Note

Interest in the grudge game between the Studs Lonigan A.C., captained by James T. Farrell, and the Marxist Maulers, headed by James P. Cannon, rose to a new high with a dramatic set of charges and countercharges.

In a letter to Farrell, James Rorty protested against what he called "political purgings" claiming that the Socialist Appeal had left him out of the Lonigan line-up, whereas the mailed notice of the game put him into it. In a bitter footnote, Rorty declared that he would fight anybody who says he is not a better baseball player than Schmucka Gainsborough.

When questioned on the incident, Captain Farrell deplored the method adopted by Rorty in airing an alleged grievance, adding that it tended to insubordination and the breaking down of team morale. Farrell hinted that if there were any political purges, they were being committed by others. He refused to be quoted in any detail on this point, although pressed warmly by the reporters present in his field headquarters.

Captain Cannon, wearing a confident smile, asserted that his men had completed a highly satisfactory training period and that he had no doubts about the outcome. He pointed for confirmation to the favorable betting odds being offered throughout the city and in the long record of his team in out-pitching, out-batting and out-running all previous contenders. "I doubt if we'll even have out-fiebers in this game," he concluded expansively, "for Short-stop (Googie) Morrow will be enough to catch the feeble

SUPREME COURT OUTLAWS OKLA. JIM-CROW LAW

Admits that States Continue to Bar Negroes from Polls

(Special to the Socialist Appeal) WASHINGTON, D.C.—In a decision written by Justice Felix Frankfurter, declaring unconstitutional an Oklahoma statute, the Supreme Court on May 22 avowed in effect that for 60 years Negroes have been denied the right to vote despite the 15th Amendment to the Constitution.

Rendering an opinion in the case of Lane vs. Wilson, the court held unconstitutional an Oklahoma statute passed in 1916 which required persons who had not voted in 1914 to register within ten days or forever lose their right to vote. This statute, which caught the Negro population unawares, was designed to circumvent a 1915 Supreme Court decision which outlawed the grandfather clause then common in the state constitutions and statute books of virtually every southern state.

Grandfather Clause

The grandfather clause provided that any person whose grandfather had not voted prior to 1866 was ineligible to vote unless able to pass severe educational requirements. Inasmuch as Negroes were not allowed to vote (even in law) before 1866, the disfranchisement of the Negroes continued.

But how utterly ineffective the 15th Amendment was in actual practice was demonstrated precisely by the fact that not until 1915 did the Supreme Court outlaw one kind of loophole, and the additional fact that despite that decision southern states continued to invent escape clauses.

With one kind of loophole or another the southern states continued to bar Negroes from the polls. Either by some statute requiring educational proofs impossible to meet, or the less "subtle" methods of force, Negroes, except in a few cases, have been denied the franchise and equality which the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments allegedly guaranteed them. Only recently, when a considerable number of Negroes voted for the first time in a Florida election, challenging Ku Klux Klan intimidation (and despite the freedom supposedly guaranteed them ever since the Civil War) the act was hailed, and rightly so, as a great victory for the Negro race.

Not Yet Won

The case of Lane v. Wilson now goes back to the Oklahoma Supreme Court which will have to decide I. W. Lane's suit for \$10,000 against the registrar of Wagoner County, Okla., for denying him the right to register to vote in 1934. It may be that on the basis of the Supreme Court decision the Oklahoma court will decide in favor of Lane. In any case, attorneys for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People who argued the case before the Supreme Court, expect a favorable verdict.

There is no doubt, however, that the southern States will find other means of circumventing the federal constitution and Supreme Court decision. It therefore rests in the hands of the Negro and white masses, working jointly, to enforce by mass action, a real equality of Negro and white—resisting terror, exposing fake schemes, insisting on the right of Negroes to vote without let or hindrance.

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

Lonigan bunts we expect from the other team."

The game will be played at the Heckscher Foundation, 104th Street and Fifth Avenue, at 8 p.m. on Saturday, June 10, for the benefit of the American Fund for Political Prisoners and Refugees. Admission, at 85 cents, includes the exclusive use of the pool for swimming. Refreshments and dancing will also feature the evening's program. Everybody who is anybody is expected to attend.

APPEAL ARMY

Selling the Twice-a-Week Appeal



THE DANGER SIGNAL IS STILL FIXING!

We are glad to report that the branches have finally begun to respond to our requests for immediate payments to keep the semi-weekly Appeal going. But the danger is by no means over! We are looking forward to an even greater response within the next few days.

St. Louis, Akron, Chicago, New York City, Newark—these are the branches that have come through with healthy payments within the past few days.

We are still waiting to hear from the Coast branches, Philadelphia, Detroit, Flint, Boston, Toledo and Minneapolis. We can only repeat the urgency of our need. The twice-a-week paper is still in grave danger and we must raise much more money than we have so far.

Here are some of the branch responses:

"At the last meeting of the Akron branch your communication regarding the current financial crisis was read and acted upon. We will pay our old bill as rapidly as possible. I'm sending the first installment, \$10.00, and the remainder will be paid in the next two weeks or sooner."

"We also have made plans for more systematic street and house-to-house selling."—Paul Fielding, Akron.
"Enclosed find \$8.00 on our account. I will try to send you the balance of what we owe shortly."—Joe Carter, St. Louis.

"Enclosed find money order for \$17.00. We are getting busy immediately on renewal subs to the Appeal and I can assure you that the drive for renewals will go forward with full force. The modest quota of 250 by June 15 will be fulfilled and Chicago will do its share."—Sam Richter, Chicago lit-agent.
"At the branch meeting we decided upon a plan of action to devise ways and means of increasing our bundle order circulation and subs. Comrades

were given names from the expired sub-list and are to contact these people.

"Here's a rough sketch of our campaign: (1) Get renewal subscriptions; (2) Visit a special contact list being drawn up by the lit-agent; (3) Every comrade must become a subscriber; (4) Libraries, (public, college, etc.) are to be visited for subs.

"In order to increase sales we will (1) Cover more news-stands; (2) Hold street sales 4 times a week; (3) Have special sales by roving crews in working class districts once each week; (4) Cover subways, theatre districts, ball games, etc."

All of this sounds well and can successfully be put into practice. But we must emphasize again and again that our need is immediate and urgent. The only solution to our problem is quick, concerted action by all the branches and party comrades acting together.

Subscriptions are still down at a low point. The results of our drive for renewal subscriptions are far from good as yet. The success of this drive will go a long way toward liquidating our financial emergency. Here's the list for last week:

NEWARK	7
New York City	6
Pennsylvania	6
Chicago	3
Ohio	2
St. Louis	2
Massachusetts	1
Total	27

The only bundle order increase of the week came from Los Angeles which added 30 to its total. Los Angeles now takes 200 copies per issue and is easily doing the best Appeal circulation job in the country at present.

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(Manhattan, Bronx, Foreign) ... 3.75

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FASCISM AND BIG BUSINESS and
NEW INTERNATIONAL for one year—both for ... 2.75
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By Dwight Macdonald

SPARKS IN THE NEWS

Stalinist Literary Front Cracks

From the Third American Writers Congress comes news of the resignations of Babette Deutsch, and of Frances Winwar, who was a member of the executive committee of the League of American Writers, which sponsors the Congress. Both resignations are protests against the increasingly obvious corruption and reaction of the Third International and against the Communist Party's behind-the-scenes domination of the Congress. From outside the Congress, not one but two opposition groups of writers and artists have appeared on the scene. One of these new groups is the Dewey-Hook Committee for Cultural Freedom, of which more later. The other is the League for Cultural Freedom & Socialism. Unlike the Hook Committee, the League has issued a militant and revolutionary manifesto.

It is too early to judge the response to the League's manifesto, which is only now being published. But already it is clear that the Hook-Dewey manifesto has the Stalinists worried. Its roster of names is incomparably more distinguished than that of the signers of the call to the Third Writers Congress. The liberal N. Y. Post reprinted the manifesto in full and commented favorably on it editorially. And so it is not surprising to find both the *Nation* and the *New Republic* this week devoting major editorials to polemics against the Committee. Whatever one's quarrels with the manifesto, and I have a good many, one can but welcome its aid in the struggle against Stalinist control of cultural activities. Once that heavy hand is lifted off our arts and letters, we can all breathe more freely.

The Committee for Cultural Freedom, Again

The editors of the *Appeal* have turned over to me the following postcard: "Gentlemen: In one of your recent issues I am coupled with the Dies Committee. In another I am listed as a player on the Studs Lonigan team in a coming game with the Marxist Maulers. You are wrong about both items. I cannot prevent you or your Mr. Macdonald (correct spelling: Macdonald) from coupling the Committee for Cultural Freedom with the Dies Committee, since the Stalinists have already done so. But since I specifically refused to authorize the use of my name in connection with your coming game, I shall be obliged if you will stick to the facts. Yours, etc., Sidney Hook."

I don't know about the baseball game, although I might say that Professor Hook's complaint is the precise opposite of mine. He was put on the team against his will, while I, in my innocence, volunteered to play again for the Studs Lonigan A.C., only to be informed, indirectly, that I have crossed the Rubicon and am now a Trotskyist and so not eligible for the Studs Lonigan team. I don't at all object to being called a Trotskyist, but I suspect that Captain Farrell is taking this devious method to keep me off his team rather than come out with the real reason, which is my ineptness at the game. In any case, this seems to me a clear case of a writer's being discriminated against on political grounds, or worse, and as such I bring it to the attention of Professor Hook's committee. The whole

business badly needs to be aired in public.

I am glad of the chance to explain more fully why I consider it legitimate to draw parallels, of course on a strictly limited basis, between the Dies and the Dewey Committees. All men of good will, of whom I hope and believe I am one, must agree with the Dewey Committee that "totalitarianism" is an evil to be fought against. But I must still insist that the Dies Committee—one of whose hearings I attended last week—is just as explicit, no doubt for the worst sort of political reasons, in its denunciation of all forms of "dictatorship" as is the Dewey Committee. In questioning the fascistic Mr. Deatherage, Congressman Dies made it quite clear he conceives of himself as the great protector of the common man against all "extremists," whether of left or right, and that liberty and democracy to him were dearer than pelf or his very heart's blood. No, it all depends on the analysis one makes of the social roots and meaning of totalitarianism. And on this crucial point, the Hook-Dewey manifesto is inadequate to the point of scandal. Its basic idea is that "totalitarianism" is a foreign growth which is insinuating its tentacles into our fair American democracy: "Through subsidized propaganda, through energetic agents, through political pressure, the totalitarian states succeed in infecting other countries with their false doctrines. . . . I can see less difference than I should like to between this sort of red-and-black totalitarian-baiting, and the all-black totalitarian baiting of the New Deal and its Stalinist allies. In each case, the broad Atlantic stretches between the heroic defenders of democracy and the enemy."

The only specific reference to the internal forces that may bring about dictatorship is the single sentence: "Even in the United States, its [the totalitarian idea] beginnings are all too evident in the emergence of local political dictators, the violation of civil rights, the alarming spread of phobias of hatred directed against racial, religious, and political minorities." I think that Professor Hook and many of his co-signers would agree, in private, that this is inadequate, to say the least, and that their manifesto's emphasis on the foreign-menace aspect of totalitarianism is distorting. I think they would agree that the great threat to freedom of any sort in this country comes not from sinister foreign plots but from the struggle of the American ruling class to maintain its rule in the face of a disintegrating economic system. Yet their manifesto is discreetly silent on this theme—the very heart of the whole business.

The only reference in the entire manifesto, and this is hardly believable when one reads some of the good left-wing names appended to it, to either the labor movement or the war issue, the single reference is this, smuggled in at the end of a paragraph: "Ominous shadows of war are gathering in our land. Behind them lurk dangers not only to a free labor movement but to a free culture." The virtue of such a formulation, and practically its only virtue, is that James Rorty and Dorothy Thompson can agree on it. (The first sentence is particularly impregnable.) But in my opinion the price was much too high to pay, even for so valuable an autograph as that of the Sibyl of the *Herald-Tribune*.



Fighting against "starvation relief" standards, thousands of Cleveland workers staged a sit-down strike in the City Hall. The alarmed city officials told the workers to "eat potatoes." Here we see them getting the potatoes on which they are expected to live.

Why Coughlin's Superiors Keep Silent On His Vicious Activities

(Continued from Page 1)

On December 4, 1886, Father McGlynn was ordered to Rome. Shortly thereafter he was expelled from the pastorate of St. Stephens. In July, 1887, he was excommunicated from the Church.

Father Coughlin has not been ordered to Rome. He has not been expelled from his Church. He has not been excommunicated. Again we ask, why? Why is one kind of treatment accorded a pro-labor priest, and an entirely different type of treatment accorded a pro-boss priest?

The conclusion is clear. Father McGlynn's activities sought to promote the welfare of the masses at the expense of the wealthy, particularly the land-owners. As a pro-labor priest, he was considered a menace to the Church and its extensive land-holdings. The strongest weapon in the hands of the Vatican was used against him: excommunication.

Father Coughlin, on the other hand, is the mouthpiece of American fascism. The Church sees no conflict between his activities and its own interests. He is permitted to retain his standing in the Church, to preach, to spread his influence by all the propagandistic methods known to the modern world.

Until a few weeks ago his rabidly anti-Semitic and pro-fascist magazine, "Social Justice," was printed "By permission of His Superior." When this permission was withdrawn, no criticism—either direct or implied—was made of Father Coughlin or his utterances. It was withdrawn merely because the "Detroit Archdiocese considers Social Justice a secular, not a Catholic organ."

The Church has given more substantial support than this to Father Coughlin. On the Sunday back in 1934 when the creation of his National League for Social Justice was announced, Coughlin was introduced to the radio audience by no less a personage than Bishop Michael Gallagher, of Detroit, Coughlin's own Bishop.

Today, Social Justice (May 29) reports that a "group of Catholic clergymen" are getting out a booklet defending Coughlin against those who have attacked him.

Occasionally, it is true, some Catholic dignitary denies that Coughlin speaks for the Church. Such statements must be considered as meaningless so long as his superiors refuse to take any effective action against him.

Continued toleration of the pro-fascist Father Coughlin within the ranks of the Catholic clergy can be interpreted in only one way. The Vatican is apparently convinced that democratic capitalism is doomed and that the choice for the future in the United States is elsewhere is one between reactionary fascism and liberating socialism.

Vatican Chooses Fascism

When it comes to a choice the Vatican invariably throws in its lot with the brutal fascist dictatorships, even though in Italy and particularly in Germany, there has been a good deal of friction between the Church and fascist bureaucracies. If fascism in the Hitler style were to come to the United States, the Church could expect approximately the same treatment here as it has received in Germany.

To forestall this eventuality, the Church authorities have evidently decided that the Church itself must promote the fascist movement from the start and subordinate that movement entirely to the Catholic Church hierarchy, acting as high protector of capitalism. Their "ideal" is Catholic fascism, in which the Church and state are one and the power of the Church is safeguarded and even enhanced—as was the case in Dollfuss' Austria.

The omissions given by Rome and by Father Coughlin—to the victory of the fascist butcher, General Franco, in Spain, are a glaring confirmation that this is the real policy of the Catholic Church. Spain, we are told, is a "Christian corporate State"—that is, a fascist state in which the state and Church apparatus become fused—and that "it is a lovely thing to be a Catholic in Spain today."

The Church has not silenced Father Coughlin, has not unfrocked him, nor excommunicated him, precisely because it hopes to use him and his propaganda as the nucleus for creating in the United States a repressive, anti-labor govern-

ment on the Franco order.

Against All Workers

The Catholic worker and the Catholic anti-fascist must understand that whatever type of fascist state emerges in this country, their rights will be sacrificed along with the rights of all other workers and all other anti-fascists.

Under fascism in the United States, whether it be "Christian fascism" or Hitlerism, workers of all denominations and nationalities have nothing to gain and everything to lose. Their standards of living will be depressed to bare existence levels; they will be forced to work ten, twelve, fourteen hours a day at the lowest possible salaries; those who protest will be promptly imprisoned in concentration camps; forced labor will become an accepted fact; every male in the country will be compelled to spend years of his life in the army; women will lose all the freedom and equality they have thus far gained. The worker, his wife and his children will become the virtual slaves of the capitalist state.

This is the "ideal" which Hitler has foisted upon the German workers; it is the "ideal" which Franco is now imposing on the Spanish workers with the aid of the firing squad. It is the "ideal" of the Rockefeller, the Morgans, the Duponts—America's sixty families—and it is the "ideal" of the Catholic priest, Father Coughlin.

United against Fascism

The Catholic Church shields Coughlin. His "ideal" must also be considered the real aim of the Church.

With or without the blessing of the Catholic Church, Coughlinism must be fought. The Catholic worker—as well as the Jew, the Negro, or the Protestant—must be in the forefront of that struggle.

The Socialist Workers Party calls upon all workers, regardless of race or creed, to join hands against the common enemy—fascism. Protection of workers' rights by workers' defense guards against fascist onslaughts from whatever quarter they come—this is the key to the successful struggle against Coughlinism and every other brand of American fascism.

Millions Starve On U. S. Relief

Relief Millions "Are Refugees as Truly As the Victims of Old World Oppression" Is Finding of Social Workers' Report

(Continued from Page 1)

There are no toilet facilities. Bed-bugs make sleep almost impossible, but there is no money for ridding the house of these and cracked plaster provides a good breeding place for them.

"Mr. Stinger, his wife and nine children, live in three rooms of an old butcher shop, so infested with rats that he and the two year old baby who have been bitten are taking rabies treatments. He sits up at night to guard the children from the rats, although he himself is ill and one of the medical recommendations is rest and freedom from worry."

The Forgotten Man

From Atlanta, Ga.: "Relief grants are low . . . in no sense are minimum needs met. Food allowances, set at an arbitrary amount determined by the number of persons in the family, amount to a little over 20% of what the average family actually needs. A minimum standard budget based on Atlanta prices for a family of four would come to \$31.61 a month. The amount that is actually being granted to such a family is \$6.70 a month."

In numerous cases, "there is no allowance being made to families in which there is an active able-bodied man no matter what the size of the family is."

In one instance adduced as typical of a widespread practice of "spreading thin" over as many families as possible, "the money allocated to the county from the state office has been and has sometimes reached a level as low as \$4 per family per month."

Fireside Chat Material

In St. Louis, Mo., "limited funds make it almost impossible for employable persons to get general relief. During the past year relief has been denied to any family containing one or more employable person."

The District of Columbia, administered by Congress itself, sets a foul example for the rest of the country: "General relief is confined to families in which there is no employable person, except for temporary aid in an emergency such as an eviction."

In Arkansas, "money available for public welfare is so limited that general relief is now being granted only to those who are 'either physically or mentally handicapped . . . or who have had such a hard life that they are not yet 65 years old.'"

In Taos, New Mexico, "general relief is limited to persons 'who are incapacitated or in urgent need of medical care.'"

"Good Neighbor"

The cold description of conditions in Puerto Rico defies underlining: "There is no general relief program in Puerto Rico nor are the provisions of the Social Security Act extended to the island. An investigation made in January, 1939 by the certification unit of the public works agency showed that 63% of the total population was in need of relief."

In Texas, "there is no general relief program except on a limited basis in a few counties. Aside from W.P.A. the only assistance available in the majority of Texas' 254 counties is federal surplus commodities." In Georgia, likewise, "the state makes no contribution toward the cost of direct relief. . . Twelve counties grant no direct relief at all."

"Equality for All"

Outside the pale altogether are the aliens, now barred from W.P.A., and non-residents, including many who have lost legal residence status in the search for work. One example: "In most of the southern counties (of Florida) a 'hobo express' is run. This plan consists of transporting vagrants (non-residents) to the county line and dumping them."

As one reads these awful details, the mind refuses to re-

ceive them, tiring of horror piled on horror.

And what is the program of the New Deal? No proposals whatsoever for direct relief. Wiping out entirely of the jobs formerly provided by the W.P.A. Reduction—as proposed by Roosevelt's W.P.A. message of April 27—of W.P.A. jobs to an average for the coming year of two million.

Every last dollar that the Roosevelt administration can segregate now goes to the war machine. The two billions now earmarked for that purpose come directly out of the hides of these twenty-three million people dependent on relief. The New Deal has become the War Deal, and nothing else. Twenty-three million people will save themselves from starvation only by the most irreconcilable assault upon the ruling class and its executive committee, the Roosevelt administration.

GEN. MOSELEY TESTIFIES AT DIES HEARINGS

(Continued from Page 1)

tempt, speaking as he pleased, shooting back stiff answers to the committeemen, who took it humbly, and reaching the climax of his oratorical bursts with an open call that Army rule be established immediately in the United States.

"It ought to be handled in five minutes from the White House," he said. The method he proposed was that the President should use the army, under a law passed in 1929, which made it the duty of the President, he declared, to take such action if the "lives and property of citizens were threatened."

He was full of praise for the German-American Bund, declaring its meeting in Madison Square Garden on February 20 as "impressively patriotic." (The Socialist Workers Party led the demonstration of anti-fascists which protested this meeting.)

The General was accompanied by a retinue of attorneys, and one member of the House, Representative Thorkelson of Montana, who has lately gained notoriety in the fascist press, being described by William Dudley Pelley, head of the Silver Shirts, as a "new statesman rearing high above this miasma of skullduggery."

It was brought out during the questioning of the General that he had met Fritz Kuhn, leader of the German-American Bund, at the home of Mrs. Rudyard Uzzel, 85-12 165th Street, Jamaica, Queens. Moseley described Mrs. Uzzel as a "fine patriot, very much interested in the critical situation in New York City."

Moseley had apparently arranged to have the committee room packed with sympathizers. Whenever they thought he had made a particularly good point they laughed or applauded.

When Moseley made his statement that the "communist" danger could be handled in "five minutes" a committee member asked: "In what way?"

Wants Dictatorship

"If I were in the White House," he responded, "I would issue an order immediately to discharge every Communist in the Government and everyone giving aid and comfort to the Communists."

"I would release the army from its present position. It can make plans for attacking Germany, Japan, and Italy, but it can't do a damn thing to defend itself against the enemy within our gates. They have been told not to investigate anything."

Last week Army officials announced that they would investigate Moseley's connections with fascist organizations. Whether they will continue with such an investigation has not yet been announced. It is well known that many army officers harbor fascist sympathies.

During the entire hearing, Moseley attempted to utilize the proceedings as a sounding board for his fascist program. He brought in a great sheaf of papers containing his analysis of the national situation and the remedies he as a fascist proposes for their solution.

MEN AND WOMEN OF LABOR

OUT OF THE PAST

By EMANUEL GARRETT

THOMAS PAINE

(Jan. 27, 1737—June 8, 1809)

Only six people followed Tom Paine to his grave. For years he had been living the life of a social outcast, shunned by all respectable people, feeding on bread and rum.

The Revolution of 1776 was, you see, long past. The set, comfortable merchants, who had earned dollars as well as freedom as a result of the Revolution, no longer had any use for the fiery propagandist of rebellion, the revolutionary journalist whose writings fell like a whip lash across the body of English tyranny. If the truth be known, some had indeed never quite approved of the man.

Speaks a Rebel's Cry

Tom Paine hadn't come to the American colonies until 1774, a man of thirty-seven years. The son of a small English farmer and corset maker, he hadn't had much schooling. What learning he had, and it was enough to make him one of the most enlightened men of his day, he had picked up by reading in the hours after work—as corset maker, tax collector, teacher. He came here with an introduction from Benjamin Franklin, himself by no means a "respectable" man, who had been impressed by the vigor and merit of Paine's views.

A showdown was fast approaching between English rule and the American need to expand industrially and commercially independent of artificial restraints. The spirit of rebellion was in the air. Paine took hold of that spirit and fanned it into a burning flame, above all in a simple pamphlet, "Common sense," published in January, 1776.

"A King is a political superfluity," he wrote. Men must be loyal only to a society of their own creation, and not a government forced on them. The colonists must rise. "We have it in our power to begin the world over again."

Within three months 120,000 copies of this pamphlet were sold, an extraordinary publishing feat for those days.

Paine wasn't content to be only an agitator. Continuing his role as propagandist of the Revolution, he joined the army and plunged into the fighting. His tracts were required reading in all troop barracks. And in the barracks, the day's fighting done, he put his pen to the service of the Revolution. "These are times that try men's souls. The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of his country. Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered."

The revolution ended victoriously. In 1807 Paine sailed for England, partly to market a bridge he had invented, more to spread his revolutionary labors. There he hurled a defense of the French Revolution, "The Rights of Man," at the smug heads of British conservatism. The British censors howled in bitter agony. They sued him for libel. They threatened him with jail. Chased out of the country, he went to France where the revolutionists greeted him with welcome arms, elected him to the National Convention.

Here however Paine failed to perceive the full depth and needs of the revolution. Friendly with the moderate elements, he found himself at loggerheads with the left, which was pushing the revolution ahead relentlessly, uncompromisingly. For protesting the execution of the King, Paine was for a time kept in prison. Released, he lived several years in France, at odds with the growing reaction.

Unmasked Hypocrisy of Religion

Finally, in 1802, and much to the disgust of the American conservatives, Paine returned to America. He had meanwhile written his denunciation and expose of organized religion. Paine's "Age of Reason" ripped the hypocrisy and falsehood off the church, and its instrument, "the bible of a thousand and one contradictions." The hypocrites and conservatives, satisfied with the freedom they (not the masses) had won, bellowed furiously, asked for his hide, spread the vilest slanders against him.

Denied even the privilege of voting in the nation he had helped create by the fire of his arguments, Paine lived a retired and hounded life in New Rochelle and New York City. He who had turned the proceeds of his writings over to the Revolution, was denied a small pittance by the product of the Revolution and condemned to poverty.

Though limited by the understanding and knowledge of his time, Paine had struck a rebel's blow at social despotism. Not even his adoption by the Communist Party along with the other and less revolutionary heroes of American history, can dim the glory of this social rebel.

Paine was buried in a corner of his New Rochelle farm—consecrated cemetery ground being denied. Twenty years after, William Cobbett dug up the remains and carried them to England to give them impressive burial. Something happened to the scheme. His bones disappeared. Paine had no nation; he was buried in none.

ESCAPE FROM THE WORLD'S FAIR!

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FIGHT WITH THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY FOR:

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3. A Twenty-Billion dollar Federal public works and housing program.
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8. A people's referendum on any and all wars.
9. No secret diplomacy.
10. An Independent Labor Party.
11. Workers' Defense Guards against vigilante and Fascist attacks.

Stop Reaction's March

The Pennsylvania legislature has just passed a bill outlawing sit-down strikes, abolishing the check-off of union dues, and granting the employer the unwarranted privilege to interfere with workers' rights by calling for a union election whenever he wishes.

This bill is part of the nation-wide offensive of Big Business and the War Deal against labor and belongs to the same category of legislative and judicial attacks as the vicious anti-labor bills passed in Oregon and Washington, the sit-down prosecutions in Los Angeles, the decision of the Supreme Court in the Fansteel case, and the \$7,500,000 damage suit of Republic Steel against the workers it shot down.

With the development of the sit-down strike and the great wave of union organization that created the C.I.O. and built up the membership of the A.F. of L. to new heights, the American worker demonstrated that he had unlimited power to bring the employers to heel and put a stop to bosses' acts of intimidation, violence, spying, shootings in the back, low wages, long hours, and colossal profits for the stockholders.

But the employers own, control, and manage the government and the courts. As soon as the militancy of the workers seemed to die down, the employers launched a counter-campaign, utilizing their government as the instrument of attack.

Through their government, they are attempting to do away with the sit-down strike which won gains for labor so effectively. Through their government they are attempting to impoverish the union treasury by abolishing the check-off. Through their government they are attempting to put a complete halt to union organization by permitting the employer to call an election whenever he is sure that the union for one reason or another does not have a majority in the plant.

The first step in calling a halt to this offensive of Big Business is clear recognition that these anti-labor laws should be regarded by militant labor with the same degree of contempt with which Big Business had them enacted.

To the law of the employers: PROFITS FIRST, the workers must reply: THE RIGHT TO LIVE FIRST.

There is no deception, no violence, no frame-up, no bloody or despicable deed which Big Business will not commit in its counter-campaign against labor. We must organize Workers Defense Guards immediately in every union local in order to meet a new wave of machine-gun terror from the bosses.

And we must organize to put into power our own government, a WORKERS' GOVERNMENT that will act to protect and increase the rights of the great majority of working men instead of the small handful of stockholders whose vaults are bursting with ill-gotten profits.

The "Front" Collapses

By a decisive majority, the Congress of the French Socialist Party voted to put an end to collaboration with the Stalinist party.

The decision marks only the formal burial of the Popular Front which has been dead on its feet these many months in France. The so-

called "Radicals" led by Daladier, had abandoned it some time ago.

A more inglorious end to a movement for which such fabulous promises were made, is hard to imagine.

The Popular Front was going to unite the workers into a solid bloc and win to its banner the "progressive capitalists." It succeeded only in yoking the workers to the chariot of the ruling class.

It was going to consolidate and extend the gains won by the workers by their own militant class action, especially during the powerful sit-down strike movement of June 1936. First under Blum and then under Daladier, every one of these gains was taken away from the workers, who were cajoled, browbeaten and forced into abandoning them under the plea that it was in the interest of the Popular Front.

It was going to bar the road to the advance of the fascists in France, to the rise of totalitarianism. The fascist gains are stronger and more impudent in France today than they were three-four years ago. The advance of totalitarianism, of dictatorial rule, of government by decree has been swifter and more stunning during the period of the Popular Front government, especially Daladier's, than ever before in France.

It was going to "secure peace," to stave off war, to "halt Hitler." It did none of these. Not only is war more imminent, but the masses are more disoriented and demoralized in face of that mortal threat to their lives and liberties. Still more: both the Socialist and Communist Parties ended their Popular Front collaboration by becoming the most zealous patriots, the most furious shouters for a "preventive" war against Hitler and Co.

It was going to lead to a "united party" of the working class. It did not; it could not. The gulf between the social democrats and the Stalinists is wider today than at the beginning of the Popular Front. The social democrats have become more rabid national French patriots. The Stalinists have become more openly nationalist Russian patriots. The one is no more honorable than the other.

As the "Iron Front"—class collaboration in Germany opened the road to Hitler. As the "People's Front"—class collaboration in Spain facilitated the triumph of Franco. In France, the collapse of People's Front collaboration with capitalism makes it possible for the workers and peasants of that country to reorganize their ranks, to turn the helm in the right direction, and with their invincible united strength, crush the war-mongers and capitalist exploiters. There is yet time for this.

And let us learn the clearly-indicated lessons from Europe. The Popular Front—that means the subjection of labor to capital; that means ignominious defeat.

Progress, victory—these are possible only by means of the United Workers Front, of Class against Class.

And How!

"I-Hate-War" Roosevelt continues to hate war in his own inimitable fashion.

Having turned over to the war machine the funds belonging to the unemployed and spent more money for warplanes, battleships, bombs, rifles, torpedoes, bayonets, and submarines than any other peace-time president in the history of the United States, he has now launched a recruiting campaign without parallel to expand his army.

Huge recruiting stations on wheels are to be opened, new slogans are to be invented, and posters, motion pictures, and the radio are to be marshalled for use. Major Harold N. Gilbert, recruiting officer-in-charge said that even some "high pressure salesmanship" might be used.

They'll need plenty of high pressure salesmanship. For, as the recent Gallup polls have shown, not all Roosevelt's charm has sold the American workers and farmers on the idea of going to war.

Stalin Aids China

A dispatch from Hong Kong reports that materials are coming from Russia to the aid of China on a greatly reduced scale. Not only have shipments been cut down, but the experts who have been acting as a staff of advisors to Chiang Kai-shek have been withdrawn almost entirely.

Observers report that no new agreement has been reached for further aid from Russia and that Stalin's policy of helping China has about run its course.

What is the trouble? Has Stalin succeeded in draining away China's gold supply the way he did Loyalist Spain's? Or is he finding that his G.P.U. apparatus cannot learn the Chinese language as easily as it learned Spanish? Or did his fishing agreement with Japan extend to the borders of Tibet?

Visits Palestine, Finds Communist Party Pursuing Anti-Jewish Line

How Melach Epstein, Former "Freiheit" Editor, Saw the Full Viciousness of the Stalinist Line and Was Driven Into Exile for Telling His Objections to the Bureaucracy

How Melach Epstein, editor of the Communist Party's Yiddish daily, the Freiheit, went to Palestine and was horrified to discover the Palestinian Communist Party conducting an anti-Jewish policy; how he returned to seek the intervention of the Central Committee of the American party; and how, as a consequence of raising the question he was driven from his editorial post, has now been told by Sh. Weber, who from 1932 to 1937 was a colleague of Epstein and co-city editor of the Freiheit. Details of this story appear in an article by Weber in the Jewish Daily Forward, May 27.

When Epstein arrived in Palestine in the Spring of 1936, a prominent figure in the Communist movement, he found himself greeted with open hostility by the Arab secretary of the Palestinian party. "Who sent for you, who needs your advice?", this man said to Epstein. "We get our advice from Moscow, and you stop interfering."

C.P.P. Anti-Jewish

As a result of his encounters with this man and his investigations of the actual conduct of the Stalinists in Palestine, Epstein was driven to the conclusion that "the general secretary of the Communist Party of Palestine is a bitter enemy of the Jews."

Moscow's appointee as chief-tain of the Palestinian Stalinists worked on the basis of the outlook, which he expressed to Epstein, that all Jewish Communists were actually secret sympathizers with the Zionist movement. As a consequence, he took measures to drive most of the Jewish Communists out of the organization.

In accordance with Moscow's line of refusing to distinguish between the genuine aspira-

tions of the Arab masses and the corrupt and unprincipled game played by the Mufti and his terrorists, the Palestinian Stalinist organization not only defended the bombings and assassinations carried on by the Mufti's gangsters, but actually itself engaged in such bombings, Epstein discovered. Jewish Communists were singled out for the horrible task of throwing these bombs. In cases where Arabs were assigned, the Jews were required to manufacture the bombs.

Meets Oppositionists

Epstein had a meeting with a group of Jewish Communists who had been driven out of the organization, and learned further corroborating details along the same line. Since then, these dissidents have organized around the paper published in both Arabic and Hebrew, Haor-El Nour, on a program of Arab-Jewish workers' and peasants' unity.

Epstein learned of the assignment of two young Jewish Communists to throw a bomb at a Jewish meeting in Tel-Aviv. He sought out those assigned, and prevailed upon them to abandon the project.

Horrified by what he had seen in Palestine, Epstein went to Spain and there saw the chieftain of the colonial department of the Communist International. The latter, when appealed to by Epstein, told him that his only recourse was to secure the aid of the Central Committee of the American party.

Epstein Tells His Story

The foregoing facts were reported by Epstein to a select meeting of members of the Jewish Bureau of the C.P. and editorial associates on the Freiheit. Weber was at this meeting, and the terrible facts reported by Epstein and the failure of the Stalinist leadership

to do anything about them led him finally to break with Stalinism.

Epstein never succeeded in bringing the matter to the point of discussion in the Central Committee. He was merely called before a sub-committee and confronted with a ready-made resolution supporting the policy of the Comintern in Palestine. A bureaucrat without much courage, Epstein soon enough capitulated. His sole act of resistance was to refuse to write an article at the time defending the line of the Central Committee's resolution.

The jackals around him took advantage of the weakening of Epstein's position as the result of his raising the Palestine question, and after a period of defending himself, Epstein was finally forced to resign his post as editor, and go into exile for two years at the other end of the country.

The Basic Line

Weber's story provides a minor link in the broader story which requires no revelations at all, but is known to the Jewish workers and Arab workers and peasants of Palestine. The Stalinists have sought to win the good will of the Arab landowners and bourgeoisie in preference to that of the Palestinian masses. Having no faith in the colonial revolution which is indicated for the Near East, the Stalinists prefer to link themselves with the Arab exploiters and to use them as a form of pressure upon Britain on behalf of Stalin's diplomatic moves. The Stalinists never criticize the Arab exploiters, and have discouraged all moves to organize the Arab workers as an independent force. This is the basic policy lying behind the anti-Jewish orientation of the Palestinian Stalinist organization.

Manifesto Issued by League for Cultural Freedom and Socialism

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mum is put upon the conventional and the academic. The social sciences are witnessing the revival of various forms of obscurantism, the rise of an intolerant orthodoxy. Educators are being intimidated through loyalty oaths. Government censorship cripples W.P.A. theatre, art, and literary projects. Terrorism is exercised by the Catholic church over such cultural enterprises as the movies. Covert sabotage hinders the publication of work by independent and revolutionary writers. And in heresy hunting bodies like the Dies Committee, many of these tendencies find official and concentrated expression.

Such conditions are a challenge to independent intellectuals. Yet no existing cultural organization is ready fully to meet the challenge. If in the totalitarian states intellectual life is an affair for the police, in America it is preparing, under pressure of anti-fascist hysteria, for voluntary abdication. Cultural circles, formerly progressive, are now capitulating to the spirit of fascism while ostensibly combatting its letter. They fight one falsehood with another. To the defecation of Hitler and Mussolini they counterpose the defecation of Stalin, the unqualified support of Roosevelt. The mysticism of "Aryan" supremacy they match with a national-democratic myth conjured out of America's historic infancy. To the war drive of the fascist powers they reply with a war drive of their own.

In consequence the intellectual gains of recent decades are being rapidly wiped out. The last war saw moving in this country a profound current of scepticism in respect to bourgeois values in art and life. Responsible for the finest cultural achievements of the post-war period, this tendency culminated after 1929 in the radicalization of a significant part of the intelligentsia. But now, in the name of a spurious "anti-fascist" unity, numerous intellectuals are deserting their hard-won critical independence. They are giving up their opposition to capitalist exploitation and oppression, to imperialist domination of colonial lands. They no longer protest repression and frame-up in this country, in the Soviet Union, and in other "democracies." They have forsaken the struggle for the right of asylum. In

the name of a "democratic front" against tyranny abroad they put up with increasing tyranny at home. In short, they have surrendered the right—and duty—to protest all injustice, to investigate all formulae, to challenge all dogmas, to think through all problems. And inspired by Stalinist and social-reformist propaganda they advocate a new war for "democracy." Yet this war must give birth to military dictatorship and to forms of intellectual repression far more violent than those evoked by the last war.

Among advanced intellectual circles in the United States the most active forces of reaction today are the so-called cultural organizations under control of the Communist party. Pretending to represent progressive opinion, these bodies are in effect but apologists for the Kremlin dictatorship. They outlaw all dissenting opinion from the Left. They poison the intellectual atmosphere with slander. And they have succeeded in imposing their views and methods on groups formerly independent of the Communist Party.

Against these forces we, the undersigned, believe that artists and writers must unite to defend their independence as craftsmen, indeed, their very right to work. It goes without saying that we do not subscribe to that currently fashionable catch-word: "Neither communism nor fascism." On the contrary, we recognize that the liberation of culture is inseparable from the liberation of the working classes and of all humanity. Shall we abandon the ideals of revolutionary socialism because one political group, while clinging to its name, has so miserably betrayed its principles? Shall we revert to a program of middle-class democracy because the Kremlin government, in obedience to its own interests—which are no longer the interests of the masses anywhere—directs us to do so? On the contrary, we reject all such commands. Democracy under industrial capitalism can offer no permanent haven to the intellectual worker and artist. In its instability, it becomes the breeding ground of dictatorship, and such few liberties as it grants us today, it will violently revoke tomorrow. The idea of democracy must come to flow-

er in a socialist democracy. In the revolutionary reconstruction of society lies the hope of the world, the promise of a free humanity, a new art, an unrestricted science.

The defense of intellectual freedom requires, moreover, that we reject all theories and practices which tend to make culture the creature of politics, even revolutionary politics. We demand COMPLETE FREEDOM FOR ART AND SCIENCE. NO DICTATION BY PARTY OR GOVERNMENT. Culture not only does not seek orders but by its very nature cannot tolerate them. Truly intellectual creation is incompatible with the spirit of conformity; and if art and science are to be true to the revolution, they must first be true to themselves.

We are not alone in these convictions. Our principles are in general agreement with those contained in a recent manifesto of Andre Breton, the French poet, and Diego Rivera, the Mexican painter. Movements inspired by their manifesto have already appeared in France, England and elsewhere.

We appeal, therefore, to all writers and artists in the United States who are in substantial accord with our views to unite with us in forming a revolutionary league of writers and artists. The function of this organization will be to give publicity to our aims, to provide a forum for cultural discussion, and to campaign against all reactionary tendencies in intellectual life wherever they arise.

THE LEAGUE FOR CULTURAL FREEDOM AND SOCIALISM: James Burnham, V. F. Calverton, Eleanor Clark, David C. DeJong, F. W. Dupee, James T. Farrell, Clement Greenberg, William Gruen, Melvin J. Lasky, James Laughlin IV, Dwight Macdonald, Charles Malamuth, Sherry Mangan, Clark Mills, George L. K. Morris, George Novack, Lyman Paine, Kenneth Patchen, William Phillips, Fairfield Porter, Philip Rahv, James Rorty, Harold Rosenberg, Paul Rosenfeld, Meyer Schapiro, Delmore Schwartz, Winfield T. Scott, John Wheelwright, and Bertram D. Wolfe.

(Please address all communications to: Dwight Macdonald, Acting Secretary, 539 East 88th St., New York City.)

IN THIS CORNER

By Max Shachtman

Some of our readers may be aware that the Lovestonites are carrying on a shamefaced campaign for union into one organization of themselves, the Socialist Party and the Socialist Workers Party. Shamefaced, because the I.L.L.A. and the editors of the Workers Age do not take a position on the question yet—that's their idea of giving leadership—but, with mock humility, they print inspired "letters from the rank and file" in which the standpoint in favor of union is given the better play.

On another occasion, our own opinion on the question will be put forward at greater length. Suffice it for today to print a communication which shows the lengths to which Lovestone is going in his anxiety to unite with the "Trotskyists"—a letter just received from an old friend in Paris, under date of May 21. It reads in part:

"I come to a less pleasant subject, Lovestone and his lecture. It was reserved for a half hundred members of the P.S.O.P., plus several invited guests, I among them. You can well imagine that under the circumstances Lovestone had nothing of the 'innocent abroad' about him. The aim he assigned himself, on the basis of an exposition of the American trade union situation, was visible from the beginning to the end of his lecture but only if one were a little familiar with this situation and with things in America in general. It was a bit long and tiresome because Lovestone does not speak French and his translator wanted to translate bit by bit and himself spoke very slowly, sometimes haltingly. But he was a true colleague, who did his all to accentuate, by his tone, the points that L. smothered over, here and there, and you know our proverb that 'c'est le ton qui fait la chanson' (It's the tone that makes the song).

Such "Honest" People!

"On every point he was obviously tendentious. Even when he pointed out, at the outset, that there were now two trade union movements in the United States, he insisted on the fact that they were two genuine movements, nothing like what the Comintern had tried to do formerly when it sought everywhere to split the existing trade unions. Similarly with respect to the trade union work of the members of the Lovestone group. Ninety percent of them are unionists—the other ten percent being ineligible—and eighty percent hold trade union positions, often modest ones but permitting them to carry on a good work of education, he said. They are model unionists, disciplined and respectful of the rules and regulations. To be sure, they defend their points of view and try to have them prevail, but if they are in the minority, they submit and apply the decisions adopted. They never maneuver to impose their proposals 'from above' as was the case with the wicked Bolsheviks. They are true democrats. However, that holds true only of strictly union questions. When it is a matter of political questions—for example, the struggle against the war—they intend to preserve a complete freedom of action, even though the majority decides against them. However, they form fractions inside of all organizations.

"As for the two trade union organizations, the older, the A.F.L., is well known for its conservative tendency. Yet, it is a democratic organization, each affiliated union maintaining the right to act as it pleases. Whereas in the C.I.O. there is no democracy whatsoever. What's more, when the reconstitution of unity was possible, because the A.F.L. accepted the new principle of organization on an industrial basis, it was Lewis who pulled out, showing thereby that he wanted above all to keep his center, of which he was the all-powerful master. That is why the Lovestone group, after having worked with the C.I.O. and having rejoiced over its creation, moved away from it. Lovestone said nothing, of course, of his activity and of his personal interventions, of his collaboration with Homer Martin, etc. . . .

"That's about all there was in the general exposition. It was already pretty tendentious and the picture of the A.F.L. was rather flattering, just as the picture of the Comintern of the good period was calamitous. But in the question period, when Lovestone alone had the floor and always the last word, his fire was directed against the American 'Trotskyists.' They are only a political sect. Little influence in the trade unions. Only 400-500 members (the Lovestone group has 2,000, he said). The Trotskyists are Stalinists upside-down. Their turns are as abrupt as those of the Stalinists and, if they criticize Stalinism, they get their slogans from the Pope of Coyoacan. For example, after having entered the Socialist party, they abruptly left it, after having caused a good deal of trouble and having weakened it (this said for the benefit of the leaders of the P.S.O.P. who welcomed the French Trotskyists). Similarly in the trade union movement where they at first defended Homer Martin, then attacked him without anyone knowing why. Finally, in this case, a not very flattering portrait but one which will certainly not surprise you. He said not a word, naturally, either of the Twice-Weekly Appeal or of the New International.

An Embarrassing Question

"Yet one question embarrassed him: Is it true that the Lovestone group approved the first Moscow trials and changed its attitude only with the third trial, when Rykov and Bukharin were involved? There is no connection, said Lovestone, between this question and the subject of my lecture. But I do not want to evade it. It is true that we were mistaken at first about the Moscow trials. But the I.L.L.A. does not pretend to have reached perfection as yet. It can make mistakes. If it were already perfect, we would no longer have anything to do!"

"Pretty ridiculous, isn't it? But what could he say?"

"Even though the I.L.L.A. was still far from perfection and Lovestone was subject to error, the aim he set himself was certainly no less affected by it: it was to discredit the American Trotskyists and, by that, to reinforce, in the struggles developing at present inside the ranks of the P.S.O.P., the anti-Trotskyist elements, Freemasons and others who find Trotskyism rather annoying. For me, being only an invited guest, not a member of the P.S.O.P., and respectful of the rules of well-known old French politeness, I limited myself to listening and to recording the fact that I had lost a good evening."